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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt ACCOUNT of TIME.

VOL. XIII.

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THE

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Modern History:

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BOOK XV.

CHAP. XX.

The Reign of Soleymân II.

SECT. I.

Troubles in the Othmân *Empire. The Siege of* Belgrade, *and Battle of* Nissa.

20 Soltân Soleymân II.

WHEN the *Boftânji Bâshi* (A) brought *Soleymân* the news of his brother's depoſition, and his own advancement to the *Ali Othmân* throne, that prince, contrary to every body's expectation, was extremely grieved at the meſſage; "Why, ſays he, in "the name of the immortal god, do you endeavour to diſ- "turb my tranquility? Suffer me, I beſeech you, to paſs "in quiet, in my cell, the few days I have to live; and let "my brother rule the *Othmân* empire: for he was born to go- "vern, but I to the ſtudy of eternal life." The *Boftânji Bâshi*, at firſt, is amazed at theſe words: but, recovering himſelf, continues to preſs the prince; alledging, that the reſolution

(A) The chief of the gardeners.

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A. D. 1687. of the *Wazîrs*, *Ulema*, nobles, and the whole people, could not be altered; nor *Soltân Mohammed* restored, without great detriment to the empire. *Soleymân*, still in suspence, replies, "That he owed too great a reverence to his brother to take "possession of his throne, which he had quitted with reluc-"tance: I would come forth, however, continues he, but "am afraid of my brother."

His timorous behaviour.

AT last the *Bostânji Bâshi*, impatient of delay, says, "You "must give way, most resplendent emperor, to the entrea-"ties and wishes of the *Mussulman* people;" and, with these words, forces him, as it were, out of his chamber, and leads him to the room where the throne was usually placed. When he came there, he first, not without signs of fear, desires his conductor and the door-keepers "to take "care, lest his brother should be within; since he dreaded "to appear in his presence." Having been assured, that his brother was removed to another apartment, he, at length, mounts the throne, and is saluted emperor by all the courtiers. But, as soon as the ceremony was performed, he leaps down again, as from an impure place, and demands *abdest* (B). This done, he defers returning to the throne; and, when the courtiers press him to it, he puts his finger to his mouth, and enjoins them silence (C). At last, notwithstanding his reluctance, he is again seated there; and admits the *Ulema* and nobles to kiss his robe.

A new sedition.

BEING thus advanced, he confirms the *Wazîr*, *Siavus Pashâ*, and commands him to appease the sedition. On the *Wazîr*'s return to his palace, the *Bulûk Agalari* (D) do him their reverence; but then demand their pay, and a new *Bakhshîsh* (E), which used to be given to the soldiers at the beginning of a new succession. *Siavus Pashâ*, finding the treasuries

(B) That is, water to wash his hands, head, and feet, as enjoined by the *Korân*, before prayers.

(C) The *Turks* draw presages from the first words or actions of their *Soltâns*, of their future conduct. *Cant.*

(D) Commanders of the regiments of *Janizaries*, and the superior officers made from among them. — *Cant.* — *Bulûk* signifies a company of soldiers.

(E) *A gift*, or *bounty bestowed out of kindness*, by a new *Soltân*, to all the chosen troops then at *Constantinople*. It was first introduced by *Soleymân Kânûni*; and although it seems to encourage seditions, and has been the source of many rebellions, the *Janizaries*, for sake of the *Bakhshîsh*, having joined with the *Soltân*'s enemies: yet, whoever considers the end and design of this law, can never sufficiently admire the *divine prudence* of the legislator, and his *consummate knowledge in politics*: for this was calculated to preserve

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A. D. 1687.

furies empty, amuſes the officers for ſome time with words, and then endeavours to ſeparate the chief authors of the diſturbances, under pretence of promoting them, in order to ſend them to remote cities. By this conduct, the former hatred of the ſoldiers is revived againſt him, when aſſembled in the *Orta Jâmi*; they run through the ſtreets, crying out, the *Wazîr* ought to be put to death, as an enemy to *Soltân Soleymân*, a deſerter, and a violater of his promiſes.

The Wazîr's bravery:

PRESENTLY after they ſurround his palace, whither, on the firſt alarm of their meeting, he had retired with his officers; and, on being denied admittance to ſpeak to that miniſter, attempt to break open the gates: but *Siavus Paſhâ* repels them with the arms which he found by chance in the palace; and kills above twenty *Janizaries*. The ſoldiers, more enraged at this ſlaughter, ruſh with their whole force upon the gates, and break them open. Mean time the *Wazîr* ſhoots ſeveral with arrows from his chamber oppoſite to the gate, while his officers, about 100 in number, prevent the rebels from aſcending, and force them into the *Diwân Khâneh* (F). A bloody conflict hereupon enſues, wherein above 150 of the conſpirators are killed upon the ſtairs, and as many wounded. But, at laſt, many of the *Wazîr*'s party being ſlain, the reſt fly to the top of the houſe, and throw themſelves into the ſtreet. Upon this, *Siavus Pâſhâ* retires again to his chamber; and, in the door, kills twelve *Janizaries* with his ſword. At laſt, rather wearied with conquering than conquered himſelf, he is beaten down, and killed by the ſoldiers, who cut his body in pieces, and throw them into the ſtreet[a].

he is ſlain.

RICAUT relates ſeveral matters which paſſed before the death of the *Wazîr*, not mentioned by our *Turkiſh* hiſ-

[a] CANT. Hiſt. Othm. p. 350, & ſeqq.

preſerve the empire, and be a check to the tyranny and vices of his ſucceſſors, as well as of his miniſters, by being an encouragement to the ſoldiery to watch over the conduct of the *Paſhâ's*, and reform the government when grown negligent or corrupt. *Cant.*

(F) That is, *the houſe of judgment*, or place where the people's complaints are heard. It is a large hall on the ſecond floor of the *Wazir*'s palace, open towards the ſtair-caſe; where people ſtanding may hear what is doing above. The *Wazîr* ſits oppoſite to the ſtairs, in an alcove made in the wall He is obliged to adminiſter juſtice there *Fridays*, *Saturdays*, *Mondays*, and *Wedneſdays*. *Thurſday* is a day of reſt: the other two days are for the *Soltân's divân*. If hindered by buſineſs of ſtate, which is rare, the *Chauſh Bâſhî* ſupplies his place.—*Cant.*

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A. D. 1687. torians. According to him, *Shaus Páſhâ* made his entry into *Conſtantinople*, on the 1ſt day of *November*, with great ſolemnity; and preſented the prophet's ſtandard to the *Soltân*, who, moving three ſteps forward, took it from him, and gave it to *Moſtafa*, the *Seliktar*, or *Silahdar*: then receiving his brother's ſeal, in the ſame manner, returned the *Wazîr* another with his own name upon it.

Changes at court. NOTWITHSTANDING this, the fury of the mutineers was not yet abated: for they committed ſeveral great men to priſon; and had *Rajeb Páſhâ* ſtrangled; although it was believed that the chief promoter of his death was the *Wazîr*, who envied him on account of his great abilities. They likewiſe turned out their *Aga*, and choſe in his room the *Seliktar*, a man but twenty-five years old, who had formerly been a ſurgeon in the *Saray*, and of no experience in military affairs.

THIS, however, proved a merit in his character, as it made him the fitter to be governed by them: for now the *Wazîr* himſelf was forced to grant them all their demands, and approve in writing ſuch methods as they judged proper for raiſing money; one of which was to tax the great officers belonging to the late *Soltân*, down to the aſtrologers and goldſmiths, moſt of whom were fined to the full of what they were worth. The next method of raiſing money was, by admitting to ranſom thoſe who were impriſoned. Theſe ſums, thus collected, being ſufficient to diſcharge the arrears due to the ſoldiers, things grew calm for a time; ſo that, on the 17th of *November*, *Soltân Soleymân* went in the morning by boat to the *Saray* of *Ayûb*; where he was girt with the ſword by the *Nakîb Effendi*; and, when the ceremonies were over, rode back through the city, but with no great pomp.

Money projects.

Civil liſt reduced. AFTER this, he began a reform at court, by leſſening the number of hawks and hounds. He reduced that of his horſes to one hundred; made one hundred-and-fifty of his pages *Spahi's*, and changed the reſt. The like was done in the court and chambers of the women: by which retrenchments eight thouſand purſes were ſaved yearly to the treaſury. Theſe proceedings greatly pleaſed the ſoldiers; but, the money falling ſhort to pay them, it created new commotions. And now it was the *Wâzîr*'s turn to conjure up more; which he performed by the old method, in going over with the rich men once again. Among the reſt, the *Kîzlar Aga*, whom he began with, was forced to pay nine hundred purſes, beſides his effects to a great value; and then baniſhed to *Rhodes*. But the money raiſed, ſtill falling ſhort by two hundred purſes, the

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the ſum was made-up by coining the ſilver and gold taken from the horſe-furniture in the *Soltân*'s ſtables. A. D. 1688.

AFTER this, things became quiet for the ſpace of two months; during which time the *Soltân* had thoughts of ſending an ambaſſador to *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, to notify his advancement to the empire: but this uncuſtomary project was ſuperſeded by the preparations for war, and breaking out of new commotions. For the ſoldiers, aſſembling with more inſolence than before, in a very rude manner, demand of the *Wazîr*, the removal of *Kyoprili*, the *Kaymaykâm*, from his office; which was immediately done, and he ſent to the caſtle of the *Dardanels*, very glad to get ſafe out of their hands. At the ſame time, ſeveral other officers were diſcharged; and ſuch as the rebels nominated from among themſelves, put in their room by the *Wazîr*; whom they alſo forced to renew his oath to ſtand by them. This done, he ſet up the horſe-tail, as a ſignal of his march into the field, in order to divert them from their deſigns; and made *Shabân Aga*, his *Kyehaya*, *Kaymaykâm*, as a man whom he could truſt in his abſence to govern the city. But, having nominated *Zulfikar Effendi*, a perſon obnoxious to the mutineers, to the poſt of *Kyehaya*, *Teſfuji*, the moſt able and active among them, came and told him, that if he made that man *Kyehaya*, he would kill him before his face. This affront the *Wazîr* diſſembled, hoping they would ſoon render themſelves odious to the people; as in fact they did, by taxing chimnies, giving orders for quartering ſoldiers, and raiſing money by extraordinary methods.

The mutineers inſult the Wazîr;

MEAN time the *Wazîr*, in concert with *Kyoprili*, and the *Janizar-Aga*, procured a *Khatti Sharif*, importing, "that the "grievances of the ſoldiers having been redreſſed, and all their "juſt demands, gratified, it was their duty to be obedient "to the *Soltân*, as well as thoſe officers ſet over them by "his authority, and not to meddle with affairs relating to "the goverment; and that, whoever was refractory, ſhould "be puniſhed as a rebel." This mandate, being ſent to the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, he aſſembled the chief officers; and, having read it to them, aſked, whether they would obey it or not? They anſwered, yes; for none but the common ſoldiers joined with the mutineers. But *Teſfuji* cried out, *he is a villain who obeys that mandate.* Whereupon he was, by the *Aga*'s order, carried into an inner room, and put to death. The *Wazîr* alſo ſent to ſeal up his houſe, in order to confiſcate his eſtate; as he did by ſeveral others of the chief mutineers, whoſe perſons he ought firſt to have ſecured.

their ringleader puniſhed.

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A. D. 1688.

The Wazîr's imprudence.

Soon after, the *Janizar Aga*, thinking by his own authority to disperse an assembly of the malecontents in the *Okmeydân* (G); he was no sooner espied by *Haji Ali*, an *Armenian* renegado, and a great friend of *Tesfuji*; but he came up to him, saying, *You have murdered our companion, and endeavoured to sow dissention among us:* then, striking him with his simeter, he was immediately cut in pieces. After this, the mutinous mob robbed the *Testerdâr*'s house of a considerable sum of money, designed for paying the soldiers; and then assaulted the *Wazîr*'s house. But the *Testerdâr*, and captain *Pâshâ*, being there with some other friends well armed, the rabble were repulsed. At length, the *Wazîr*, thinking to pacify the tumult, resigned up his office; which proved his ruin: for now, on the loss of his authority, all his friends forsaking him, the mutineers broke into his palace, and *Haji Ali* shot him with a pistol, while others wounded him mortally in the belly; after having fought courageously, and killed several with his own hand. He could not be prevailed on to withdraw, saying, that he could not live long; and therefore would not abandon his family to the fury of such miscreants [b].

The sedition quashed:

After this, excited by a rage unheard of among the *Turks*, they break into the womens apartments; and, cutting off the noses, hands, and feet, of the *Wazîr*'s wife (H) and sister, drag them naked through the streets; and commit other execrable crimes upon the slaves and female domestics (I). That minister's family, being thus destroyed, they rove like ravenous wolves through the city, and kill and plunder all they meet, as if partners with the *Wazîr* in his guilt. A dreadful face of things appears, and the whole city would have been ruined, if the *Ulema*, who were the first authors of the tumult, had not composed it: for, assembling at the imperial palace, they there display the *Sanjâki Sharîf* of *Mohammed*;

[b] Ricaut, vol. iii. in Soleyman II.

(G) A field without the city, where they used to shoot with bows and arrows.

(H) She was daughter of the great and famous *Wazîr Kioprili Ahmed Pasha*, and sister of *Kioprili Mostafa Pashâ*, who shortly after retook *Belgrade*. *Cant.*

(I) *Ricaut* does not mention this dragging thro' the streets. He says, that, altho' his wife, the daughter of old *Kuperlee*, gave them all her jewels, yet they treated her inhumanly, and wounded her; on which, it was reported, she miscarred and died: that his eldest daughter, not delivering her pendants soon enough, they cut off her ears with them: and that they sold a younger daughter, with a slave whom they carried away, for six dollars.

and,

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and, by their criers, proclaim, that all *Muſſulmans*, who would not be deemed infidels, ſhould repair to that ſtandard. The ſummons is obeyed, firſt by the citizens, and then by the *Janizaries*, who, that they might not appear rebels, preſently lay down their arms, crying out, that they had taken them up not againſt the *Soltân*, but his enemy the *Wazîr*; whom having puniſhed, they were ready to do whatever the *Soltân* ſhould think proper [c]. A. D. 1688.

ACCORDING to *Ricaut*, this commotion was appeaſed after another manner. The tumult having now laſted three or four days, the rebels ſeemed to be abſolute maſters, for there were no officers alive who had any authority over them; when a ſmall accident ruined their anarchy, after they had domineered for five months, killing and diſplacing the *Paſhâs* at pleaſure. At this time four *Janizaries* having taken ſome embroidered handkerchiefs out of certain ſhops, the ſhopkeepers made a great clamour; and, by the encouragement of an *Amîr*, all roſe, fell on the plunderers, and killed two of them. Hereupon the *Amîr*, putting a piece of linen on a ſtick, and holding it up, cried out, *Let all true* Muſſulmans *repair to the* Saray, *and pray the* Soltân *to put forth the prophet's ſtandard, and deſtroy theſe rebels.* Upon this, the injured citizens crouded thither, which ſo encouraged *Soleymân*, that at noon the ſtandard was erected; and the people, by proclamation, ordered to come and fight under it. *the manner how.*

THIS having brought an incredible number together under the walls of the palace, a *Sheykh*, or preacher, called to them thrice from thence; and aſked, whether they were contented with the preſent emperor? they anſwered in the affirmative, with three great ſhouts: but ſaid, they would have the *Gyurbas*, or ringleaders of the mutinous militia, deſtroyed. Thirteen of them were thereupon taken, and cut to pieces; and the reſt fled. The *Mûfti* alſo was degraded for ſiding with them; and *Tabâk Effendi*, who had been depoſed by the mutineers, reſtored to that dignity. The *Niſanji Bâſhi*, an old man, was created *Wazîr*; and a young man, fifth page of the royal chamber, made *Aga* of the *Janizaries*. Other vacant places were ſupplied, and the next day, all being quiet, as if no diſturbances had happened, ſeveral *Armenians* and others, who, diſguiſed like ſoldiers, mixed with the rioters to rob, were diſcovered and hanged. After this, the plunderers were, by proclamation, pardoned; who, within three days, ſhould reſtore the goods or money to the injured citizens; which had a ſurprizing effect. *Rebels puniſhed.*

[c] CANT. ubi ſupr. p. 353.

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A. D. 1688. So that this day might be called the first of the *Soltân*'s reign, who began with suppressing taverns and smoking; in which he was so strict, that, one day walking incognito to see if his orders had any authority, he commanded two poor fellows to be executed for selling tobacco [d].

New disturbances. BUT this calm did not last long: for, a few days after, *Soleymân* having ordered the new *Wazîr*, *Koja Ismael Pashâ*, to seize privately the leaders of the rebellion, and put them to death (K); the *Janizaries* again take arms, and threaten destruction to both. The *Soltân*, to prevent the storm falling on his head, by the advice of *Kyoprili Mostafa Pashâ* (L), throws the whole blame upon the *Wazîr* (M); spreading a report, that he had acted therein without the *Soltân*'s knowlege; and, to give it the better gloss, banishes him to *Rhodes*; appointing *Tekkiur Dâghi Mostafa Pashâ* in his room.

Rebellions abroad. THE flames from the capital spread into the provinces. In *Rûm Ili*, *Eghen Ozmân Pashâ* (N), assembles a considerable body of *Spahi's*, and engages them to demand of the *Wazîr*

[d] RICAUT ubi supr.

(K) *Ricaut* says, above 1000 of the *Gyurbas*, or ringleaders servants, were thrown into the sea one night after another: but speaks of no new commotion thereupon.

(L) According to *Ricaut*, he was, at this time, removed from the prison of the *Dardinels* to that of *Rhodes*.

(M) When troubles arise, this is the only shield which the *Soltâns* have to defend themselves; and, by sacrificing the *Wazîr*, they are sure to secure their own safety. It is thought, *Mohammed* IV. would not have been deposed, had he given up *Ayneji Soleymân Pashâ*, when first applied to. So that, altho' the almost unlimited power, which the *Soltân* gives the *Wazîr*, might be dangerous in other states; yet it is the chief, if not only, support of the *Othmân* empire; since the *Soltân* can, when he pleases, cut off the *Wazir*, who will never depose the *Soltan*; because he must lose by a change; nor can ever hope to usurp the crown; because the *Turks* have so great a veneration for the *Othmân* race. — *Cant.*

(N) A man noted for his robberies in *Asia*. His followers were reckoned the stoutest men in that quarter. He threatened to destroy *Iskinder*, and even the royal city. At last, being pardoned, he brought with him above 1000 freebooters against the *Germans*; but was put to death as soon as he came to *Constantinople Cant.*—Prince *Cantemir* seems to confound *Eghen* with *Gyeduk*, if *Iskinder* be a mistake for *Iskudar* (or *Skutari*). *Ricaut* calls him *Yeghen*; and makes both him and *Gyeduk*, whom he names *Yedik*, generals in *Hungary*.

the

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the *Bakhſhiſh Julus* (O), due to them on *Soleyman*'s advancement to the empire. On the *Wazîr*'s pleading inability for the preſent, they levy the money on the inhabitants of the country, and plunder all *Bulgaria*, as far as *Sophia*. In *Aſia*, *Gyeduk Paſhâ* moves his troops to ſedition; and, being joined to ſeveral thouſand banditti, threatens to attack *Conſtantinople* itſelf. Having plundered and ſubdued all the provinces of the *Anadol Beglerbeglik*, he marches his army to *Iſmid Gyechid* (P), and prepares to beſiege *Kriſopolis* (or *Skutari*), thinking the *Janizaries* were too buſily employed to mind him: but they, laying aſide their rage the night before the city was to be attacked, paſs over, and ſurround it with trenches; on which the *Paſhâ* retires, and is ſoon after defeated by the *Othmân* army. A. D. 1688.

WHILE the *Turkiſh* empire is thus ſhaken by inteſtine commotions, the imperial army ſubdues the moſt conſiderable bulwarks of *Hungary*. *Agria*, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs of *Upper Hungary*, after four months cloſe ſiege, is obliged by famine to ſurrender, on the 20th of *Moharram*, 1099 (Q). The ſame fate befals *Mongatzs*, an almoſt impregnable caſtle in the ſame country, fortified by *Tekeli*, and made the repoſitory of his wife, treaſures, and records. After he was ſeized, as before related, and *Kaſſovia* loſt, his princeſs, the heroine of the age, aſſembled there what forces ſhe could, and ſtored the place with plenty of proviſion; in hopes to defend it till the war ſhould be finiſhed, or the *Turkiſh* army march to her relief. But thoſe forces being withdrawn from the neighbourhood, count *Terci*, in the year 1098, attempted to take the caſtle: but, after aſſaulting it for ſeveral months with cannon and bombs to no purpoſe, he blocked it up at a diſtance; and cut off all proviſion to ſuch a degree, that the princeſs *Tekeli* conquered rather by famine than the enemy's ſword, on the 14th of *Rabio'lawel*, 1099 (R), ſurrendered both herſelf and caſtle to the emperor's mercy [e]. Agria *ſurrenders*.

THIS ſurrender having been made before the inſtructions which her huſband had ſent to her on that head came to her Mongatz *yields*.

[e] CANT. p. 353, & ſeqq. RICAUT.

(O) Called alſo *Julus Akcheſi*, that is, *the money of the new*, or *the renewed, empire*. The nature of the *Bakhſhiſh* is explained a few notes before. *Cant.*

(P) That is, *the paſſage of Izmid*. So is the gulf of *Nikomedia* called. *Cant.*

(Q) That is, the 16th of *November*, 1687; but *Ricaut* puts it on *December* 16. and ſays, it ſurrendered at diſcretion upon the news of the battle of *Mohatz*.

(R) *January* 6th, 1688.

hands,

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A. D. 1688. hands, he was so incensed, that he destroyed all the places he came at, as far as *Peterwaradin*; and then fortified himself with some thousand followers in the village of *Theleigh*, near that city. But general *Heusler*, on the 6th of *February*, fell upon him in his trenches with such fury, that he was put to flight, leaving six hundred of his men slain, and four hundred taken prisoners; among whom was *Genay*, the chief commander next to himself [f].

Other commotions, THE common people and soldiers at *Constantinople* were in hopes, that, on the advancement of *Soleymân*, a prince, as they imagined, of great sanctity, the divine wrath would be appeased, and the enemy repelled. But when, on the news of those misfortunes, they find themselves deceived, they throw satyrical libels, both in prose and verse, into the *Jâmi* and *Divân*, reproaching not only the *Wazîr* and other nobles, but the *Soltân* himself, with negligence, and other faults (S). The minister, to obviate farther mischief, orders a guard to pass night and day through the city; prevents nocturnal assemblies, and seizes some persons who talked too freely; but, not to add oil to the flames, dismisses, without punishing, them (T). At last, the *Soltân*'s natural timorousness produces a better remedy than courage could have done: for, under pretence of changing the air, he withdraws from the seditious, by removing with his court to *Adrianople*. The people indeed seemed to have reason to complain of the ill administration of affairs; but did not impute it to the proper persons. How much the treasury was exhausted; and to how great a necessity that opulent empire was reduced, appeared on this occasion: for there was not in the imperial stables a number of horses, mules, and camels, sufficient for the courtiers; nor money enough in the treasury to pay for the hire of what were wanting: so that he ordered the gold and silver vessels, with his jewels, to be publicly sold, in

seasonably prevented.

[f] RICAUT.

(S) *Ricaut* informs us, that the libels reflected on the *Soltân*'s intention to remove; and that they petitioned the *Wazîr* to dissuade him.

(T) According to the same author, he seized all the conspirators in their houses, on the eve before the plot was to be executed; and punished them as their crime deserved. Many officers were displaced; and 50 persons, most *Janizaries*, were cut off. But *Yeghen*, thought to be the ringleader, was too great to be meddled with. At last, 2500 purses, the effates of two *Kizlar Agas*, who were put to death, coming in seasonably to pay the soldiers arrears, the *Soltân* removed to *Adrianople* in *July*.

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order to ſupply his neceſſities. At length, departing on hired horſes and chariots, he prevents the ſedition juſt ready to break out. A. D. 1688.

Turks *ſue for peace.*

WHEN he arrives at *Adrianople*, he pretends to apply himſelf to the care of the war; but, as his devotions were more agreeable to him, he ſent *Zuo'lfikar Effendi* (U), clerk of the *Janizaries*, and *Alexander Maurokordatus* (W), interpreter to the *Diwân*, ambaſſadors to the emperor of *Germany*: under pretence of informing him of his election (X); but, in reality, to ſettle a peace upon what terms they could procure [g].

Tranſilvania *revolts.*

THE *Turks*, brought to this extremity, diſpatch an *Aga* to *Apafi*, prince of *Tranſylvania*, with a patent to confirm him in his principality; and orders to demand a conſiderable ſum of money, to pay the garriſons on the *Boryſthenes* (or *Nieper*); which the declining ſtate of the empire, he ſaid, obliged the *Porte* to exact: at the ſame time threatening him with a *Tatar* incurſion, in caſe he did not comply with the demand. General *Caraffa*, being informed of this affair, immediately haſtes thither; and ſo well diſpoſed *Apafi*, and the ſtates, then met at *Hermanſtadt*, that, rejecting the *Aga*'s propoſal, and deſpiſing his threats, they, on the 9th of *May*, 1688, abſolutely renounce all obedience to the *Othmân Porte*; and confirm the treaty made with the duke of *Lorrain*. Hereby they put themſelves under the emperor's protection, and receive his forces into their garriſon places (Y), on con-

[g] CANT. p. 355, & ſeqq. & RICAUT.

(U) *Yenghicheri Effendiſi*, a poſt of great profit; he was in great account at court for his learning —*Cant.*

(W) Grandſon of *Skarlatos*, vulgarly *Skarlotti*, who was *Sorguj*, or purveyor, to the court for ſheep and oxen, in the reign of *Morâd* IV. His father, *Pantélis Maurokordatus*, married *Loxandra*, daughter of *Skorlatos*, who, diſfigured by the ſmall-pox, was very rich, and fell in love with him. *Alexander* firſt practiſed as a phyſician; and then, for his ſkill in the oriental languages, was made *Paſh Turjemân*, on the death of the famous *Panayotti*. He experienced various turns of fortune at that ticklish court; yet died immenſely rich. In 1709, his ſon *Nikholas* thereupon was made prince of *Moldavia*, then deſpot of *Walakhia*, and his brother *John*, chief interpreter. *Cant.*

(X) And of renewing the antient amity, which his predeceſſor had violated: for the *Turks* thought it below the dignity of the empire to ſue for peace in plainer terms. *Ricaut.*

(Y) *Cronſtadt*, or *Stephanopolis*, after this, rejecting their

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A. D. 1688.

dition, that their privileges, and the exercise of their religion, should be confirmed to them [h].

Alba Regalis *surrenders.*

THE *Wazîr Tekkiurdâghi* (Z), *Mostafa Pasha*, either thro' fear of the *Germans*, or lest the *Soltân*, in his absence, should be persuaded to put him to death, declines the command of the army; and appoints *Rejeb Pasha Seraskier* of *Hungary*. But, before the *Othmân* forces took the field, the garrison of *Alba Regalis*, which had been blocked up all winter by the *Imperialists*, surrendered (A), on the 19th of *Rajeb*. *May* 8, 1688, *Caraffa* had taken the city of *Lippa* by storm, and the castle yielded in a few days (B). Soon after he reduced *Solmoz* and *Logosh*, or *Lagos*. That general, who commanded the *Imperial* army in the elector of *Bavaria*'s absence, after he had taken *Illok* and *Peterwaradin* from the *Turks* (C), sent *Wallis* and *Heusler* to seize (D) *Tiral*, a castle on the river *Tibiscus* (or *Teisse*); which being vigorously pressed, the garrison surrendered, on the 28th of *Ramazân*, with leave to depart [i].

Eghen Pasha's *fear.*

MEAN time *Yeghen Bey* was on his march to oppose the elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded the *Imperial* army, the duke of *Lorrain* being then sick; and designed to besiege *Belgrade*: but, before he reached that city, he returned to *Sofia*, declaring it impossible for him to keep such numerous forces in obedience, unless he had the seal and the prophet's standard. However, on news of the enemy's approach, he marched back to *Belgrade*; where all the forces in those parts submitted to his command, as general of *Hungary*. After this, he seized on *Hassan Pasha*, on account of an old quarrel, and would have strangled him, but for the son of the *Hân* (or *Khân*) of *Tartary*. Then, with ten thousand men

[h] RICAUT ubi supr. [i] CANT. p. 358.

allegiance, and refusing to admit a *German* garrison, was forced to yield at discretion by *Veterani*, appointed general of that province by count *Caraffa*. *Ricaut*.

(Z) So *Rodostus*, of which he was a native, is called by the *Turks*. He was raised from a *Janizary* to the dignity of *Wazîr*: but did nothing remarkable. *Cant*.

(A) On the 19th of *May* 8000 *Turks* marched out, of whom 300 were soldiers. *Ricaut*.

(B) In storming the town 500 *Turks* were killed, and 2000, able to bear arms, made slaves out of the castle. But the women and children were set at liberty. *Ricaut*.

(C) According to *Ricaut*, the garrisons of those two cities, on the approach of *Caprara*, set fire to them, and fled to *Belgrade*.

(D) A mistake, perhaps, for *Titul*.

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joined to *Tekeli*'s troops, he reſolved to paſs the *Save*, and encamp at *Semlin* on the other ſide: but, upon information, that prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, in conjunction with *Caprara*, was marched towards *Illok*, they changed their reſolution; and ſent letters by two peaſants to the imperial generals at *Eſſek*, to intercede with the emperor for peace. But the meſſengers, appearing more like ſpies than ambaſſadors, were impriſoned; and no notice taken of what they came about: Soon after which, they ſeized *Illok*, as before-mentioned. A. D. 1688.

IN the interim, prince *Lewis* of *Baden* arriving at *Poſſega*, capital of *Sclavonia*, was perplexed how to paſs the *Save* at *Proot*, ſince its banks were guarded by two thouſand *Turks*: but *Hoffkirkin* and *Serini*, paſſing the river in barges with five hundred *Heyduks*, and three hundred dragoons, routed the enemy, and killed two hundred. Then, more troops ferrying over, they fortified the place. Three days after *Topal Paſhâ*, joined by two others, arrives with eight thouſand *Turks*, and, at midnight, attacks the *Germans*; who, tho' but thirteen hundred in all, repulſe them with vigour. In a ſecond aſſault they kill five hundred; and then, being reinforced, ſally on the *Turks*, and beat them out of their trenches, killing ſeven hundred more, and taking their baggage: after which they ſet fire to the place, and abandon it. The Turks defeated.

THE elector of *Bavaria*, being arrived at the *Save*, was informed that the *Othman* army, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand men, lay intrenched on the other ſide of that river, with a deſign to obſtruct his paſſage. *Tekeli* alſo was poſted with a ſtrong body, in order to receive them at their landing. It was therefore agreed to alarm the *Turks* that night in divers places, whilſt the generals *Serini*, *Strium*, and *Aſpremont*, ſhould endeavour to paſs at ſome diſtance off, with ſix thouſand men. This was effected without any oppoſition: but, at day-break, they were attacked by eight thouſand *Janizaries*, of whom ſix hundred were cut off. During this engagement, which laſted two hours, a bridge was thrown acroſs the river, and the whole army croſſed the ſame day. After gaining this difficult point, the *Turks* quitted their trenches, and fled; while the elector marched towards *Belgrade*, which was three days diſtant [k]. Here let us return to the *Turkiſh* authors.

THE way being opened to *Belgrade* by the taking of *Tiral (Titul)*, the elector of *Bavaria* directs his courſe thither with the army; and, having repulſed the *Turks*, who, at the iſle of *Sabats*, oppoſed his paſſage over the *Save*, proceeds to at- Belgrade beſieged.

[k] RICAUT ubi ſupr.

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A. D. 1688. tack the *Seraskier*, who had encamped round that city: but that general, not caring to wait his approach, set fire to his camp, and the lower part of the city; and retired to *Semendria*. The *Germans* arriving, lay siege to *Belgrade* on all sides; and, having demolished the walls, on the 11th of *Zio'lkaadeh* (or *August* 26th), give a general assault. After a sharp battle of six hours, the *Turks* are driven from the walls, and retreat to the castle; but with so little circumspection, that the *Germans*, mixing with them, seize the gate, where a fiercer battle than the former ensues; in which, it is said, the whole garrison, consisting of nine thousand men, were put to the sword [1].

Breaches made. It may be proper to enlarge from our own historians, upon the siege of this important fortress. On the duke of *Bavaria*'s approach, the inhabitants embarked, with all their moveables, for different places along the *Danube*; yet many were killed and taken in their flight. When they were gone, the garrison set fire to the suburbs; where the army, on their arrival, got a very considerable booty. Having furnished their trenches and other works, on the 25th of *August*, they began from three batteries to play on the castle with twenty-six pieces of cannon, besides fifteen mortars. Mean time the garrison, though but three thousand men, made several vigorous sallies, being encouraged by their commander *Ibrâhim Pasha*, with a promised relief from *Ozmân*, *Pasha* of *Hâlep*, who, with twenty-five thousand men, was then encamped at *Nissa*; while *Yeghen* (E), retired to *Sofia* with his horse, for the foot had deserted him, consumed the forage round the country. After this, two other batteries were erected; yet the garrison made stout resistance, and did great execution with their artificial fire, as well as great shot and bombs; one of which blew up a large magazine of powder.

A general assault, The duke of *Lorrain*, being recovered, came to the camp, but left the whole conduct of the siege to the duke of *Bavaria*, who, on the 6th of *September*, gave a general assault in four quarters at once. The elector himself commanded in the front; the prince *de Commercy* on the right; general *Heusler* on the left; and *Pini*, serjeant-major of the regi-

[1] Cant. p. 358, & seqq.

(E) As the *Turkish* historians may be presumed to be right in the names of their generals, *Ricaut* must have mistaken *Yeghen* for *Rejeb*, the *Seraskier*; and *Yeghen*, if at all concerned in the war in this part, seems to have been *Ozmân Pasha*, mentioned just before; for he is called by the *Turks*, *Egben Ozmân Pasha*.

ment

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ment of *Lorrain*, in the quarter near the water. The aſſailants entered the ditch with much bravery, through ſhowers of bullets; and made themſelves maſters of the breach. From the top hereof they were diſmayed with the ſight of another more difficult ditch, well palliſadoed on the further ſide, as well as with the loſs of their leader count *Schaffenberg*: alſo the counts *Emanuel* of *Fuſtinberg*, and *Henrik* of *Staremberg*; with many others who were ſlain at the beginning of the danger. In effect, the *Germans* began to give ground a little; and the advantage muſt have been loſt, had not the brave elector expoſed himſelf on the breach, and threatened death to any who offered to retire. The ſoldiers awed, and animated by the example of their general, deſcend the ſecond ditch, and mount to the palliſades with ſuch ſurprizing boldneſs, that the *Turks* fled; and, crowding into the caſtle ſeparated from the town only by a bridge, hung out a white flag: but ſome of the moſt deſperate aſſailants got-in after them, and put all to the ſword. A. D. 1688. *in four places.*

THEY entered with the like ſucceſs in the other quarters; though in that of *Commercy* one hundred dragoons were cut off; and general *Heuſler* had his thumb carried away with a muſket ball: for all this, he boldly with his ſoldiers, in ſpite of the enemy's fire, ſcaled the walls, and made himſelf maſter of an iron gate, by which they got into the town; where the *Germans* were inſatiable in their ſlaughter, putting all to the ſword without diſtinction. They had alſo ſpilt the blood of the *Pâſhâ*, the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, and other officers, retired into a ſmall trench behind the caſtle, if the elector's clemency had not interpoſed [m]. *The city taken.*

AFTER *Belgrade* was reduced, the *Turkiſh* ambaſſadors arrive in the imperial camp; and declare, that they came to ſettle a peace, as well as to notify the election of *Soltân Soleymân*: but the elector told them, he was ſent only to conquer *Servia* and *Bulgaria* (F); and that, if they had any thing to propoſe to the emperor, they muſt proceed to *Vienna*. *Succeſs in* Boſnia.

THE prince of *Baden* had no leſs ſucceſs in *Boſnia*: for, having defeated a conſiderable body of *Turks*, who oppoſed his paſſage of the river *Unna*, he purſued them ſo briſkly, that they abandoned *Gradiſka* and *Koſtaniza*. After this, on the 10th of *Zio'lkaadeh* (or *Auguſt* 15) he was met at the

[m] RICAUT ubi ſupr.

(F) According to *Ricaut*, *Zulfar*, the ambaſſador, was invited to the camp by the elector, in order to hear his propoſals; and alſo to a great feaſt made the 8th of *September*, on occaſion of his ſucceſs.

5 little

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1688. little city or *Brod* by the *Pâshâ* of that province, with the whole army, whom he routed and slew with five thousand of his men [n].

The Pashâ *defeated.*

THERE is but a very imperfect account of the affairs of *Bosnia*, as related by the Christian historians. According to them, prince *Lewis*, setting out from *Possega* (where we left him), passed the *Save*, *September* the 3d; and marched, upon a false information of the numbers of the enemy, to attack *Topal*, *Pashâ* of *Bosnia*, who was encamped with fifteen thousand men under *Tervat*, or *Terwent*, near the river *Okraina* about six miles from *Prout*. Although the prince had not above three thousand horse, and three hundred *Kroats*, yet they repulsed the enemy three times; and then coming so close, that, having time to recharge their fire-arms, they fell on with their swords. On this occasion they performed such wonders, that, forcing the horse to abandon the foot, they slew five thousand on the spot, among whom was the *Pashâ*, two *Agas*, and his *Kyehaya*, besides two hundred drowned: the rest submitted. In this surprizing action, the imperialists lost no more than one hundred and fifty men.

The Rascians *submit.*

THUS ended the campaign in *Hungary*; after which the elector of *Bavaria* was recalled to defend his own territories threatened by the king of *France*: who was incensed at the choice made of prince *Joseph Clement* of *Bavaria*, to be elector of *Cologn*, in prejudice of cardinal *Furstemberg*, whose interest he resolved to support by force of arms. The command of the imperial army by this means devolved on mareschal *Caprara*, who marched from *Belgrade*, and took possession of *Semandria*, the capital of *Servia* (G), and *Poskarowert*, a small town; both abandoned by the *Turks*. These successes induced the *Rascians* to submit to the emperor; and, having made up a body of twenty thousand men, they surprised *Waolva* and *Zolkolova*, both on the *Drina*; killed a thousand *Turks*, and routed the rest. Mean time twelve thousand of the enemy, most of them rabble, waste and plunder the country about the *Morava*: but were soon dispersed by general *Heusler*; while the inhabitants of those parts, provoked by their insolence, took up arms, and seizing on the city of *Uziga*, killed five hundred *Turks*, and made two thousand prisoners.

[n] CANT. p. 359.

(G) The *Turks* say, the elector, being informed the *Othmâns* had abandoned that capital, sent 1000 men during the siege, to take possession. But, in this case, the Christian writers may be presumed to know best.

By

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A. D. 1688.

Bosnia *subdued.*

Tekeli *retreats.*

Venetian *successes.*

Negropont *besieged.*

By this time, prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, having fortified *Prout* and *Gradiska*, marched towards *Bertzka*, the only place unsubdued in *Bosnia*; on whose approach the *Turks* abandoned the town. Prince *Lewis*, having in about nine weeks reduced that whole province, was called home to resist the *French*; and left *Picolomini* to oppose the *Pashâ* of *Bosnia*, who was raising forces in those parts.

About this time *Tekeli*, reinforced with a party of *Turks* and *Tatars*, ravaged the borders of *Walakhia* and *Transilvania*: but on the approach of four thousand *Rascians* hastily retreated; and endeavoured by letter to draw over the *Transilvanians*, telling them, they must by that time have experienced the insolence of the *Germans*; and that now was the juncture to redeem themselves and posterity from the barbarous slavery they lay under [o].

Mean time, the *Venetians* carry on the war in other parts with more variable fortune. In the *Morea*, the *Seraskier* is before them in the field; and obliges the garrison of *Athens* to abandon the city with great loss. Their army soon after march to *Egribuz* (or *Negropont*); and, passing the narrow sea which divides the island from the continent, lay close siege to the city: but are obliged, by the disagreement of their own officers, and bravery of the besieged, to retreat with loss. On which, the valiant general count *Koningsmark*, to whom the *Venetians* owe almost all the victories gained in the *Morea*, fell sick and died [p].

But neither of these assertions is fact, if we may depend on the Christian historians; who are very particular in their account of this unfortunate siege. According to them, the captain-general *Francisco Morosini*, newly elected *Doge* of *Venice*, resolving to besiege *Negropont* (H), set sail with the fleet; and the 14th of *July* landed eight thousand foot and

[o] Ricaut, ubi supr. [p] Cant. p. 359.

(H) It was antiently called *Khalcis*, and is seated on the famous *Euripus*, or *Narrow Channel*, between the isle and *Greece*, which ebbs and flows, at certain seasons, many times in twenty-four hours. The city stands at the narrowest part of the channel (which is there covered with a bridge), and is two miles round; but the suburbs much more large and populous, separated from the town by a deep ditch. The *Greeks* call it *Egripos*, a corruption of *Euripus*, as *Negropont* is of it. The inhabitants might amount in all to 15,000 people. It is the residence of the captain *Pashâ*, or *Turkish* high admiral. On a point of land towards the *Euripus* is a castle called *Karababa*, or *Black Father*.

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A. D. 1688. five hundred horſe. The city was garriſoned by ſix thouſand men; and its walls, lined with earth, well fortified on all ſides with baſtions, forts, mines, and cannon; on the right hand of the bridge the *Turks* had raiſed a battery, and pitched their tents along the ſide of the aqueducts; and, on the left hand, had formed a line of communication between the ſuburbs and a hill, which had a battery commanding the ſea, where *Moſtafa Paſhâ*, one of the governors, was poſted; the other, called *Ibrahim Paſhâ*, defended the outworks. There were beſides, divers other trenches in different forms, ſtrengthened with palliſades, and a deep ditch thirty paces long, reaching to the gate of the city, and covered with a horn-work. Below the mills, was another battery of three pieces of great cannon, which commanded the ſhore. Every work had ſome ſoldiers to defend it, eſpecially *French*, who were ſkilled in throwing bombs and other fireworks. As a farther ſtrengthening, the *Seraſkier* of the *Morea* lay ſix miles off with four thouſand men.

The Turks *defeated.* THE *Venetians* made their approaches with little obſtruction from the beſieged; and, on the 30th, began to batter the town. One of the bombs fell into the *Paſhâ*'s palace, and put things there into great confuſion; while the exceſſive heats, producing malignant fevers in the camp, killed many of the officers as well as ſoldiers, and made others retire to the fleet; among whom was the brave general *Koningſmark*, who died the 15th of *September* following.

THE *Turks*, finding the *Venetians* to be in theſe bad circumſtances, incommoded them with ſallies. On the 16th of *Auguſt*, they attacked the *Malteſe* trenches, but were repulſed; and had the fort near the mills taken from them: yet recovered it next day. This made the *Doge*, on the 20th, attack the enemies trenches, which extended three miles from the hill to the ſea, and effectually covered the ſoldiers. The marquis of *Corbon*, with his cavalry, was the firſt who broke in upon the enemy, and opened a way for the foot to come to handy-blows; where for two hours the event was doubtful; for the *Venetians* were repulſed twice or thrice in ſome places. But, at length, the enemies horſe retired in great confuſion, leaving their infantry to the mercy of the beſiegers, who purſued them to the very gates of *Negropont*, with great ſlaughter; and maſtered the ſuburbs. In this action a thouſand *Turks* were killed, and as many wounded, among whom were the *Seraſkier*'s ſon, and *Moſtafa Paſhâ*. On the *Venetian* ſide, two hundred were ſlain; and among others, the prince of *Wirtemberg* mortally wounded.

SEPTEMBER

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SEPTEMBER the 5th, five hundred *Turks*, ſallying on the quarter of the *Slavonians*, beat them out of their trenches; but they recovered them again: and a breach being made in the tower, on the ſea-ſide at the end of the ditch, engineer *Romagnat* offered with fifty men to mount the ſame, although but narrow, and void of any cover from the enemy's ſhot. The *Doge* landed to be a ſpectator of this enterprize; which on the 8th was executed, with ſo much valour, that they gained the breach: but being very narrow, as well as without cover, and the deſcent into the town very ſteep, they were forced to quit it again with the loſs of ſix or eight men. About the ſame time, count *Waldek* and colonel *Piltz*, advancing with their regiments, one to the brink of the ditch, the other to the foot of the tower, were both cut off, with ſeven captains and two hundred men. A. D. 1688. *A bold attempt.*

HOWEVER the *Venetians*, nothing diſcouraged, raiſed new batteries beyond the water; from whence they made a breach in the other tower, and battered the curtain between the two. But the ſeaſon being now far ſpent, and the ſickneſs increaſing, there ſeemed to be little hopes this year of taking the city; which was continually ſupplied from the camp with men and proviſions. For all this, the *Doge* would not give up the enterprize; and, leaving no means untried to reduce the place, ordered a traverſe to be made over the ditch which was thirty paces wide, to convey the forces under the wall. But this deſign proved more difficult than was expected, by the violent current of the water; and the labourers being greatly expoſed to the ſmall ſhot of the enemy, who now raiſed a work in the falſe bray to obſtruct the progreſs of the traverſe. However they were driven out of this work by the beſiegers, who took a ſmall bonnet by the way. Yet the *Turks* recovered it, though they ſoon loſt it again to the *Venetians*, who fortified and ſecured it by a new battery and line of communication. *A bonnet taken.*

FOR all this, the *Venetian* forces daily diminiſhed by diſeaſes and the ſword, the gallies of *Mâlta* and *Tuſcany* now left them alſo; yet, far from abandoning the ſiege, they reſolved on a general aſſault, which was deemed practicable; and, on the 12th of *October*, began it about ten in the morning, with eight thouſand men in four ſeveral places: but the beſieged poured ſuch vollies of ſmall ſhot upon the troops appointed to ſtorm the breach; that, after many officers and ſoldiers were killed, they founded a retreat, not being ſupported by thoſe who were to have aſſiſted them. No better ſucceſs attended the other attacks. In one place, they found the entrance into the town obſtructed by a very ſteep deſcent; *General aſſault.*

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A. D. 1688. in another, the town being inacceſſible without, they ſtood in the ditch up to the middle in water, expoſed to the enemy's ſhot. The attack laſted for ſeveral hours, in which they loſt above a thouſand men, and divers officers. The gallies alſo ſuffered much on this occaſion.

The ſiege raiſed. IT was now found impracticable, from the decreaſe of their troops, to make another attack. But to avoid the ſhame of quitting the ſiege, after conſuming all the ſummer before the place, it was propoſed in council, to continue there all winter: but the foreign troops declaring they would not ſtay, the ſiege was raiſed, with the loſs of many in getting away [q].

THUS ended the unfortunate ſiege of *Negropont*. On the other hand, the *Venetians* had better ſucceſs in *Dalmatia*; where *Kain* (I), of which *Steaglik* (K), the depoſed *Sofâ* of *Boſnia*, was governor, with ſeveral thouſand ſoldiers, was by them taken: beſides the caſtles of *Verlikka*, *Quonigrad*, and *Graſſach* [r]. On the 17th of *Auguſt*, *Klin* was inveſted by the procurator *Girolamo Cornaro*; and a breach being made in the outer wall, the *Venetians* became maſters of it by the 2d of *September*, the beſieged retiring within the ſecond. By the 4th, ſeveral new batteries were raiſed; and the defendant's magazine of powder was blown up by a bomb: for all this, they maintained the caſtle and lower town with great reſolution. At length, the regiments of *Corbon* and *Sebenica* being ordered to croſs a water, which was all the defence the town had on that ſide, the ſoldiers ſwam over with their ſwords in their mouths, while the *Turks* retired from their intrenchment into the caſtle. The beſiegers, thus left in poſſeſſion of it, preſently cut-off the pipes, and deſtroyed the aqueducts which conveyed water to the caſtle. Hereupon the *Paſhâ*, on the 12th of *September*, ſurrendered at mercy.

Klin *taken.*

Narim *deſerted.* AFTER this general *Cornaro* having a deſign upon *Narento*, an antient port where formerly commodities arrived from *Thrace*, *Servia*, *Boſnia*, and other parts, ſailed with his forces to the town of *Narim*, built three years before at the mouth of the harbour. There landing ſome troops, and battering the place from a galley, the garriſon fled; moſt of whom were killed, and the reſt taken by the *Morlâks*; who afterwards ravaged the country, and returned with great plunder [s].

[q] RICAUT, ubi ſupr. [r] CANT. ubi ſupr. [s] RICAUT, ubi ſupr.

(I) Doubtleſs a miſtake for *Klin*; the *Alif* being very like the *Lam* in the *Arabik* characters.

(K) *Ricaut* calls him *Atlagick*.

IN

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A. D. 1688.

IN the interim, the *Turkiſh* ambaſſadors were come to *Vienna*, and being introduced to the emperor *Leopold*, in the name of the *Soltân*, preſented the letters *Julus Nameh* (L), informing him of *Soleymân*'s election; but made no mention of peace, in hopes the *Germans* would firſt propoſe it, and ſo render the negotiation more eaſy. When they find themſelves baulked in their expectation, they offer to his imperial majeſty his choice of a ſhort truce or a peace: that, in caſe he deſired the former, all *Hungary* ſhould continue in his hands; *Tranſilvania* be tributary to both empires; *Kameniek* diſmantled be reſtored to the *Poles*, and *Belgrade* to the *Turks*: but if a peace was more agreeable, ſome part of *Hungary* with *Belgrade* ſhould be reſtored to the *Othmân* empire.

Turkiſh *propoſals.*

LEOPOLD, having conſulted with the ambaſſadors of the other confederate powers, returns this anſwer: That although, from the preſent ſtate of things, he had great hopes, not only of recovering the reſt of *Hungary*, but alſo of ſubduing the whole *Turkiſh* empire, yet he was ready to agree to a peace, provided the kingdom of *Hungary*, with the provinces belonging thereto, *Sclavonia*, *Kroatia*, *Boſnia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Tranſilvania*, ſhould be reſigned to him; *Moldavia* and *Walakhia* remain free; the exerciſe of the *Romiſh* religion permitted throughout the *Turkiſh* empire; the *Franciſcan* friars put in poſſeſſion of the holy ſepulcre at *Jeruſalem*; and *Tekeli* delivered up to him. The *Poles* demanded, that the antient boundaries of their kingdom ſhould be reſtored; and all *Krîm Tartary*, *Moldavia*, *Walakhia*, and the whole country extending on both ſides of the *Boryſthenes* as far as the *Danube*, reſigned to them. And to ſhew themſelves greater friends to religion than the other confederates, they inſiſted, that all the Chriſtians, who lived under the *Othmân* government, ſhould be freed from tribute. Laſtly, the *Venetians* beſides the *Morea*, the ſeveral iſles and cities elſewhere already in their poſſeſſion, demand the ſea-coaſt of *Negropont* from *Korcyra* to *Korinth*; and part of *Dalmatia*, with the demolition of the havens of *Dulcigno* and *Antivari*.

Demands of the confederate princes

THE ambaſſadors immediately inform *Soleymân* of the anſwer they had received; and, undoubtedly, the peace would have been ſettled, had not the moſt Chriſtian king, jealous

obſtructed by France.

(L) or more properly *Namei Juluſi Humayûn*, that is, *The letters of the moſt ſublime new dominion*: ſo are ſtiled the *Soltân*'s letters which he ſends to all *Paſhâs*, and to the neighbouring princes, with whom he is at peace, to notify his acceſſion to the throne. *Cant.*

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A. D. 1688. of the great advantages which the Christians had gained against the *Othmân* empire, proclaimed war, without any just cause, against *Leopold*; advising the *Soltân*, by his ambassador *Chateauneuf*, not to make peace with the emperor (M), since he would the next year penetrate into the heart of *Germany*; and had actually four hundred thousand men ready for that expedition. He adds, that if the event should answer his wishes, he would reserve to himself all *Germany*, with *Vienna* its capital; but restore *Hungary* to the *Soltân*. These encouraging promises reviving the spirits of the *Turks*, *Soleymân* neglects his ambassadors (N), whom he sent to sue for peace, and thinks of nothing but war.

Rebellion suppressed.

He first applies himself to settle affairs at home; and as soon as the *Germans* were retired to winter-quarters, sends the greater part of his forces against *Eghen Ozmân Pashâ*, and *Gyeduk Pashâ*, who had almost the whole year disturbed the *Othmân* empire: which was freed from this danger by their taking the two rebels prisoners. [t].

Eghen slain.

According to *Ricaut*, *Yeghen Pashâ*, after his flight from *Belgrade*, quarreled with *Noraddîn Gâlgu*, son of the *Khân* of *Tartary*; who thereupon calling him coward, and saying he was fitter to command thieves than soldiers, *Yeghen* ordered him to be strangled before several *Tatar* lords. On complaint of this outrage at the *Othmân* court, the *Wazîr* endeavoured to palliate the matter in favour of *Yeghen*; who, when he was *Janizar Aga*, had saved his life in a mutiny. But the *Khân* himself arriving at *Adrianople*, to consult about the operations of the ensuing campaign, so warmly urged the affair, that *Yeghen* was by the divân sentenced to be put to death. On this news, he flew into open rebellion, wrote to his old master *Yedîk* to do the like in *Asia*, and plundered the country. But the *Pashâ* of *Sofia* being ordered to take him dead or alive, he fled into *Albania* to his old friend *Mahmûd Bey Ogli*; who, having been before gained by the *Porte*, cut off his head, and sent it to the *Soltân*.

[t] Cant. p. 359. See also Ricaut.

(M) Likewise, by transmitting vast sums into *Poland*, he so far corrupted the avaritious king that, though he did not quit the alliance, yet he usually took care to come no sooner into the field than it was time to leave it. *Ricaut.*

(N) *Ricaut* says, that the ambassadors having proposed to *Leopold* the quiet possession of all he had conquered, the emperor, by what fatality our author knew not, not only rejected this, but, contrary to the custom of nations, imprisoned them in the castle of *Puffendorf*, near *Vienna*, for some years,

Mean

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MEAN time the followers of *Yedîk* (or *Gyedûk*) increasing in *Asia*, the ministry to pacify them, promised to employ them in the *Hungarian* war, and make *Yeghen* their general. But as soon as news was brought of that rebel's death, the mind of the *Porte* altered; and orders were sent to the *Kaymaykâm*, not only to prevent the *Asiatics* from passing into *Europe*, but also to destroy them in their own country. Accordingly he attacked, and defeated a large party of them near *Skutari*. Yet this did not discourage *Yedik*, who, with six thousand men, marched towards *Prusa*; and, having defeated the *Pashâ* of that place, with the *Nefirân*, or militia, caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Anatolia*. After this, he laid siege to *Angora* (*Enguri*, or *Ancyra*) which was forced to redeem itself by the payment of eighty purses, each containing five hundred dollars.

A. D. 1688. Gyedûk's *success.*

HEREUPON the *Turkish* court returned to their old method of fair promises, assuring *Yedik* and his accomplices both of pardon and reward, in case they would return to their duty. But this had no effect; for under pretence of zeal for religion, which they alledged was corrupted by the then governors, they summoned all the inhabitants of *Anatolia* to defend the same. At length, the *Beglerbeg* of that province being honoured with the title of *Teftish*, or inquisitor, first exposed to the people the perfidious designs of *Yedik* against the faith; and then, with six thousand choice men, attacked his camp with such success, that he gained a complete victory. Most of the commanders were either slain (among whom was *Yedik*), or taken; and the men who survived the battle, suffered to return to their respective homes. In the mean time, *Rejeb Pashâ* was made *Seraskier*, in the room of *Yeghen*; whose nephew, with forty of his followers, and the governor of *Widdin* put in by *Yeghen*, being taken, were put to death [u].

He is killed.

THE domestic enemies being suppressed, the *Soltân* is more at liberty to prepare against the foreign. And first, in order to secure the southern provinces against the *Venetian* arms, he sets free *Liberius Gheralkhari* (O), who had been confined

Affairs of the Morea.

[u] RICAUT, ubi supr.

(O) Better known to *Europeans* by the name of *Liberaki*, which is a corruption of *Liberius*, according to the manner of the *Greeks*. He was a native of *Mania*, the antient *Lakonia*. He in his youth served in the *Venetian* fleet; then turned pilot for several years: but at length taken by the *Turks*, was sent to the gallies; from whence he was set free, for advice mentioned in the text; and honoured with a *Sanjâk*, but no *Tûg*, under the title of *Mania Beghi*.—*Cant.*

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A. D. 1688. in the gallies; and appoints him prince of *Mania*, or the *Maynottæ*. He was induced to this, partly by the success of his arms in *Moldavia*, which convinced him that a Christian governor could much more easily keep his Christian subjects in obedience, than a *Turkish*; and partly, by the assurances of *Liberius*, that all the people of *Morea* were alienated from the *Venetians*, for endeavouring to force on them the *Romish* religion; and that therefore, they would soon submit again to the *Othmân* dominion, in case a prince of the *Greek* church was made governor of that province (O).

Seghedwar *taken.* THE affairs being settled, *Soleymân*, to terrify the enemy, and animate his own soldiers, declares, that he will command the army in person against the *Germans*; and having raised as many troops as he could, marches towards *Servia*, as if he intended to besiege *Belgrade*: but being informed at *Sofia*, that *Seghedwar* (or *Sigeth*), famous for the martyrdom of *Soleymân* I. had been forced by famine to surrender (P); and that the imperial army, which, he imagined, had been wholly employed against the *French*, was marching from *Belgrade* against him with great expedition; he, in a fright, stops at *Sofia*, and leaves the army to the conduct of the *Seraskier Rejeb Pasha*, with orders not rashly to hazard a battle, but only prevent the progress of the enemy. The *Seraskier* being come to the river *Morava*, in sight of the *Germans*, and deceived by his astrologer (Q), who, from his observation of the stars, promised him certain victory, bravely attacks them; but is obliged to retire, with great loss, to *Nissa*. Yet his eyes were so far from being open at this misfortune, that having recruited his forces, he engages them a second time, depending on the predictions of the same astrologer: however being quickly defeated, and almost his whole

Hej. 1100. A. D. 1688.

The Seraskier *routed.*

(O) The truth of this we shall find verified in the beginning of the 18th century.

(P) After it had been blocked up for two years, and the articles signed on the 28th of *January* 168$\frac{8}{9}$ by the emperor. But *Kanisa* and *Great Waradin*, though brought to the like extremity, held out still. *Ricaut.*

(Q) Although the *Turks* are forbidden sorcery, and all kinds of divination; for the *Korân* expressly declares, *Kiulli Munejimûn Kiezzabûn*, that is, *All astrologers are liars*; yet they easily give credit to their predictions, fancying that the heavenly bodies are the instruments by which providence performs every thing; and which by their figures express what ought to be done. Likewise, that on the foreheads of all men are written, in their mother's womb, whatever is to befall them, according to the harmony of the stars. The *Wazir*'s courts are full of such prophets, but they never dare foretell unhappy events.—*Cant.*

army

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army deſtroyed, he eſcapes with a few followers, perceiving, too late, the vanity of his ſuperſtition. After this, the *Germans* over-run at once all *Servia*, take *Widdin*, *Niſſa*, *Shehirkioi*, and burn *Siopia*, a city of *Bulgaria* [w]. A. D. 1688.

A great battle.

As the merit of a victory depends much on the knowlege of the ſtrength of both armies, an hiſtorian cannot ſhew greater partiality, or want of ſkill, than in omitting to mention what number of men each conſiſted of. According to the foregoing account of the *Seraſkier*'s defeat, the reader will be apt to conclude, that the *Turks* were much inferior to the imperialiſts in force; whereas, if the Chriſtian writers may be credited, they had twice or thrice the advantage in numbers. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, having reinforced *Belgrade* with two thouſand foot, and fortified *Semendria*, marched with his army, and encamped near *Morava*: but on news of the *Turks* retreat, on the 2d of *Auguſt*, he purſued them towards *Niſſa* with the reſt of his army, which conſiſted only of eighteen thouſand men; whereas the *Turks* amounted to forty thouſand, beſides undiſciplined troops. They had not marched far, before their out-guards were attacked by a body of *Tatars*; two of whom being taken, informed them, that a great body of *Turks* and *Tatars* under *Soltân Galga*, the *Khân*'s ſon, deſigned to attack them on one ſide near *Paſſarovitz*, while the *Seraſkier* incloſed them on the other ſide, with an army of fifty thouſand men, in order to cut-off their proviſions. The prince thereupon reſolved to diſlodge the *Seraſkier*, who was encamped within two hours march, and, on the 29th of *Auguſt*, advanced briſkly againſt him. On this unexpected motion the *Turks* retreated for three hours; when coming to a paſs, they ſtood their ground, but were ſoon routed, and diſperſed in the woods, with the loſs of four hundred horſe and twelve ſtandards. Many were killed afterwards by the huſſars who hunted them; and the roads ſtrewed with arms and cloaths, which to eſcape the better, they threw away.

The Turks *routed.*

The Tatars *purſued.*

ENCOURAGED with this ſucceſs, owing chiefly to the conduct of the generals *Veterani* and *Picolomini*, the prince repaſſed the *Morava*; in order to attack *Soltân Galga* encamped with his *Tatars* beyond that river, before he could join with the *Turkiſh* cavalry lately defeated. As the road lay by a very narrow paſſage through a thick wood, half an hour's march in length, which opened into a ſmall plain; five hundred men were ſent under count *Solaro* to ſecure that paſſage. In this deſign they were oppoſed by three thouſand *Janizaries*, and a good body of horſe. But general *Heiſler* coming to

[w] CANT. p. 360, & ſeqq.

their

A. D. 1688. their assistance, so advantageously posted himself within the woods and thick bushes, that he maintained the pass till next morning; when prince *Lewis* advanced with his main force in a great fog, and posted himself before the wood. On the right hand, he was sheltered by thickets, and bushy grounds almost impassable; and his left wing extended to the bank of the *Morava*.

Join the Turks.

BUT before the cavalry could arrive, the fog dissipated, and unexpectedly discovered the whole *Turkish* army drawn up in order of battle, just fronting the imperial infantry; which the *Turks* instantly attacked with such unusual violence, that prince *Lewis* had scarce time to range his second line in a posture of defence. However the imperialists stood the shock from their great and small shot, with much firmness; then playing their parts, the fight grew very hot for two hours together within pistol-shot; when the music of the cavalry, which now came up, sounding without the forest, the enemy was struck with such fear, that they retreated into the neighbouring wood, and thence into a plain behind it, where they entrenched themselves. Here being followed by the imperialists, the cannon was played hotly on both sides for an hour and half; after which, the *Turks* retired to another trench encompassed with a ditch of water, and accessible only in one place.

Both armies routed.

HEREUPON count *Palfi* was ordered with his regiment, to enter the wood, and sound all his warlike instruments, in order to make the enemy believe some great body was advancing to fall on their rear, while count *Picolomini* with the van attacked them in front. This he did with such resolution, in spite of their cannon, that they presently quitted that post also, and retreated in disorder through the woods, followed by the imperialists; who would have made a dreadful slaughter had not the ways been narrow, and unknown to them: however they pursued them to their camp at *Patasschin*, which they abandoned, leaving behind all their artillery (R), ammunition, provision, and baggage. In their way to *Jagodina* on the *Morava*, whither they fled in great disorder, numbers of them were cut-off by the *Hungarians* and *Rascians*; who brought also to the camp many prisoners, and thirty-six pieces of cannon of the largest size [x].

Battle of Nissa.

THE prince, after he had refreshed his forces, began his march to *Nissa*, twenty leagues distant, through woods and

[x] RICAUT, ubi supr.

(R) 105 brass cannon, and three mortars.

mountains

mountains. The *Turks* had ſtill moſt of their army intire, and were beſides reinforced with twenty thouſand men; yet on his approach, the *Seraſkier* quitted that city, and encamped near it by the ſide of the *Niſſava*. The prince pitched his tents within a league of *Niſſa*, near a little river which falls into the *Niſſava*; and on the 24th of *September*, about five in the evening, poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſides of the hill over the enemy's camp, in ſpite of all their oppoſition. This done, leſt the *Turks* ſhould fortify their camp in the night, he reſolves to attack them off-hand; extending his right wing towards the foot of the hill, and his left along the plain to the banks of the *Niſſava*. The *Seraſkier* hereupon cauſed the greater part of his cavalry, drawn-up on the declivity of the hill, to charge the infantry of the left wing: but ſeeing them advance with their cannon in front, they wheeled about towards the right wing; and attacked them at the foot of the hill on the flank, which could not be ſecured. A. D. 1688.

THIS produced ſome confuſion among the *Huſſars*: but being timely ſupported by other troops, the *Turkiſh* horſe muſt have been routed, had not ſome of their own troops fired on them, and forced them to ſtand their ground. However the main body under *Heiſter*, being ordered to attack the enemy on the hill, after a long conflict gained the top; whither the duke of *Croy*, who commanded towards the river, ſoon after arriving, the *Turks* were quickly driven from thence with great ſlaughter. Notwithſtanding this, the enemy's horſe rallying again in the plains, made another vigorous aſſault on the left wing, but were repulſed; when the *Janizaries*, who were making new trenches, fired on them, and forced them to ſtand another charge, which they did with great firmneſs againſt the *Huſſars*. However theſe, being ſuccoured by the Regiment of *Caprara*, at laſt forced them intirely to quit the field, and furiouſly purſued them to their very camp. Mean time another party of horſe attacked their main body: but count *Staremberg* coming to their aſſiſtance, the enemy was put to a diſorderly flight, and purſued till night parted them. *The Turks overthrown.*

IN this action ten thouſand *Turks* were killed, and not above three hundred *Germans*; which was the more ſurpriſing, as the former were reckoned to amount to eighty thouſand, the latter to ſcarce fifteen thouſand men. The booty too was very great, conſiſting of thirty pieces of cannon, many thouſands of tents, and divers ſtandards, beſides ſtore of proviſion.

AFTER

A. D. 1688.

Tekeli *defeated.*

Widdin *taken.*

AFTER this second victory, prince *Lewis* ordered *Nissa* to be strongly fortified, and sent out a party; who, having advanced as far as *Dragoman* within four hours of *Sofia*, brought word that the *Turks* had deserted the fortress of *Mostâfa Pashâ Palanka*, and other castles in that abandoned country. The news of this great defeat was carried to court by *Mostafa Aga*, who had been sent thither with letters by *Julfigar*, the *Turkish* ambassador at *Vienna*, and detained for some months by prince *Lewis*. Mean time that general being informed, that *Orsowa* and *Fetislau* were burnt, and *Tekeli*, with some *Turkish* troops, was encamped near *Widdin*, where he had a stately house, he resolved to return that way to the *Danube*, and defeat him. Accordingly, setting out *October* 4th with but a few forces, on the 14th came unexpectedly on the enemy; who, hastily getting in order of battle to the number of twelve thousand men, maintained a doubtful fight for some time with unusual bravery, but, at length, were routed, leaving one thousand slain with a great quantity of ammunition and provision, behind them. The castle, refusing to surrender, was so battered, that, on the 19th, the besieged, to the number of two thousand five hundred fifty-nine, capitulated to be convoyed to *Nikopolis*, whither *Tekeli* had fled before the battle; and there, with tears in his eyes, came out to meet them. The taking of *Widdin* was the more important, as it secured all the country gained by the two last victories; and cut off relief from *Temeswar*, and other *Turkish* garrisons in *Hungary*.

SECT. II.

Administration of Ahmed Kyoprili, *with the Recovery of* Belgrade, *and other Conquests.*

The treaty renewed.

UPON the news of these misfortunes, *Soleymân* hastens from *Sofia* to *Adrianople*, and returns an answer, till then deferred, to his ambassadors at the *German* court; ordering them to insist only on the restoration of *Belgrade*, without mentioning the other provinces of *Hungary*. But *Maurocordatus* finding such things could not be proposed, conceals his orders; and pretends the *Soltân* would not give up any-thing, excepting what he had before-mentioned. Yet afterwards being reminded by his colleague, that both their lives would be in danger, if they should be found to neglect the *Soltân*'s commands, he communicates the real state of the affair to the emperor; and receives such an answer as he expected: for although *Leopold*, who was unable to

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to carry on the war with ſucceſs againſt two enemies, would gladly have made a truce upon terms, yet he was obliged to put off the affair to another time; becauſe the *Turkiſh* ambaſſadors had not full power to make a peace; and he thought it diſhonourable, after ſo many victories, to ſend any of his own to the *Porte*, as it were to ſue for peace. A. D. 1688.

THUS great advantages were loſt which were never to be procured again, only to preſerve a trifling punctilio. *Soltân Soleymân*, before he left *Sofia*, with conſent of his council, had agreed to almoſt all the demands of the confederates; and cauſed inſtructions to be drawn up for his ambaſſador, to the following purpoſe: "that he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to procure a peace, and give no ear to the *French* promiſes; that he ſhould labour to perſuade the emperor to reſtore *Belgrade*, and make it the limit of both dominions; that, in caſe of any ſcruple, he ſhould firſt offer *Kaniſia*, then *Giula*, *Temeſwar*, or elſe *Great Waradin*, inſtead of it; that, to content the *Poles*, he ſhould propoſe to demoliſh *Kaminiek*; and, if that would not do, to ſurrender it. Laſtly, as to the *Venetians*, that they ſhould keep what they had taken, and no mention be made of *Negropont*. Theſe inſtructions were carried back by *Moſtafa Agâ*, who brought the letters from the ambaſſador [y]." *but put off.*

MEAN time the two armies in *Poland* do nothing but ſhew themſelves to each other, being divided by the river *Tyras*, or *Neiſter*. But the *Czars* of *Ruſſia*, raiſing, it is ſaid, four hundred thouſand men, ſend them, with fourteen hundred cannon, under the conduct of *Baſilius Galliczin*, againſt the *Tatars*. Yet theſe vaſt preparations were rendered uſeleſs by the *Czar*'s own regiment, which revolted while the *Ruſſians* were beſieging the city *Or*, commonly called *Prækop* (S); and, by drawing into their party many of the moſt conſiderable officers, the army is forced to return home without ſucceſs. In their retreat, they are attacked by the *Tatars*; and, thro' the perfidiouſneſs of their inteſtine enemies, ſuffer a great loſs in the rear. At their return, *Peter Alexiowitz*, who then reigned alone, making a ſtrict enquiry into the ſedition, ſhuts up his ſiſter, who had been the chief cauſe of the rebellion, in a monaſtery; baniſhes *Galliczin*, as privy to the conſpiracy, to *Archangel*, and confiſcates his eſtate; kills, like wild beaſts, twelve thouſand *Streltzi's* (T), publickly in the Ruſſians *beſiege* Or. *Obliged to retreat.*

[y] RICAUT, ubi ſupr.

(S) It ſtands on the iſthmus, which gives entrance to the peninſula of *Krîm*, called from thence, by ſome, *Precopenſian Tartary*.

(T) Or *Sterlits*.

market

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A. D. 1688. market places and ſtreets; and, having aboliſhed this military order, forms a regular militia after the manner of other Chriſtian princes.

In the *Morea* this year, the *Venetians* beſiege *Monembaſſia* (or *Malvaſia*), and cut-off all proviſions; while *Liberaki*, lately made prince of that country, attempts to relieve the city, but is repulſed with loſs [z].

Affairs of Albania. This war in the *Morea* requires a more particular account from the Chriſtian hiſtorians: but, before we proceed to it, it will be proper to ſpeak of what paſſed in *Albania*. Count *Picolomini*, who commanded in thoſe parts, ſent word in *October* to prince *Lewis*, that all the *Albanians* having ſubmitted to him, he intended ſoon to ſubdue the country from *Skutari* to *Novibazâr*, but wanted forces; hereupon the prince ſent him three regiments under the prince of *Hanover*. With this reinforcement, he marched from *Procopia* to *Priſtina* and *Klina* (or *Klin*), where ſix thouſand *Arnauds* (or *Albanians*) met him with thirteen hundred carts of proviſions. After this, he arrived at *Kazianek*, a little city with a caſtle; from whence he marched to *Scopia* (or *Uſkopia*), whoſe *Greek* and *Turkiſh* inhabitants had abandoned it, and fled to *Mahmûd Paſhâ* encamped in a valley with ten thouſand men. But theſe were ſo terrified at the bare ſhouts of the *Germans*, and noiſe of their cannon, which they fired for joy, that they fled alſo in great confuſion into the woods, where many were killed by the *Huſſars*; and two thouſand carts recovered which had been preſſed in the country to carry-off the inhabitants into ſlavery.

Places reduced. *PICOLOMINI*, marching forward, burnt the antient ſeat of *Ladiſlaus Cziocchi*, and then returned to *Kazianek*, where his diſtemper, ſuppoſed by ſome to be the plague, greatly increaſed. From thence he removed to *Panni*, where he heard that the governor of *Pyroth*, having invaded the enemy's country, and defeated a party of fifteen hundred *Turks* encamped near *Dragoman* before-mentioned, ſome hours from *Sofia* (T), was afterwards defeated by ſeveral larger bodies who came againſt him. After much fatigue, he arrived at the city of *Proſſerin*, where he was met by the archbiſhop of *Albania*, and patriarch of *Klementa*, with eight thouſand *Arnauds*, both *Greeks* and *Turks*, who came to ſubmit themſelves. Soon after this, the brave count departed

[z] Cant. p. 363.

(T) Said here to be 6 or 7 hours, but only 4 in the former place.

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this life to the unfpeakable grief of the whole army, the command of which devolved on *Veterani*. A. D. 1688.

LET us now come to the affairs of the *Morea*. After the *Venetians* had withdrawn the laſt year from before *Negroponſt*, the *Doge*, *Moroſini*, who had ſtill an eye upon it, wintered with the fleet at *Napoli di Romania*, and ordered the channel on both ſides to be well guarded. For all this, the captain *Paſhâ* broke through with ſeveral gallies, and landed five hundred men, with proper inſtruments to repair the breaches, which was accordingly done. Mean time, *Moroſini*, wanting forces to renew the ſiege of that place, reſolved to attack *Napoli di Malvaſia*, whither he ſent ten gallies and twelve galliots to aſſiſt the *Maniots* in building two forts near the town bridge, in order to block up the place. At the ſame time *Liberakhi*, or *Liberio*, *Bey* of the *Morea*, lay encamped at *Xeromerto*, or *Miſſelonghi*, near *Lepanto*, with one hundred *Turks*, one hundred and fifty *Sclavonians*, and ſome *Venetians*, who daily deſerted to join the enſigns *Boſſina* and *Vito*, gained over by him two years before. To put a ſtop to this deſertion, ten chekins a head were offered to ſuch as brought any to the camp; which had the deſired effect. Venetians attempt

THEIR next attempt was to deſtroy *Liberakhi*, either by alluring him to their camp, or rendering him ſuſpected by the *Turks*. To this end they ſent one *Dambi*, formerly an intimate of his, to *Urakori*, near *Lepanto*, where, having delivered his commiſſion, *Liberakhi* told him, he ſhould readily have complied with the requeſt of the *Doge*, who was his godfather, but was too deeply engaged with the *Turks* to deſert them: for that he had not only married the late prince of *Moldavia*'s widow, with an eſtate of twenty thouſand crowns, by favour of the *Wâzîr*, but his wife, children, and two friends, were in pledge for his fidelity. However he gave *Dambi* ſeveral lights into the ſtate of affairs; promiſed further information to the *Doge*, and ſent him back in oppoſition to *Ali Bey*, who would have carried him to the *Seraſkier*, then lying at *Zeytûn* with four thouſand men. againſt Liberakhi.

ON *Dambi*'s return, the *Doge* ſet ſail for *Malvaſia*, and laid ſiege to the place both by ſea and land. The garriſon conſiſted of no more than ſeven hundred ſoldiers, which, with the inhabitants, made about two thouſand ſouls. The ſtreets were narrow, but the houſes ſtrongly built; and the upper rooms filled with earth to cover them from the bombs. Mean time, in *June*, the villages about *Salóna*, which is near *Zeytûn*, refuſing to pay the *Kharach*, or poll-money, demanded by *Liberakhi*, he marched againſt them: but, after a Beſiege Malvaſia.

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A. D. 1688. bloody fight was defeated by the country people, under the conduct of *Kharopoliti*. Soon after it was resolved to leave some thousand men at the pass of *Korinth* under *Dambi*, to prevent the *Seraskier* from entering into the *Morea*; while to block up *Malvasia* some regiments were ordered to raise certain redoubts on the side towards the gardens, and a squadron of gallies posted there to assist the forces on shore.

but are repulsed; THE *Doge*, in the mean time, removed from the forts of *St. Nicholas*, which was the old *Malvasia*, to the new forts built at the bridge, whence they played with four fifty pounders on the town; which was not idle neither with its cannon. But on a sudden, a furious storm arose, which favoured the *Turks*: for it filled their cisterns with water, while it shattered the fleet, and overthrew the tents of the Christians on land. The hurricane being over, and the batteries raised, they plied the town incessantly both by sea and land, with their cannon and bombs, by which they hoped to reduce it; for, when they had made wide breaches, they had neither men nor other preparations to storm them. They failed also to burn the galliots and other vessels, which the *Turks* had drawn close under the walls, for want of four ships which stayed behind. At the same time, the officers and soldiers on shore approaching the town nearer than was safe or necessary to view the action, several were slain with musket-shot, and among the rest admiral *Venier*, the best sea officer belonging to the republick; while the besieged, from the concourse, apprehending an assault to be intended, sallied, and put them to flight with some slaughter.

block it up. AFTER this the *Doge*, despairing of taking the place by force, caused it to be blocked up; and, having battered down the suburbs from his ships, sailed away, intending to spend the remainder of the summer cruising in the *Archipelago*. But, being seized with a violent fever, and a report flying that the captain *Pasha* was at sea with a strong fleet, it was thought proper to return to *Venice*, whither they directed their course the 15th of *September*. While the *Doge* performed quarantine at *Spalato*, news came in the beginning of *November*, that the proveditor-general *Molino* had succeeded in his design against *Trebigno*, having possessed himself in that country of ten towers, seven of which he had demolished, and garrisoned the other three, to check the incursions of the *Turks*[a]: to whose historians we shall now return.

Kyoprioli *made* Wazîr. ABOUT the end of this campaign *Soltân Soleymân*, labouring under a dropsy, by advice of his physicians, removes

[a] RICAUT, ubi supra.

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from *Adrianople* to his other capital, where he puts to death *Rejeb Pashâ*, *Seraskier* of *Hungary*, for fighting with the *Germans* contrary to his orders. He likewise baniſhes the *Wazîr*, *Teſekiar Daghi Moſtâfa Pashâ*, to *Malgara*, a little town near *Rodoſtus*, as a man unqualified either for war or the adminiſtration of affairs; and advances in his room *Kioperli Moſtâfa Pashâ*, *Kaymaykam* of *Conſtantinople*. The new *Wazîr* immediately ſends for the *Mufti* and *Kadio'laſkers*, with the reſt of the *Ulema*, and generals of the army, who, being met, he orders the interpreters of the law to give their opinion, whether it was proper to deſire peace of the *Germans*, or recover by force what the confederates had unjuſtly ſeized? The *Mufti* firſt declares, that it was not contrary to the divine law to deſire peace, even of Infidels, in times of neceſſity. The ſame opinion is embraced by the *Rumeli Kadio'laſker*: but the *Anadol Kadio'laſker* (A), either by the *Wazîr's* inſtigation, or becauſe he ſaw his provinces out of danger, maintains it to be more eligible, that all the *Muſulmans* ſhould periſh by the ſword, than to make *Eynallak* with the *Gyawrs*; ſince thereby the honour of the prophet and the *Korân* would be wounded. A. D. 1688.

THE *Wazîr Kyoperli*, who approved of this ſpeech, thereupon ſaid, "That, as often as he had conſidered the conduct of the miniſtry for ſeven years paſt, againſt the emperor of *Germany*, he could not ſufficiently wonder at the imprudence of the *Othmân* generals, the blindneſs of the counſellors, and the fearful or perverſe minds of the interpreters of the law: that the two firſt minded nothing but to raiſe large armies, and fill the treaſury by any means; while the *Ulema*, content with their ſtipends, and preferring eaſe to labour, never concerned themſelves whether the *Othmân* ſtate was well adminiſtered, or thought of reforming the vices of the people, which was the ſource of all the preſent calamities; but immediately approved of the propoſals of peace, and almoſt forced it on the *Muſulmans*. That when God, ſtill more provoked by this infidelity, debarred them of peace upon honourable terms, they returned to their old practice, and caſt the blame due to the ſubjects upon the emperor: that, having obtained their ends, they foretold the ſoldiers, at their departure, out of the law, that the *Gyawrs* would be driven from the *Othmân* borders: that yet this did not happen, and it was no wonder God did not aſſiſt the *Muſulmân* forces, ſince good works, purity in the ſoldiers, and juſtice in the rulers, *ſpeech in council*; *cenſures former miniſters*,

(A) That is the *Kadio'laſkers*, of *Europe*, and *Anatolia*, or *Aſia* or military lord chief juſtices *Minor*.

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A. D. 1688. " rulers, thoſe neceſſary conditions on which the prophet " *Mohammed* promiſed them ſucceſs, had all along been " wanting: that for his part, to demonſtrate the truth of " what he ſpoke, he deſired only twelve thouſand true fol- " lowers of the *Korân*, men pure in heart and mind; with " whom he truſted, by God's aſſiſtance, to humble the num- " berleſs forces of the *Gyawrs*, in ſuch a manner as to oblige " them to reſtore all they had taken from the *Othmân* empire."

and peace adviſers.

To this ſpeech the *Mufti* replies, that, although the *Wazîr* had traced out the true cauſes of the corruptions, and the misfortunes conſequent thereupon, yet they could hardly be corrected by the method he propoſed; ſince the army wanted ſpirit, and the treaſury money, the ſinews of war. He added, that all people were in hopes of an approaching peace, raiſed by the letters lately ſent by the ambaſſadors at *Vienna*. Upon this, the *Wazîr* aſks who were the ambaſſadors, and what peace they were ſent to make? The *Mufti* having informed him of the whole ſtate of that affair, he is fired with indignation; and, in a long ſpeech, ſhews, how much the authors of that embaſſy (of whom he deemed his predeceſſor to be the principal) had acted againſt the good of the empire. At laſt, raiſing his voice aloud, he cries out, " I account the ambaſſadors, with thoſe who ſent them, to " be *Gyawrs*; and, as ſuch, do I think they will be treated " in the divine judgment: for no true *Muſulmân*, verſed in " the precepts of the *Korân*, could have involved the *Soltân*, " a prince of great mildneſs and ſimplicity, in ſo heinous " and execrable a crime."

War reſolved on.

THIS ſtrong diſpoſition in the *Wazîr* to war is greatly encouraged by the *French* ambaſſador, who poſſeſſes the whole court with ſuch a confidence in the arms of *France*, that a *Galibeh Diwân* (U) being called, it is unanimouſly reſolved to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. However, that

(U) So is called the *Soltân*'s *Diwân*, held every *Sunday* and *Tueſday*, under a *Kubbeh* in the large hall of the outer court, named *Babi Humayûn*, or *the ſublime Porte*. The prime *Wazîr* preſides in it, and has, on his right hand, the *Rumeli Kadi'leſker*; on his left, the *Anadol Kadi'leſker*, with the *Mufti* (if ſummoned), and the reſt of the *Kubbeh Wazîrs*; and lower, the *Teſterdâr*. The *Reis Effendi*, and other chiefs of the *Kalemij*, ſtand by: but the military officers, as the *Agâ* of the *Janizaries*, *Spahilar Agaſi*, *Silhadar Agaſi*, and the reſt, ſit without the *Diwân* at the gate of *Babi Humayûn*. The *Soltân* hears out of a window over the prime *Wazir*'s head, all that is done. The *Wazîr* is dreſſed in white ſilk, with a triangular turbân; the other great officers of the *Diwân*, in brown garments.—*Cant.*

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the treaty, begun at *Vienna*, might not seem to be broken off without some reason, the *Wazîr* writes to acquaint the emperor's council; "that he had heard some persons were arrived at *Vienna* under the title of ambassadors from the *Porte*, and had proposed terms of peace in the *Soltân*'s name: but that they were impostors, and had either forged the letters, which they pretended to have received from that prince, or procured them from the former *Wazîr*, without the *Soltân*'s knowledge [b]." A. D. 1688.

MATTERS being thus settled, he prepares for an early campaign, by applying his whole care to the raising an army, and providing warlike stores. But, finding what the *Mufti* had said to be true, that the *Othmâns* were seized with such terror, there were but little hopes of raising forces capable of opposing the *Germans*: that the treasury was exhausted, and the people every-where unwilling to perform their duty; he takes a different method of levying troops from that used by his predecessors, which he executes with wonderful art and success. The former *Wazîrs*, in their mandates, had required all persons, whose duty it was, to attend the wars; but he publishes a *Fermân* in another strain: he says in it, "That, as he found it necessary to trust the command of the *Othmân* army, against the haughty *Germans*, to none but himself, so he would not employ, in this expedition, any soldiers forced into the service, as knowing the will was of more value with God than the deed: that he would only put the *Musulmans* in mind, that, by the precepts of God, and his prophet, every one is commanded neither to avoid martyrdom, nor despair of success, in defence of the law, and the extirpation of infidels: that every *Musulman* therefore, who thought himself obliged by this law, and had resolution to suffer every thing for the faith, ought to come, and list himself in his army: but that he who was doubtful, was afraid of being a martyr, or detained by affairs, which he believed would excuse him before God, from the service, should have the liberty of staying at home; where, after purging himself from all criminal actions, he ought daily to intercede with God for the army's success. It was added, that even tho' such a person should be of the military order, yet he should not only be exempt from punishment, but also enjoy his pay during his absence." *His artful mandate for raising soldiers;*

BY this artful mandate both the soldiers and people of *Asia* are rouzed as it were from a profound sleep: for till *its surprising effects.*

[b] CANT. p. 363. & seq.

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A. D. 1688.

then, whenever they were called to the wars, the greater part, for fear of the punishment threatened to the unwilling, hid themselves; and escaped the enquiry of the *Pashâs*, partly by gifts, and partly by artifice, and false pretences. But, when they find themselves called on, from motives of religion, to war against Infidels, not only those who received the pay, but others, who had been dismissed the service, prepare for the campaign, for fear of being accounted cowards, or *Gyawrs*, in case they staid at home. Thus what the former *Wazîrs* could not effect by the severest threats, or by the *Pashâs*, *Kapuji*, and *Chaush*; *Kyoprioli Mostâfâ Pashâ* accomplishes without any difficulty, by one word of the *Korân*; and raises more numerous forces than any *Wazîr* had done, since *Kára Mostafa Pashâ*.

Reforms the treasury.

HAVING, by this method, assembled an army, he turns his thoughts towards purging the treasury of money unjustly raised, and filling it by more honourable means. He finds the state of accounts in no less confusion than that of other affairs: for the *Wazîrs*, and other great men, in the time of peace, had consumed most part of it under various pretences: they had also for bribes granted to some an exemption from tribute, and laid on others a greater burthen than they could bear. Afterwards, on the war breaking out, the *Tefterdârs* had invented various schemes to fill their empty coffers; by which they had so impoverished the citizens, that nothing was heard but the cries of people calling for the vengeance of God on their oppressors. The *Wazîr*, with great application, removes all those abuses; restores to the treasury all the money which his predecessors, the *Pashâs* and secretaries, had taken away; establishes new laws for raising tribute; and orders, that no person of a different religion should be exempt from it. Whereby the *Greek* monks, before exempt, became subject to the *Haraj* (W), which he divides

(W) A set tribute, which all persons, not *Mohammedans*, are obliged to pay to the *Turkish* emperors, if he has a mind to be a subject of the empire. This tribute the *Korân* has fixed to be 13 drams of pure silver for all persons come of ripe age. But, in time, this sum being thought too small, three rixdollars were set upon each person's head, under *Mohammed* II. and his three successors; which was afterwards lessened or encreased at pleasure, till this *Kioprili* divided it as in the text.—The *Greek* monks, ever-since the taking of *Constantinople* had been exempt from the *Haraj*, or *Karaj*, by virtue of a writing given by the pretended prophet *Mohammed*, to the monks of *Sinay*; but *Kioprili* alledged this privilege to be spurious, or, if genuine, to extend only to the *Sinaite* monks. *Cant.*

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into three parts, that none might ſuffer by an unequal aſſeſſment; enjoining the richer ſort to pay ten *Leonines* a year, thoſe of a middle rank ſix, and the poor only three dollars. A. D. 1688.

ALL the money which the devotion of their anceſtors had left to the treaſurers of the *Jâmi*, he brings into the publick treaſury; and anſwers the *Muteveli*, who call it ſacrilege, that wealth deſigned for religious uſes, ought to be employed in religious wars; adding, that it was more conducive to the *Muſulmân* intereſt, to maintain with it the defenders of the holy edifices, than enemies and robbers. He reſtores to their former integrity the judicial proceedings, which till then had been almoſt intirely venal; puniſhes the judges convicted of corruption with great ſeverity; reſcues thoſe who are oppreſſed by falſe accuſations without reſpect of perſons; and prevents every-body from being injured. He orders that neither corn, nor any other proviſions, ſhould be violently demanded from the ſubjects (A), but purchaſed with ready money at ſuch a price as they ſhould think proper. By theſe meaſures having acquired a great reputation for prudence, juſtice, and ſanctity, he prepares for the campaign; and leſt ſo many alterations might in his abſence occaſion a ſedition againſt the *Soltân*, he perſuades him to remove to *Adrianople* in the ſpring[a], where we leave the *Wazir* for a while, to ſee what was doing in the interim in *Hungary*. *Seizes church treaſure.* *Reforms the lawyers.*

HITHERTO the imperial arms had been proſperous to a ſurpriſing degree: but now the empire being furiouſly attacked within the very bowels of it, by the arms of *France*, which obliged the ſeveral *German* princes to provide for their own ſecurity, many of the troops who ſerved in *Hungary* were called home. So that the main burden of the war fell on the emperor, which was carried on with various ſucceſs, but for the moſt part proſperous, whilſt under the auſpicious direction of prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. However the year 1690 began not very favourably on *Leopold*'s ſide: for the prince of *Holſtein*, who in *Veterani*'s abſence commanded the army in *Albania*, hearing that the *Turks* ravaged the country, he marched to *Priſſeren*, or *Priſſina*, with ſome troops to meet them. From hence, on the firſt of *January*, he detached the prince of *Hanover* and colonel *Straſſer* with ſixteen hundred *Kaſſenek beſieged.*

[a] CANT. p. 365, & ſeq.

(A) This piece of juſtice recommended *Kioprili* to all the Chriſtians reſiding in *Turky*. His equity extended alike to all perſons, without regard to their religion, of which prince *Cantemir* gives inſtances.

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A. D. 1688. men to relieve the pass of *Kassenek*, besieged by the *Turks*; where arriving next day they posted themselves with their backs to a morass, and planted four field-pieces against the *Turks*, who durst not attack them in that place: but keeping to the hills and woods, they detached one thousand *Tatars* into the plain, on sight of whom, *Strasser*, quitting his advantageous post, forced them to retreat.

The Germans *defeated.*

MEAN time the *Germans*, being now in the open field, found themselves surrounded by thirty thousand of the enemy, against whom they maintained a battle from nine till three in the afternoon; when having spent all their powder and ammunition, they were at last totally defeated. Here the prince of *Hanover*, colonel *Strasser*, and count *Solari*, with most of the officers and soldiers, were slain on the spot, and most of the prisoners died of their wounds. However, five or six hundred men, by favour of the night and woods, got safe to *Belgrade*. On the fourth, *Picolomini*'s regiment, which was to join *Strasser*, under count *Montecelli*, having had no advice of the defeat, drew near to *Kassenek*, and was presently surrounded by the *Tatars*: but the count retreating towards a morass, over which there was a bridge, sent a lieutenant with thirty horse to guard the other end of it. The *Tatars* after some time attacked them on both sides: but the lieutenant being relieved by two companies, they defended themselves valiantly till night; under shelter of which they retired to *Prisseren*, and thence marched to *Prokopia*.

Kaniffia *surrenders.*

BY this time *Veterani*, appointed general in place of *Picolomini*, arrived with some troops from *Transilvania*, at *Nissa*; which being a place open to the attack of the enemy, he fortified as well as he could. Mean time the pass of *Kassenek* surrendered: but to pass by several small advantages of this kind gained by both parties; *Kaniffa* was so straitly blocked up, that on the 16th of *March*, the garrison being greatly reduced, the *Pasha* sent two *Agas* to count *Bathiani*, offering to surrender, in case he was not relieved in four weeks. But that being refused, on the 19th the place was surrendered, on condition that the inhabitants should march-off with their arms and moveables into the *Othmân* dominions. The *Pâshâ* himself brought the keys of the city in a gilded bason, hanging on a gold chain; and delivering them to the count, said, *I deliver into your hands the keys of a fortress the like whereof there is none in all the* Othmân *empire.* This strong city was yielded rather thro' divisions among the officers, than for want of provisions, of which there were enough for four months. On the walls were mounted fifty-six brass and ten iron cannon. There were found also three thousand seven hun-

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hundred and forty muſkets, with abundance of warlike ſtores. A. D. 1688.

Tekeli's promotion.

It would be endleſs to take notice of every little action which happened before the opening of the campaign. But it is worth obſerving, that in order to make way for greater ones, the *French* ambaſſador at the *Othmân* court, after long ſolicitation, procured a *Baratz* or commiſſion, declaring *Tekeli* prince of *Tranſilvania*, with the ſame power and privileges as had been granted to *Bethlem Ghabor*. Of this inveſtiture *Tekeli* gave notice by his circular letters, bearing date the 26th of *June*, to all the cities and provinces, forbidding them to give any aſſiſtance to the *Germans*; and requiring them to join with him and the *Turks*, who were coming to deliver their country from the terrible oppreſſion of the imperialiſts. In effect the many troops of *Tatars* which had already entered *Walakhia*, and the increaſe of *Tekeli*'s troops, much alarmed the *German* generals; ſo that all the forces in and about *Tranſilvania* were ordered to march under general *Heuſler* towards the paſſes which lead to *Walakhia*. At length, about the middle of *July*, the *Tatars* coming up the *Danube*, appeared before *Widdin* with four gallies and ſixty other veſſels, having five thouſand men on board, and begun to fire on the town. On this news general *Trautmanſdorf* marching with his troops to the relief of the place, ſo plied the enemy with his cannon from the bank of the *Danube*, that they were compelled to fall lower down the ſtream to the other ſide of the river. After this, having furniſhed the town with a garriſon, and proviſions out of the boats which attended him (on the *Tinok*) he returned to the rendezvous at *Jagodina*.

Widdin attacked.

But in *Auguſt* general *Veterani*, receiving advice that the grand *Wazîr* was on his way towards *Niſſa*, ordered all the troops in thoſe parts to march to that city; where having left a garriſon of three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, he went back with the reſt of the army, and encamped at *Alexin* [b]. Now let us return to the *Turkiſh* hiſtorians, and attend the motions of the grand *Wazîr*, who, about the beginning of *Shawal* 1101, marched with the whole army towards *Belgrade*; and being informed in his paſſage through *Kîz Darbend* (B), that ſeveral thouſand *Germans* from that city

The Wazîr advances. Hej. 1101. A. D. 1689.

[b] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

(B) That is, *the Virgin's paſſage* (narrow gate or gap); one of the two paſſages over *Mount Hæmus*; the other is called *Kapuli*

A. D. 1689. city were coming to ſtrengthen the garriſon of *Niſſa*; he ſends *Selim Gheray, Khân* of the *Tatars*, with part of the *Turkiſh* army, who falling upon them, now within ſight of *Niſſa*, ſoon puts them to flight. This victory revives the hopes of the *Othmâns*; and the *Wazîr*, to render God propitious to their arms, orders prayers to be made without intermiſſion, both day and night, at *Conſtantinople*, *Adrianople*, and in the camp. Finding likewiſe that there were in the army a great number of boys unfit for arms, brought by profligate perſons for deteſtable uſes, he commanded by proclamation that all boys ſhould be ſent back, and if any ſhould be diſcovered with any perſon for the future, he ſhould be put to death without further examination: ſince that ſin above all others deprived thoſe polluted with it of the divine bleſſing; and the moſt pure God could not favour with his preſence the camp where ſuch an impurity was practiſed.

Takes Shahrkyoy, HAVING made thoſe regulations, he marches into *Servia*, and aſſaults *Shahrkyoy* (C), a little city, which being better fortified by nature than art, five hundred *Hayduks*, who were in garriſon, finding no ſuccours appear on the fourth day, ſurrendered the caſtle, on condition of leave to depart (D); and when the *Janizaries* would have plundered them, they are reſtrained by the threats of *Kyoprili-ogli*, who told them it was neither honourable nor of advantage to take away the arms of the *Gyawrs*, ſince they could not injure the *Muſulmâns* with them. He then admoniſhes thoſe *Hayduks* not to go to *Niſſa*, becauſe as he intended to beſiege that city, if any of them ſhould be found there when it was taken, they could not expect to eſcape death. The *Haydûks* however, as ſoon as they left the *Turks*, retire to *Niſſa*.

and Niſſa. PRESENTLY after the *Wazîr* lays cloſe ſiege to that city, which was defended by count *Staremberg*, with three thouſand *German* foot and fourteen hundred horſe. Although that general made a brave defence more with a view to gain the imperialiſts time to ſecure *Belgrade*, than with any hopes

puli derbend, or *the paſſage of the gate*. On the eaſt entrance of this paſſage are the ruins of a beautiful gate, ſuppoſed to be the work of *Trajan*, eight hours from *Tatar Pazajik*, and 12 from *Philipopoli*. To the weſt of theſe paſſes is the village *Dragoman Kioy*, the laſt which was conquered by the arms of *Leopold*. *Cant.*

(C) The ſame with *Piroth* in the Chriſtian hiſtorians.

(D) *Ricaut* ſays there were but one hundred and fifty men in garriſon at *Pyroth*; and that after three or four days ſiege they conditioned to be conducted to *Niſſa*.

to

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to save the place; yet the *Turks* pushed the siege with such vigour, that on the 25th day (E) the garrison surrendered on condition of going out with their arms. Some of the *Shâhrkyoy Haydâks*, though in disguise, being discovered by the *Janizaries*, are forced by torture to confess all their companions, who were mixed with the *German* troops, and *Staremberg* obliged to deliver them up to the *Wazîr*. He hangs part, and condemns the rest to the gallies, laying the same injunction on *Staremberg*, and under the same penalty, not to retire to *Belgrâde*, towards which city the *Wazîr* marched; and having by the way taken possession of *Semendria* and *Widdin*, whose garrisons had abandoned them, comes in sight of it in the month of *Zilkaadeh* [c]. But before we enter upon the siege of this important fortress, it will be proper to add some particulars from the Christian historians, relating to that of the places already mentioned. A. D. 1689.

WHILE the siege of *Nissa* was going on, prince *Lewis* of *Baden* joined *Veterani* at *Jagodina*, where matters were concerted for the relief of that city: but news arriving of general *Heusler*'s defeat by the *Seraskier* and *Tekeli* in *Transilvania*, it was resolved to march thither with the greater part of the army; so that nothing could be done towards raising the siege, the *Germans* being then very weak in *Servia*. The *Wazîr*, understanding that prince *Lewis* was on the retreat, and had withdrawn his forces from *Widdin* and *Semendria*, detached part of his army (which was reported to be thirty thousand foot and fifty thousand horse, besides fifteen thousand *Tatars* daily expected) to besiege *Widdin*: whose garrison at that time being no more than eight hundred men, they surrendered on the 29th of *August*, before any breach was made in the walls; and on the 11th of *September* joined the prince's army. *Widdin taken.*

MEAN time the garrison of *Nissa* being reduced to two thousand men, by the continual playing of cannon and bombs, and the counterscarp taken, general *Staremberg* surrendered on the 8th of *September*; on condition of marching out with bag and baggage, arms, and all other marks of honour. But the enemy did not faithfully observe the agreement; for the *Turks* robbed and disarmed many; and the *Tatars* pursued them as far as *Semendria* with design to cut them off. They found 90 cannon and mortars in *Nissa*, from whence they *Semendria stormed.*

[c] ÇANT. p. 368. RICAUT.

(E) It was summoned on the 14th of *August*, and surrendered the 8th of *September*. Ricaut.

marched

A. D. 1689. marched directly to *Belgrade*, by way of *Semendria*: whose garrison, though consisting of no more than one thousand men, under lieutenant-colonel *Weingartler*, bravely sustained a storm of their whole army; but being overpowered were all put to the sword [d].

Belgrade *besieged,* As soon as the *Wazîr* arrives at *Belgrade* he calls a council of the *Pashâs*, to deliberate whether it was better to proceed by way of siege or blockade. They all advise the latter course; alledging, "That the city being well fortified by nature, and wonderfully strengthened by new works (F), as "well as defended by a garrison of eight thousand *Germans*, "besides so many regiments of *Bulgarians* and *Servians*, "could not be subdued within the campaign, nor besieged "without great loss: That if the garrison should make a "vigorous resistance, and repulse the *Othmâns*, they would "immediately lose the courage they had hardly yet recovered "by their present successes: but that if the *Wazîr*, leaving "*Belgrade* behind him, would with his army pass the *Save*, "or fortify the banks, to prevent the enemies from passing, "the garrison would that summer, or at fartheſt in winter, "be obliged by famine to surrender. They added, that no"thing was to be feared from the imperial army, since the "greater part of it was employed in the war against *France*; "and the rest, being abandoned by the *Hungarians*, would "be more solicitous to defend their own camp than attack "the *Othmân*."

and taken, The *Wazîr*, though far from being of this mind, gives way to the majority, and surrounds the walls of the city for several days: But being informed that the imperialists were hasting to its relief, he sees his error in complying unseasonably with his officers, and instantly opens the siege with one half of his army, appointing the other to hinder the enemy from passing the *Save*. By this change of measures he gained the city: but probably would have failed in his design, if, on the eighth day of the siege, a tower had not blown-up by means of a bomb, or by treachery, and demolished great part of the wall. For, hereupon, the *Turks* crying out, *that it was an evident proof of God's miraculous assistance*, rush into

[d] Ricaut, ubi supra.

(F) The architect was *Andreas Cornaro*, a *Greek* of *Kandia*. He is charged by some authors with betraying *Belgrade*, but unjustly; for being taken by the *Turks*, and discovered to be an architect, he was obliged to perform that service, and others: for which he was well rewarded. *Cant.*

the

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the breaches before the *Germans* could prevent them, and for an hour reſiſt the whole force of the garriſon; who, overpowered by numbers, are then forced to retreat, after a great loſs, though not unrevenged. A few, with their general *de la Croy*, eſcape in boats acroſs the *Danube* [e]. A. D. 1689.

ACCORDING to the Chriſtian hiſtorians there were not above three thouſand two hundred then in *Belgrade* fit for ſervice. The *Wazîr* inveſted this city on the firſt of *October*, with his troops; who having fired their artillery without waiting till the 8th (on which day the duke of *Croy* arrived by boat), ſtormed the paliſades like madmen. Next morning the blue ſteeple of the caſtle, which was the principal magazine for powder, took fire, which was ſoon put out: But in the afternoon it took fire again, and blew up with ſuch violence that it quite overturned the great bulwark which defended the caſtle; and deſtroyed one thouſand of the garriſon, who were drawn-up as well on the parade, as on the walls. So that there were not men enough to defend the breach againſt the enemy, who were ready to take advantage of the blow, and might have entered with whole ſquadrons. The duke of *Croy* alſo was wounded, and half buried in the rubbiſh of his lodgings. *by blowing-up*

IT is thought this misfortune happened by the treachery of a *Turk* diſguiſed in *German* habit; or of ſome *Frenchmen*, who had been employed in the magazines, and had that morning deſerted. However, the beſieged made the beſt reſiſtance poſſible, till their remaining magazines and ſtore-houſes took fire, and blew-up one after the other in ſuch a dreadful manner, that not only the greater part of the garriſon periſhed, but one thouſand *Turks*, at that time ſtorming the walls, and entering the city, were alſo deſtroyed; while ſuch as remained alive were forced to retreat to their camp, unable to proceed for the ſmoke. But ſo ſoon as it had cleared up a little, the enemy, obſerving the conſternation which the remaining people were in, returned, and rather entered than ſtormed the city, where they found very few Chriſtians living, or houſes ſtanding. Moſt of the boats were ſunk with the rubbiſh which fell into them: thoſe who eſcaped ſaved themſelves by ſwimming over the *Danube* or the *Save*. General *Aſpremont*, who got-off with the duke of *Croy*, being blamed afterwards for neglect on this occaſion, was cleared by an atteſtation under the hand of prince *Lewis* of *Baden* [f]. *of the magazines.*

[e] CANT. p. 370. [f] RICAUT, ubi ſupra.

THE

A. D. 1689.

THE *Wazîr*, having thus reduced the bulwark of all *Hungary* sooner than he expected, sends five hundred *Spâhi's*, each with two horses, and as many bushels of meal, to the relief of *Temiswar*; which the *Germans* had blocked up for three years, after finding it impracticable, by reason of its difficult situation, to take it by assault. The city was defended by *Koja Jâffer Pâshâ* (G), whose authority was so great with the soldiers, that although many perished by famine, yet the rest refused to feed upon cats and dogs, which are esteemed impure animals by the *Turks*. They were now reduced to such a degree of necessity, that when the *Spâhi's* arrived, the *Janizaries* seized on the meal like ravenous wolves. This occasioned a dispute which ended in a bloody fight between the two parties (H): of whom a great number on both sides being killed upon the sacks, the rest of the *Spahi's*, with their *Pâshâ*, are forced by the *Janizaries* to a speedy flight.

Temeswaer relieved.

KYOPRILI Pasha, having repaired the ruins of *Belgrade*, passes the *Danube*, and taking *Lippa*, drives the *German* garrison from *Orsova*. He then assaults *Essek*, a city at the conflux of that river with the *Drave*; in hopes by subduing it to secure his new acquisitions from the enemies incursions, and recover *Sclavonia*: but he was forced to abandon his design, by the resolution of the garrison joined to the approach of winter; and especially by the alteration of affairs in *Transilvania*[g].

Lippa *reduced,*

AFTER the loss of *Belgrade*, the duke of *Croy*, having rallied about four hundred men, marched by the way of *Titul* and *Peterwaradin* to *Essek*, drawing all the force he could out of the garrisons to secure that place; which the *Wazîr* had ordered the *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia* to attack, while he passed the *Danube* and besieged *Lippa*, on the *Maros*, near *Arad*. At his approach the *Germans* quitted *Lugos* and *Karanzebes*. *Lippa* surrendered for want of all provisions, on very honour-

with other places.

[g] CANT. p. 370, & seq.

(G) That is, *old Jaffer*. He was famous for his military skill, prudence, and integrity. He fought several battles with the *Germans*, and held out *Temeswar* and *Belgrade* against them. He was slain at the battle of *Zenta* by the rebellious *Janizaries*. Cant.

(H) *Ricaut* mentions nothing of this affair. He only says, that on the news of the march of the *Turkish* horse being ordered for *Upper Hungary*, the *Germans* were so alarmed that they quitted the blockade of *Great Waradin*.

able

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able conditions, after continual ſtorms by the enemy, who loſt eight hundred men to ten of the beſieged. Mean time, on the 29th of *October*, *Huſſeyn*, *Pâſhâ* of *Boſnia*, appeared before *Eſſek* with twelve or fifteen thouſand men, who, thinking to carry the place at once, immediately ſtormed the counterſcarps; but were repulſed with great ſlaughter by the garriſon, though conſiſting only of two thouſand men. The *Pâſhâ* finding himſelf miſtaken in his account, began to open trenches and raiſe batteries; with which, by the fifth of *November*, they had demoliſhed almoſt all the houſes in the town, and ſeemed to prepare again for a general ſtorm: but the duke and other generals having entered into the counterſcarps with undaunted reſolution to oppoſe them, they attempted nothing, as if ſtruck with fear. The duke then returned to his lodgings, where three *Turks* were brought to him; who being aſked why the enemy had made ſo violent an aſſault without either trenches or earth to cover them? anſwered, That their deſign was to have taken the town, if poſſible, before the Chriſtian army arrived, which they heard was haſting to relieve it. The duke hereupon ſent out all the muſic in the town to ſome troops beyond the *Drave*, with orders to march to and fro in the night, cauſing different marches to be beaten, and trumpets ſounded from ſeveral quarters; which ſo alarmed the *Turks*, that they immediately raiſed their camp, and fled towards *Boſnia*. The news of this deliverance being carried to *Vienna*, the duke of *Croy* and general *Staremberg* were mightily cried up for the ſtratagem [b]. Let us now look into the affairs of *Tranſilvania*. About the beginning of this year *Michael Apafi* (I), prince of that country, died without iſſue, and left all his dominions to the emperor of *Germany*. On the other hand, the *Turks* had appointed *Tekeli* to be prince, and ſent to his aſſiſtance the *Seraſkier*, with ten thouſand *Turks*, the *Khân* of *Tartary*, and *Conſtantine Brankovan* (K), prince of *Walakhia*. The confederate forces, under his conduct, penetrate into *Tranſilvania*, through the mountains of *Walakhia*, at the foot of which they unexpectly incloſe *Heuſler*, general of the *German* troops appointed for defence of that province. *Heuſler*, finding him-

A. D. 1689.

Eſſek attempted.

The ſiege raiſed.

Tranſilvania taken.

[b] RICAUT, ubi ſupra.

(I) He was of no great family, being ſon only of the chief magiſtrate of *Cibinina*.—*Cant.*

(K) Known in *Europe* by the three names of *Kantakuzenus Brankovan*, and *Baſſaraba*; all which he pretended belonged to his family, though in fact they did not.—*Cant.*

ſelf

A. D. 1689.

self drawn into this danger by the treachery of *Brankovan*, endeavours to open a passage with his sword, and bravely sustains the first onset of the enemy. Yet in the heat of the battle the *Hungarians* deserting the *Germans*, attack them in flank, who, terrified at this perfidy, attempt to escape by flight: but being inclosed by the enemy, are almost all either slain or taken; and among the latter, *Heusler* himself [1]. According to the Christian historians, the *Turkish* army consisted of sixteen thousand horse, two thousand *Janizaries*, and five hundred *Talpats*. With these *Tekeli*, under whom were nine *Pâshâ's*, marched over mountains towards the pass of *Terezwar*, about three leagues from *Kronstadt*; where general *Heusler* lay encamped, with seventeen hundred horse, and five thousand *Transilvanians*, called *Zeklers*, from the province so named, under general *Tolecki*. The imperialists, nothing dismayed at the appearance of such unequal forces, with their right-wing, furiously attacked and put to flight the left of the enemy; who would have been intirely defeated, had the *Zeklers* seconded so good a beginning: but they flying without firing a musket, the *Germans*, after a long and bloody fight were put to the rout. In this action six generals, among whom was *Tolecki*, were killed, besides five hundred horse: the rest retreated to *Hermanstadt* with thirteen standards, twenty-nine colours, with four pieces of cannon, having been taken by the enemy, who lost three thousand men [k].

and recovered by Tekeli.

TEKELI, after this victory, marches farther, and is received by all the inhabitants of the province with great acclamations. But before he could establish himself in his new acquisition, the prince of *Baden*, hearing that *Belgrade*, which he intended to have relieved, was lost, marches his forces into *Transilvania*, and having taken several cities, endeavours to subdue the rebellious prince. *Tekeli*, diffident of his strength, on the news of the other's approach, abandons *Cibinium* (or *Hermanstadt*) and retires again into *Turky*; from whence he never after ventured to return [l].

Driven out again

To enter into particulars from the Christian historians: prince *Lewis* having, on the news of *Heusler*'s defeat in *Transilvania*, departed from *Jagodina* in *Servia* with all the force which could be spared, as hath been already mentioned, passed the *Danube* near *Semendria*; and on the 16th of *September* arrived at *Karansebes*. On the 21st they marched thro' the *Iron Gate*, a pass which leads into that province, and encamped near the ruins of *Vulpia Trajana*, a *Roman* colony, where many of the nobility came in to him; whilst the *Rascians*

by prince Lewis.

[1] CANT. p. 371, & seq. [k] RICAUT, ubi supra. [l] CANT. p. 375.

entered

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entered *Walakhia*, and put all to fire and ſword with the utmoſt cruelty. *October* the 3d, he came to *Hermanſtadt*, the capital, and thence to *Medies*, where ſeveral parties of the enemy were defeated. All this while *Tekeli* and his troops never ſhewed themſelves, keeping at leaſt ſix leagues diſtant from the imperialiſts. As ſoon as he arrived at *Czick*, on the borders of *Walakhia*, the prince of that country left him to ſecure his territories againſt the *Raſcians*; and afterwards the *Tranſilvanians* deſerted him. Mean time, being purſued by prince *Lewis*, he was chaſed through the whole country; and at length was near being ſurpriſed about *Marienburg*. Hereupon, affrighted, he fled by the paſs of *Bocz* into *Walakhia*; and thus ended his ſhort reign in *Tranſilvania*. A. D. 1689.

On the firſt of *December* prince *Lewis* arrived at *Zatmar*, on the *Samos* in *Upper Hungary*; at what time the *Wazîr*'s ſon, with fifteen thouſand men, ravaged the country, and ſummoned *St. Jobs*: but the prince, having no more than two thouſand horſe with him, durſt not venture out againſt them. However, being joined ſoon after by *Negrilli* with two thouſand more, he purſued a body of twelve thouſand *Turks*, who ravaged the parts about *Clauſenburg*, and drove them quite out of *Tranſilvania*. The campaign concluded on this ſide by the ſurrender of the *Iſle of Orſova* (in the *Danube*, and borders of *Walakhia*) to the *Turks*, for want of ammunition. The governor, upon the articles granted, deſired to be conducted to *Belgrade*; and although the *Turks* were honeſt enough to tell him, that it was then in their hands, he would not believe them, but inſiſted to be convoy'd thither. In this at length they obliged him, to the fatal coſt of him and his people, who were ſix hundred men, beſides women and children: for when they came to that city, all the men were confined in priſons, where moſt of them died, excepting thoſe under twenty, whom they circumciſed, and compelled to become *Mohammedans*. As for the women and children they were ſold, and all the effects of the unhappy captives ſeized [m]. Let us now proceed to the war in other provinces.

Orſawa *taken.*

The governor's folly.

In the eleventh month of the ſame year (L), the king of *Poland* at laſt brings alſo his forces into the field, and paſſing the *Tyras* (or *Nieſter*) enters *Moldavia*; but *Cantemir*, prince of that country, knowing what troubleſome gueſts the *Poles* uſed to be, forbids the inhabitants, under a ſevere penalty,

Poles *invade* Moldávia

[m] Ricaut, ubi ſupra.

(L) Which falls in *Auguſt* 1690.

to

A. D. 1689. to sell, or carry any corn to them. This obliges the king, who had already passed the *Hierasus* (or *Pruth*) at *Stephanesti*, to send back some of his troops to procure provisions from other parts. These troops coming to *Soroka*, a city on the *Tyras*, and finding it destitute of defence, yet full of stores, take it without opposition; and leaving a strong garrison, return with the provisions to the camp.

Without success.

The king, relieved by these supplies, marches as far as *Yakobeni*, a valley five miles from *Jassi*; but hearing that *Buyukli Mostafa Pasha*, with *Nûradin Soltân*, were advancing against him, he resolves to return to *Poland*. The provisions brought from *Soroka* being spent, he is again obliged to pass through the mountain country; where they are closely followed by the *Tatars*, who kill, or take prisoners, a great number of them, as they are gathering fruits in the woods. His return would have been very difficult, if the prince of *Moldavia*, desirous to drive out the *Poles*, but not destroy them, had not diverted the *Seraskier* from a pursuit; by telling him that they were then near their own borders, and unable to do the inhabitants any hurt. Had that general advanced with his army, scarce a *Pole* could have escaped: for they were so greatly distressed by famine, that the horse voluntarily submitted to the *Tatars* (M); declaring that they would rather be captives than expire with hunger.

Venetian *victories.*

Of all the Christian powers the *Venetians* alone met with success. In the beginning of the campaign *Monembesia* (or *Malvasia*) the only place which opposed them in the *Morea*, and had been blocked up for two summers, is besieged by them, and soon obliged by famine to surrender (N). At sea, their admiral *Daniel Delphino* puts to flight the *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, near *Mitylene*, after sinking and taking several of his ships. Afterwards *Cornaro* reduces *Kanina* and *Vallona*;

(M) There is hardly an example in history of an army, which was ever so dispersed without fighting, or reduced to so much misery; although the *Polish* historians conceal it with much care, and extol their king's triumphs. I saw certain *Tatars* bring back each seven *Poles* fettered. They were become so weak with hunger, that they could make no resistance. Their captors not having food sufficient for them, sold them almost all for three *Yaokhimits* apiece. —*Cant.* Neither prince *Cantemir*, nor count *Marsigli*, in his *Etat. Milit. Emp. Othm.* tell the value of this coin.

(N) *Ricaut* says, that turning the blockade, which had held seventeen months, into a formal siege, they battered the city both by sea and land. Hereupon the inhabitants, tired out, presently surrendered on the 12th of *August*, on condition of being transported to *Candia*.

3 while

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while in *Dalmatia*, *Jin Ali Paſhâ* (O), governor of *Hercegovina*, aſſaults *Niſikhos* and *Kuzzos*, but is defeated, taken priſoner, and his forces diſperſed [n]. A. D. 1689.

RICAUT makes no mention of this defeat of the *Kapudân Paſhâ*; but is particular in his account of the taking of the following places. The *Venetians* landed on the 11th of *September* at *Valona*, and drove ſeven thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, who oppoſed them, beyond the fortreſs of *Kannina*, ſituate on the top of a high craggy rock, four miles diſtant. Againſt this fortreſs they raiſed batteries in twenty-four hours, and attacking it furiouſly on all ſides, the *Turks*, after the town was entered, yielded, on condition of marching out with their baggage. Mean time general *Spar* marched ten miles in purſuit of the fugitives, who on ſight of him confuſedly fled. The captain-general after this appeared with his whole army before *Valona*; and on the 18th ſent a menacing ſummons to the garriſon, who, as if deſigning to make ſtout reſiſtance ſent no anſwer, but in the night ſilently ſtole away. They got in both places one hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon, ſome braſs, ſome iron. Kannina taken.

As for the affair of *Hercegovina*, or *Arzigovina*, as our author calls it, the *Paſhâ Kin Ali*, with three thouſand men, had a deſign to ſurpriſe the new conquered *Greek* ſubjects of the *Venetians* at their *Eaſter* devotions: but the people of *Nixikhi* (or *Niſikhos*) being informed of it, on his approach, left their churches, and after a ſharp conflict routed him, ſlaying ſeven hundred of his men; and having taken, carried him in chains to *Kataro*. With the like happy ſucceſs was the ſtrong fortreſs of *Filiporikh*, near *Glamez*, taken and deſtroyed by order of general *Molino*. But the affairs of the *Venetians* did not ſucceed ſo well this year by ſea; for in *March* two of their men of war, the *St. Iſeppo* and *St. Mark*, being attacked near *Kândia* by *Mezzo Morto*, *Dey* of *Algiers*, with ten *Soltâna's*, after the braveſt reſiſtance that could be imagined, the latter was blown-up, and the other taken, although it ſunk in the night with all its cannon, four hours after [o]. Other ſucceſſes.

[n] CANT. p. 373, & ſeq.

[o] RICAUT, ubi ſupra.

(O) *Jin* is the name of certain devils, of a groſſer kind than *Shaytan* (or *Satan*). They are ſuppoſed to be male and female, and get children. Thoſe who uſe their parts to the prejudice of others, are called *Jin*, and ſaid to have the mind and cunning of thoſe devils. *Cant.* He is written *Zin Alee* in *Ricaut*, Z being uſed for *I* conſonant.

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A. D. 1689.

THE campaign being over in *Hungary*, the *Wazîr* returns with his army to *Adrianople*, where he is received by the people as their deliverer: But the physicians being of opinion that the air of that city did not agree with the *Soltân*, who laboured under a dropsy, *Kyoprili* departs with him to *Constantinople*, which he enters in a triumphant manner. For three days there were rejoicings, accompanied with feasts and games, which the *French* ambassador gave, with no less expence than the *Turks*; thereby to shew them how acceptable the defeat of the Christians was to the most Christian king.

The Wazîr triumphs.

AFTER this the *Wazîr* applies himself to raising a new and more powerful army than the former, to prosecute the *Hungarian* war, the command of which he resolves to take in person. He appoints *Mostafa Pasha* to be *Seraskier* against the *Poles*; and *Kaplân Ali Pasha* against the *Venetians*. This last, encamping at the river *Celidnus*, restrains the *Albanians*, just ready to revolt. He also takes possession of *Kunina* and *Vallona*, reduced by the *Venetians* the year before, and now deserted by them [p].

Affairs of Hungary.

As to the affairs of *Hungary*, it would be too tedious to relate every action which happened before the opening of the campaign in 1691. The brave prince of *Hanover* we find so early as *January* marching against count *Tekeli*, at the pass of *Terez*; but advancing before his troops was shot dead from an ambuscade near the village of *Serniſt*. On the other hand, the castle of *Tacket*, and fort *Waradin*, were taken by colonel *Pohland*; who also defeated the general of *Walakhia* near *Karansebes*, and hindered a great body of *Turks* and *Tatars* from breaking into *Transilvania*. Of these he killed above a thousand, and took three hundred prisoners, besides much booty. In *February* the garrison of *Great Waradin* were defeated by count *Nigrelli*; and although the *Turks* took the castle of *Novi*, yet the *Kroats* defeated them near that place, and killed a thousand upon the spot.

Lugos and Khonad taken.

NOR were they less unfortunate at *Lugos*, where colonel *Pohland* drew the garrison into an ambush; and pursuing them to the castle, had it surrendered after eight hundred and fifty of the defendants were slain out of one thousand. Soon after the garrison of *Segedin* having surprised the city of *Khonad*, and killed all the inhabitants, the *Turks* abandoned the castle in the night. In *March* the governor of *Eſſek* sent out *Percilia*, who, with 400 men, surprised and destroyed *Inik*, with all in it; routed a body of *Turks* and *Tatars*, kill-

[p] CANT. p. 375.

ing

ing twelve hundred; and returned with a great booty. In like manner *Antonio*, the famous *Raſcian* captain, took the caſtle of *Kârakowar*, ſituated on a high rock, by ſtratagem. After this he attacked ten ſhips ſailing from *Widdin* with proviſions for *Belgrade*, and took two of them; two others fell into the hands of the *Raſcians* near *Modava*; and the reſt returned. He likewiſe by artifice diſperſed a thouſand *Turks* on their *March* to ſurpriſe *Lugos*. A. D. 1689.

IT being now *June*, when the year began to be fit for greater actions, count *Guido* of *Staremberg* drew together the troops from ſeveral parts to *Sauſeberg*; during which the *Raſcians* ſurpriſed *Titul*, and put four hundred *Turks* to the ſword. Mean while *Veterani*, the general in *Servia*, hearing that 300 ſhips laden with proviſions, under the convoy of four thouſand men, were deſigned from *Widdin* to *Belgrade*, he ſent *Pohland* and *Antonio* to intercept them with four thouſand men. Theſe drawing together ſo cloſe that they appeared not to be above four hundred, the *Turks* detached one thouſand *Janizaries* firſt, and then another party, out of which one thouſand were killed, beſide many drowned in their retreat; but the ſhips eſcaped by getting to the other ſide of the river. Soon after this a party of *Raſcians* took four hundred waggons, laden with proviſions, between *Belgrade* and *Temiſwaer*. Another party attacked *Kathina Moſtâfa*, and ſlew fifteen hundred of his men, near *Mitrovitz*, which the *Turks* thereupon quitted [q]. Titul *ſurpriſed*.

ALL things were now ready for the *Hungarian* expedition; but the *Wazîr* deferred ſetting-out on account of *Soleymân*'s illneſs; for he feared that if the *Soltân* ſhould die while he was abſent, one of *Mohammed*'s ſons might ſucceed, and deprive him either of the *Wazîrſhip*, or command of the army. At length *Soltân Soleymân*, exhauſted by an inveterate dropſy, dies on the 26th of *Ramazan* 1102 (P), having lived fifty-two years, and reigned three years nine months. Soleymân *dies*. Hej. 1102. A. D. 1691.

SOLEYMAN, was from his infancy a valetudinarian, of a groſs body, low ſtature, a pale and bloated face (Q), with eyes like an ox, a black oblong beard, with a mixture of grey hairs; of a heavy underſtanding; eaſily moved by the whiſpers of his chamberlains, and the *Koltûk Wazîrleri* (R): but *Perſon and character*.

[q] RICAUT, ubi ſupra.

(P) *June* 11th 1692.

(Q) *Ricaut* ſays he had a long and lean viſage, but not an ungraceful aſpect. In other reſpects he agrees with the *Turkiſh* hiſtorian.

(R) So called from having alone the privilege of touching

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A. D. 1691. but none among the *Othmân Soltâns* was more eminent for ſanctity, devotion, and (S) obſervance of the law [r]. *Ricaut* ſays, that as books were his entertainment in his confined life, ſo he ſeemed to have had an affection for them in the choice he made of *Kupriogli* for his favourite, who was eſteemed a learned man in that country, and to have had the beſt library of any man in the whole empire: however *Soleyman* was no other than a dull, heavy, ſimple, and weak man, fitter to be a *Derwiſh* than an emperor [s].

CHAP. XXI.

The Reign of Ahmed II.

21 Soltân Ahmed II. THE death of *Soleymân*, though long expected and wiſhed for, yet filled the *Othmân* court with new and ſecret commotions. The nobles, with almoſt all the people, were for advancing either *Moſtafa* or *Ahmed*, ſons of *Mohammed*; and ſome were even for *Mohammed* himſelf, whom they had deprived of the crown. The choice of any of theſe was dangerous to the *Wazîr*: for if *Mohammed* ſhould be reſtored, he was apprehenſive of his life; as being ſuſpected to have been pretty deeply concerned in the ſedition which depoſed him. On the other hand, if either of that prince's ſons were elected, he was afraid leſt thoſe youths, who had been liberally educated in the palace, contrary to the cuſtom

[r] CANT. p. 375, & ſeq. [s] RICAUT. ubi ſupra.

the *Soltân* when he walks, or gets on horſeback, or of ſupporting him under the *arm-pits*: which laſt word *Koltûk* ſignifies. They are the chief courtiers, who have a proſpect to be made *Wazîrs* or *Paſhâs*, when vacancies happen; and among them are the ſix chief officers at court.—*Cant.*

• (S) The *Turks* have no *Soltân*, whoſe holineſs they ſo much extol. They even aſcribe miracles to him. Among the reſt, they ſay, when firſt placed on the throne he leaped from thence, and went to a ciſtern; where finding no water, he, by pronouncing the word *Biſmillahi*, brought water out of the marble; and having taken *Abdeſt*, commanded it to return in again. On other occaſions he knew not the moſt common affairs of life. One day he took ſome round fiſhes roaſted for cakes, and next day aſked for more of thoſe cakes.—*Cant.*

of

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of the other *Shehzâdeh*, and already instructed in the administration of affairs, might divest him of both his employments. A. D. 1691.

In order therefore to avoid the danger, he resolves to advance *Ahmed*, younger brother of *Soleymân*, and not superior to him in wisdom. Accordingly, by the authority which he had gained among all the people, by his successes the last year, he procured him to be unanimously saluted *Soltân* the second day after his brother *Soleymân*'s death. However, lest the malecontents should take occasion from the new *Soltân*'s stupidity to raise a sedition, he departs with him to *Adrianople*, in the beginning of *Shawal*, where he applies himself intirely to preparations for war. The *Musulmâns*, excited by the success of the last campaign, voluntarily come from all parts, in such numbers that there never was before so numerous an army seen in the *Othmân* camp. The *Wazîr* hereupon orders the *Pasha's* not to bring more forces into the field than had been appointed: since being to fight against the *Gyawrs*, he said, there was no occasion for a great army; which besides might want provisions before they reached *Buda*. *Numerous army of voluntiers.*

But the soldiers, regardless of this order, flock together in still greater numbers: declaring it was not for hopes of pay, but out of zeal for their law, that they entered into the service: and therefore could be content with their wallet, and place their whole happiness in either becoming *Gâzi* (A), under so successful a general, or being crowned with *Shehâdet* (B).

The *Wazîr*'s fame thus greatly increasing, envy, the perpetual attendant upon merit, could not but cast her darts upon him from the court, her favourite residence. The *Kizlar Agasi*, and other officers of the inner palace, uneasy to find that *Kyoprili Ogli* was now possessed of the interest which before they had in the *Soltân* and people, who now despised them, all conspire his destruction; and abusing the stupidity of their master, fill his mind with suspicions against the *Wazîr*. They inform him, that the prime minister was contriving to depose him; and had prevailed on the *Janizaries* to set up *Mostafa*, son of *Mohammed*, as soon as he should decamp from *Adrianople*. The *Soltân*, persuaded by this accusation, asks what he thought was to be done? The *Kizlar* *A plot laid*

(A) *Gâzi*, or *Ghâzi*, signifies one who conquers in a religious war, or on account of religion.

(B) That is, *Martyrdom*; for the *Mohammedans* hold that all who are slain in battle against *Gyawrs*, or infidels, die martyrs.

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A. D. 1691.

Agaſi adviſes him to ſend the *Baltajilar Kyehayaſi* (C), to tell the *Wazîr* he wanted to ſpeak with him, and then to do as he thought fit, when he had him in his power.

againſt the Wazîr.

DURING the time this eunuch was ſuggeſting theſe things to the *Soltân*, *Dilsîz Mohammed Aga*, a mute (D), held the curtain of the door; and diſcovering by the motions of their lips and hands, that they were concerting to depoſe the *Wazîr*, haſtens to that miniſter, and gives him, by ſigns, an account of the whole affair. While he was yet telling his ſtory, comes the *Baltajilar Kyehayaſi*, and acquaints the *Wazîr* that the *Soltân* in haſte wanted to ſpeak with him. *Kyoprili ogli* finding by this that the mute's account muſt be true, immediately orders a horſe to be gotten ready for him, and the meſſenger to go before, telling him that he would preſently follow. When he is gone the *Wazîr* ſends privately for the *Janizar-Aga*, and ſome other *Ojâk-Agalari*, whom he knew to be his friends; and, having, in a ſpeech, related the ſervices he had done the empire, by recovering ſeveral provinces loſt by his predeceſſors, and what he was likely farther to do by the numerous forces he had raiſed, tells them, that all was going to be overturned, and they with himſelf to be removed from the army, by the artifices of ſome at court, who had perſuaded the *Soltân*, a prince of great goodneſs, but unſkilled in the adminiſtration of government (E), that the *Wazîr* and *Janizaries* were plotting to depoſe him. He adds, that as he foreſaw one of the haughty courtiers would ſucceed him, who might reduce the *Othmân* affairs to a worſe condition than ever; he was therefore willing to remind thoſe his friends, that after his removal or death (which, he ſaid, he wiſhed for, that he might not ſee the approaching ruin of the empire), they would take on them the care of the ſtate, which the emperor was incapable of: "for, concludes he, I ſcruple to make any reſiſtance to "my *Soltân*'s commands; and therefore have determined

Diſcovered by a mute.

(C) The chief officer of the regiment of the *Baltaji* (hatchet men, or battle-axes); he is ſubject, in other reſpects, to the *Kizlar Agaſi*.—Cant.

(D) There are many of theſe in the palace, whoſe only buſineſs is to hold up the curtain before the door of the room, where the *Soltân* is talking in private with any of his great men. Nor are either they, or the dwarfs, and buffoons, ever employed, as moſt *Europeans* have affirmed, to put perſons privately to death, or even ſent on any ſerious meſſage.—*Cant.*

(E) And who knows not how to return any anſwer to what is propoſed to him but *Khoſh*, *Khoſh*.

"to-

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" to-morrow, with your consent, to resign to him the seal of " the empire, and desire leave to go to *Mekka*[a]." A. D. 1691.

THE *Janizar-Aga*, and the rest of the officers, on hearing the *Wazîr*'s speech, call the *Soltân* stupid, imprudent, simple, and cry out that he is swayed by his courtiers like boughs shaken by the wind: adding, that if he should persist in his design, they had rather depose him than *Kyoprili Ogli*, the defender of the law, the restorer of the *Othmân* empire, and the invincible general. They promise to shed their blood in defence of a single hair of his head; binding themselves by oath never to suffer any other general during his life, and to execute his commands with the utmost alacrity. The *Wazîr*, who had sent for the officers only to sound how they stood affected to him, finding that he might depend on them, sends an answer by a *Talkhtsh* (F), " That as he was mounting his " horse, he was informed that the soldiers, for some injury " received from the courtiers, were raising a sedition; that " he imagined he might safely defer his obedience to the *Sol-* " *tân*'s command, in order to put a stop to it: that with " such a view he had sent for the officers of the army, and " would acquaint his majesty next day with the course that " should be taken for appeasing the commotion." *Sounds the soldiery.*

NEXT day he informs the *Soltân*, by another *Talkish*, that he had done his utmost to extinguish the latent flame among the soldiers; but found them so presumptuous as to refuse to return to their duty, till the *Kizler Agasi* was dismissed, and his secretary delivered-up to a trial. He therefore intreats his majesty, that now the army was ready to set out, and himself full of hopes of success, he would not, by an unseasonable indulgence to his officers, stop the progress of victory, and expose himself to great danger. The *Kizler Agasi*, who, by this letter, perceived his designs were betrayed to the *Wazîr*, desires the *Soltân* to sacrifice him, though a faithful servant, he said, to the good of the empire. But *Ahmed* refusing, through fondness to the deceiver, the *Wazîr* sends a third *Talkhish*; which obliges the *Soltân*, for fear of worse consequences, to do as he had desired. Accordingly the *Kizler Agasi* was banished to *Egypt*; and his secretary, when *Ruins his enemies.*

[a] CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 397, & seqq. in Ahmed II.

(F) That is, *a relation*, or *account*; the name given to the letters sent by the *Wazîr* to the *Soltân* about publick affairs; which, if rejected, is reckoned a great sign of his being in danger. The *Talkish* must be written by the *Reis Effendi*, or high chancellor, and carried in form. —*Cant.*

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A. D. 1691. brought to the *Wazîr*, was ordered to be hanged in his habit, with a silver ink-pot at his girdle.

Takes the field.

THAT minister being thus confirmed in his post, to cut off all opportunity from the other court-officers to make the like attempts against him, three days after he removes the army out of *Adrianople*; and, encamping near the city, prepares every thing necessary for the campaign. Here he receives, with great honour, an ambassador from *William* III. king of *England*, who came to offer his master's mediation for settling a peace (A). The *Wazîr* declares he was ready to agree to one upon honourable conditions; but, in reality, intended only to amuse the *Germans*, till he made himself master of *Buda*. With this view, he marched with his army to *Belgrade*: but, being there informed, that the imperialists, under *Lewis*, prince of *Baden*, had taken the field, and were advanced to *Peterwaradin*, he directs his course thither; on whose approach the *German* general pitches his camp near *Islankamen*, on the banks of the *Danube*, and strongly fortifies it.

Battle of Islankamen.

THE *Wazîr* soon after comes up, and places his troops to the right of the imperial camp, in order to prevent their return. At the same time five thousand *Germans*, marching in haste to reinforce prince *Lewis*, are intercepted, and inclosed by the *Turks*, in sight of the emperor's army, so that not one of them escaped being killed or taken prisoners. The *Germans*, who before had designed to attack the *Othmâns*, on this disaster lose their resolution; and their general too late perceives his error, in suffering himself to be shut-up in so narrow a space, where he could neither open his troops, nor defend them from the enemy's cannon: so that, there being no other way to extricate himself from this dangerous situation, he resolves to force a passage with the sword. While he meditates this design, the *Turks*, flushed with their late success, rush furiously on the *German* camp, as if they would destroy the whole army at one effort. The battle continues for six hours doubtful, with equal courage, but with unequal strength. The imperialists, now turning despair into resolution, pass the *Turkish* trenches; and the *Turks*, out of shame for loss

(A) *Ricaut* places this affair in the reign of *Soleyman*, and says, the ambassador, Sir *William Hussey*, set-out for *Constantinople* on the 12th of *June* (which was the day after the *Soltân* died). He proposed a *Uti possidetis*; but the *Wazîr*, seeming to be intent on war, did not declare himself on the subject. Sir *William*'s arriving so late, for he did not get to *Adrianople* till *June*, was owing to the *Germans* slowness; who, though they wished for peace, were very dilatory in giving him their instructions.

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of the victory ſnatched out of their hands, drive the imperialiſts back into their works, which they, in their turns, penetrate. A. D. 1691.

AT laſt, when the victory ſeems inclined to the *Othmâns*, the *Wazîr*, to diſmay by his preſence thoſe who ſtill reſiſted, with his own troop attacks the right wing of the *Germans*, where he ſaw the greateſt oppoſition: but, in the heat of the battle, being wounded in the temples by a muſket bullet, he falls from his horſe; and, by his death, transfers the victory, already obtained, to the *Germans*: for his chamberlains, confounded at this unexpected diſaſter, call their companions, and other officers preſent, to take up their maſter's body; during which time the *Tubulkhâna* (B) ceaſes to ſound. This ceſſation occaſions great diſorder among the *Othmân* troops now victorious: ſo that the horſe, ſeized with a panic, abandoning the foot, firſt take to flight, and are ſoon followed by the *Janizaries*. The imperialiſts, who were fighting, not with the hopes of victory, but that they might not die unrevenged, beholding the unexpected flight of the enemy, advanced but ſlowly, that the *Janizaries* might have opportunity to retreat: for their ſtrength was ſo ſpent, that they could not have ſtood another engagement. *The* Wazîr *ſlain.*

THE reſt of the *Turkiſh* foot, when they perceive the *Janizaries* to fly, quitting their cannon and camp, follow them with the utmoſt precipitation. There fell in the battle twenty-eight thouſand *Turks*, but not above three thouſand *Germans*, excluſive of the above-mentioned five regiments. However, when *Leopold* was informed of the victory, he is reported to have ſaid, that he ſhould be unwilling to conquer often upon ſuch terms, ſince he could ſcarce repair the loſs of eight regiments in three years; whereas the *Soltân* could ſupply the loſs of even eighty thouſand men in eighty days. After this victory, the prince of *Baden* recovers *Lippa*, taken by the *Turks* the year before, and cloſely beſieges *Waradin*; while the *Turkiſh* army, continuing their flight to *Belgrade*, there ſtop, and make *Ali Paſhâ* their *Seraſkier*[a]. *The* Turks *overthrown.*

THUS the *Turkiſh* hiſtorians write. Let us now ſee if our hiſtorians agree with them. The *Wazîr* being arrived at *Belgrade*, with an army of one hundred thouſand men, beſides a vaſt number of ſhips and gallies, one hundred of them *Bravery of* Thos.

[a] CANT. Hiſt. Othm. p. 381, & ſeqq.

(B) Warlike muſick, which in battle is always near the *Wazîr*, and continually playing to animate the ſoldiers; ſo that, if it happens to ceaſe, the *Janizaries* take it for an ill omen, and can ſcarce be reſtrained from flight. *Cant.*

were

A. D. 1691. were sent, with four thousand men under command of a *Pashâ*, to attack *Titul*; which, on the fourth day, was surrendered by captain *Thos*, on condition that the garrison, consisting of only one hundred and twenty *Germans*, and two hundred *Rascians*, should be conducted to the imperial army. But, when they came to march out, the *Pashâ*'s lieutenant would not suffer the *Rascians* to pass, giving orders to put them all to the sword. *Thos*, resolved not to bear this treachery, came to such high words with the *Pashâ*, that the latter drew his simeter; but *Thos*, being too quick for him, shot him dead with a pistol, and then another *Turk* near him. The breach now being irreconcileable, he caused his men to fire on the *Turks*; whence ensued a most desperate fight. But the imperialists, being overpowered by numbers, they were almost all slain, after killing five hundred of the enemy.

Prince Lewis *marches*

MEAN time prince *Lewis*, being arrived on the 29th of *July* at *Peterwaradin*, next day sent word to the *Wazîr*, by a spy who was taken, that he was marching towards him with his whole army; which soon after, by reinforcements, amounted to sixty-six thousand and seventy men. With these he advanced first to *Carlowitz*, and then to *Salankement* (C); where being informed, that the whole *Turkish* army had passed the *Save*, and encamped at *Semlin* (or *Semelin*) on the *Danube*, opposite *Belgrade*, he marched on the 12th of *August* within cannon-shot of the *Turkish* camp. This being posted on a rising ground, not to be attacked without great disadvantage, it was resolved next day to march back to *Salankement*, where their provisions were lodged; the enemy being too strong in shipping for their vessels to attend them. The 16th, the imperial forces began their march, which the *Turks*, mistaking for a flight, on the 17th attacked their rear, but were repulsed with loss. It was now expected that next day there would be a general battle. But, instead of that, the *Wazîr*, following the advice of the *French* who were about him, marched half a league beyond them (D), that he might cut-off their communication with *Peterwaradin*; and there the *Turks* posted themselves with such expedition, that, in twenty-four hours, they had fortified their

to Salankemen.

(C) Or *Slankemen*; which, according to count *Marsigli*, who gives a plan of the battle, is a ruined castle on the south side of the *Danube*, opposite to the mouth of the river *Teisse*. *Etat. milit. del'emp. Ottoman.* part ii. p. 96.

(D) Count *Marsigli* says, he made this forced march under favour of the night.

camp

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camp with regular walls the height of a man, and baſtions planted with cannon, leaving only a paſſage for coming in and going out of the camp. A. D. 1691.

THIS was an unlucky ſtep for the *Germans*: for, by that means, not only fourteen hundred recruits fell into the enemy's hands, and were all ſlain excepting thirty, but they alſo intercepted one hundred and fifty waggons carrying proviſions to the imperial army from *Peterwaradin*, which was their grand ſtorehouſe; beſides one hundred ſhips belonging to their ſuttlers. The imperialiſts, after this loſs, perceiving no deliverance but in their ſwords, on the 19th, armed with deſpair, by break of day, put themſelves in a poſture of battle, and marched directly towards the *Turks*; ſo that about noon, both armies drawn up, faced each other at a ſmall diſtance. The prince of *Baden* commanded the right, and count *Donewaldt* (E) the left wing.

THE *Turkiſh* army conſiſted of about one hundred thouſand men (F), of whom ſixty thouſand were the beſt ſoldiers in the *Othmân* empire; beſides fifteen thouſand of the veteran *Janizaries*. They were advantageouſly poſted, having the *Danube* on their backs (G), and in their front a deep ditch, with earth thrown-up behind them. However their left wing (H) lay ſomewhat more expoſed than the right. On the other hand, the greater part of the imperial infantry was divided into twenty battalions, flanked with two regiments of horſe, and the greater part of the biggeſt cannon. The reſt of the army was drawn-up in the uſual form: and, on the ſignal of a bomb, all marched in an equal line, till within two hundred paces of the enemy; and then the cannon, on both ſides, began to play. At firſt it was intended to attack the enemy's left wing (I), before the right, to give room for the *The Turkiſh army*

(E) Or *Tinevold*, as *Marſigli* calls him: he commanded the horſe; prince *Lewis* the infantry.

(F) Our author, in another place, ſays, that the *Wazir* had drawn from all parts no fewer than 80,000 good experienced ſoldiers; beſides 10,000 ordered for *Great Waradin*, under the *Beraſkier Topal Huſſeyn Paſhâ* of *Siliſtria*. Afterwards they were ſaid to amount to 87,226 horſe and foot, being counted as they croſſed the *Save*: beſides 3000 ſeamen, ſome *Spahi's*, and the rabble attending armies.

(G) The *Danube* alſo covered their left flank, as it did the right of the imperialiſts. Their right wing, which conſiſted of the cavalry under the *Seraſkier*, was not ſo well covered. Yet, being very numerous, they flanked the imperial horſe.

(H) Rather the right more than the left; or the infantry, which was more intrenched with the *Danube*, covering their flank.

(I) Rather it ſhould ſeem the right wing, for the left was attacked firſt.

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A. D. 1691.

foot, who were placed on the rising of a hill, opposite to the main intrenchment of the *Turks*, which was fortified with eighty pieces of cannon: also to charge the enemy's horse drawn up below the hill in the plain, with intent, after having overthrown them, to force through the camp, to that part where the enemy was less fortified.

briskly attacked.

It seems the right wing, happening to be somewhat too forward, began the engagement before the left, hindered by the high grass and bushes, could come up. But, being arrived at the very intrenchments of the enemy, the *Janizaries* fired on them so furiously from their breast-work, that the regiment of *Souches* was forced to give way, till the foot joined them. And now both cavalry and infantry, advancing to the very brink of the trenches, the latter made several attacks on them; and, though sometimes repulsed, yet, being relieved and directed by the brave dukes of *Holstein* and *Aremberg*, they continued the fight from three in the afternoon till night. In this time, all the superior officers of the infantry were killed, excepting count *Guido* of *Staremberg*, and prince *Charles* of *Vaudemont*, who yet were both wounded.

Their camp forced.

Mean time the enemy, attacking their left wing, and flanking it, were bravely repulsed by *Castelli* and *Hoffkerchen*: but the *Turks*, rallying all their horse into a body, fell on with greater fury, and charged the brigade of general *Sarau*, which belonged to the right wing, and cut down two battalions; while those of *Offing*, *Beck*, with the old regiments of *Staremberg* and *Brandenburg*, suffered very much. So that till six o'clock fortune favoured the *Turks*; at which time things were in such a desperate condition, that the generals began to despair of saving one man; for there was no place of retreat for them. However, animated by their danger, the imperialists began to redouble their endeavours: but were ready to turn their backs, when those, who kept the baggage, and remained for reserves, advanced to their relief. At the same time, the main body of the army, under the *Brandenburg* general *Burfu* and *Brandt*, coming up seasonably to succour count *Sarau*, he rallied again, and defended his post till an hour before night: when the brigades of *Hoffkirchen* and *Castelli*, with the right wing commanded by prince *Lewis*, advanced towards that side of the enemy which was not intrenched; and at last, forcing their camp, drove them from the rising grounds, where they had planted their cannon.

Are quite overthrown.

As soon as this was observed by the *Hungarians* and *Rascians*, who now wanted to escape, they resumed courage, and came thundering-on; cutting-down all before them in the camp, which opened a way for the right wing to advance:

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vance: so that the *Turks*, being thus hemmed-in, and attacked on all sides, in a narrow ground between their trenches and the *Danube*, they were defeated, and began to fly. The horse, for the most part, escaped by the opening made for the right wing: but the infantry continued to defend themselves so resolutely in their trenches, that, although the field was yielded to the imperialists, yet they received here their greatest loss; for this action cost the life of the duke of *Holstein*, sergeant-general, with a deluge of blood, to subdue the already conquered enemy. The remainder of the *Turkish* cavalry, among whom was the prince *Wazîr* himself, were forced to break their way through the narrow spaces between the lines; in which attempt many were slain, drowned, or mortally wounded. Among these last were the prime *Wazîr*, *Seraskier*, and *Aga* of the *Janizaries*; who all died of their wounds at *Belgrade* (K). A. D. 1691.

BESIDES these, and many more principal officers, the *Turks* were computed to have lost, at least, twenty-five thousand men (10,000 of them *Janizaries*), to three thousand one hundred and sixty-one of the imperialists; among whom were many officers of note: and their wounded amounted to four thousand one hundred and thirty-six. Here the prince of *Baden*, to say nothing of the other generals, got immortal honour; and the booty was very great: for, beside one hundred and fifty-four pieces of cannon, there were a great number of ensigns, with the grand *Wazîr*'s standard; ten thousand tents; ten waggon-loads of copper-money in the *Wazîr*'s tent; fifty-four trunks in that of the treasurer, twelve in silver; and twenty-four chests of *Kaftâns*, or vests. *Their loss great.*

THE news of this great defeat coming to the *Soltân* at *Adrianople*, he made *Ali*, *Pasha* of *Scio*, and *Kyehaya* to *Kyoprili*, grand *Wazîr* in his room, and sent him to *Belgrade*. Thither Sir *William Hussey*, and Mr. *Collier*, designed to accompany him to mediate a peace. But Sir *William* dying on the 14th of *September*, an end was put to the treaty; and the *French* ambassador encouraging the *Turks* by a powerful invasion in *Germany*, a continuance of the war was resolved on: notwithstanding the great distress which the *Othmân* empire was in, for want of men, money, and bread.

MEAN time, a consequence of the battle of *Salankemen*, besides the taking of *Lippa* by *Veterani*, was the desertion of *Other advantages.*

(K) The *Turks* say, he died in the field of battle, not flying, but in possession of the victory. Which party is to be believed? The *Turks* perhaps in the first article, the *Germans* in the second.

Brodt,

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A. D. 1691. *Brodt*, in *Sclavonia*, by the *Turks*; who were defeated likewise in several small rencounters: but the prince of *Baden*'s main design was upon turning the blockade of *Great Waradin* into a formal siege, which he did in *October*. However, although the *Turks*, to avoid a storm, deserted the city, and half the fortress was destroyed by a bomb falling into their magazine of powder; yet winter coming-on, and the besieged resolutely holding-out, he was obliged to turn the siege again into a blockade, after building a fort which commanded the fortress.

Affairs of the Arabs. In the beginning of the year 1692, two *Arab Amîrs*, infesting the country about *Damascus*, stopped the karawâns going to *Mekka*, till they paid *Kafar*, or custom, and the arrears due to them from the *Soltân*, on account of the pilgrims, were discharged. In *February*, a *Persian* ambassador arrived at *Adrianople*, with three hundred thirty-eight persons in his retinue, and sixty camels laden with presents for the *Soltân*. He was lodged in a magnificent palace, and had his kitchen furniture all of silver. He came to congratulate the *Soltân* on his accession to the throne; and made the longer stay under pretence of renewing the ancient leagues, in order to pry into the weak condition of the *Turks*: who, to conceal their distresses from him, wanted him to be gone. About the same time *Tekeli* arrived at court, where, at the solicitation of *Chateau Neuf*, the *French* ambassador, he had great honours done him by the *Wazir*; after which he returned to *Hungary* [b].

of the Poles. During the transactions at the *Save*, the *Poles*, in the last month of this year, pass the *Tyras* (or *Niester*), and make an expedition into *Bassarabia*: but, being pressed with want of provisions, they, on report of the *Seraskier*, *Buyukli Mostafa Pasha*'s approach, return home without doing any thing remarkable.

and Venetians. Mean time the war, between the *Venetians* and *Turks*, is carried on by artifice rather than arms: for the latter became masters of *Garbusa*, an almost impregnable castle in *Kandia*, by the treachery of a *Spanish* officer (L). They attempt the same at *Suda* and *Spina longa*; but the *Venetians*, more watchful of those fortresses, discover their design, and put the conspirators to death.

[b] Ricaut, in Achmet.

(L) Named *Aloysius*, to be revenged on the governor of *Garbusa*, who, as he said, had ravished his wife.—*Cant.*

In

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A. D. 1691.

In the interim, *Arabâji Ali Pasha* (M), *Kaymayham* of *Constantinople* (a man inferior to many in abilities, but to none in wickedness) being made *Wazîr* by *Soltân Ahmad*, in the room of *Kyoprili Ogli*, he revives the talk of peace, and lends a favourable ear to the ambassadors of Christian princes; especially *Paget* (N), the *English*, and *Collier* (O), the *Dutch*, who were sent for that purpose to the *Porte*. But, being informed by *Mauro Kordatus*, that *Germany* was so exhausted of men and money, that, very probably, the emperor could not support the war above a year or two longer; he immediately cuts off all hopes of peace (P), and applies himself wholly to renew the war: pursuing such measures as might at once supply the exigencies of the treasury, and remove out of the way men of superior abilities to his own. Accordingly, he puts to death many eminent persons of the first rank, under various pretences, and confiscates their estates. Not content with this, he orders even the *Janizaries*, and common soldiers, distinguished for their bravery, to be thrown, privately by night, into the sea; that no person might be left alive, who should be esteemed more worthy of the *Wazîrship* than himself.

Wicked Wazîr.

This cruelty being frequently complained of to the court, and those persons, whose lives were spared by accident, or *Peace laid aside.*

(M) *Arabaji* signifies a waggon-maker or waggon-driver; a surname given him either as having been such, or because of his stupidity. *Cant.*

(N) He was of a noble family, very learned, and well skilled in the *Greek* and *Turkish* languages, besides other sciences. Was very prudent, and perfectly understood the way of obtaining any thing from the *Turks*, among whom he left a very good name. *Cant.*—This was lord *Paget*.

(O) Born at *Smyrna*, where his father was consul; and, having in his youth, learned the functions of an ambassador, as well as the *Greek* and *Turkish*, he was reckoned the wisest and most civil of all the ambassadors among the *Turks*. As he also freely entertained the courtiers, greedy of wine, he got out of them all the *Wazir*'s secrets.—*Cant.*

(P) *Ricaut* says, it was looked on as injurious to the *Othmân* empire, as being proposed on the foot of *uti possidetis*; for thus, *Transylvania* was to remain to the emperor, and *Tekeli* to be delivered up. *Ragusa* to pay tribute no longer to the *Porte*, and to be discharged from its arrears. *Poland* required the surrender of *Kaminiek*, *Podolia*, the *Castelli* on the *Boryslhenes* (or *Nieper*), *Moldavia*, and *Walakhia*: also, that the *Porte* should make good all future damages by the *Tatars*. The *Venetians* required *Livadia*, *Athens*, and *Thebes*, in lieu of the *Morea*, and other territories towards *Lepanto* and *Dalmatia*.

Arabaji's

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A. D. 1691. *Arabâji*'s ignorance, representing to the *Soltân*, that, by this means, all the defenders of the *Othmân* empire would be destroyed (Q), *Ahmed*, at last, after six months, removes him from his post; and, having stripped him of his wealth unjustly acquired, advances *Tarpôschi Ali Pashâ* (R), governor of *Damaskus* in his room.

THE new *Wazîr* concerted measures for settling a peace: but the ambassadors, who had been four years at *Vienna*, returning home; and, being bribed, 'tis said, by the *French* ambassador, excite the *Turks* to continue the war, representing, that *Germany* was exhausted of its strength; that the emperor, being one hundred millions in debt, could not raise supplies; and that both *Hungary* and *Germany* were afflicted with a dearth: which representations were not so false as agreeable to the *Porte*.

Waradin *surrenders* THE *Wazîr* therefore, laying aside all pacifick measures, applies himself to renew the war: but, because the number of *Janizaries* was extremely lessened by the *German* sword, and *Arabâji*'s cruelty, while the soldiers, terrified by the late defeat, could not be assembled with expedition, he sends the *Seraskier*, with what forces were ready, towards *Hungary* with orders to defend the borders, relieve the *Turkish* cities, and avoid a battle with the *Germans*. He indeed kept the imperial troops from approaching the *Save*; for, being weak, they were not desirous of an engagement: but could not Hej. 1103. A. D. 1692. hinder *Heusler*, lately set at liberty, from obliging *Waradin*, blocked-up the year before, to surrender for want of provisions, on the 21st of *Ramazân* 1103 [c] (*May* 25th 1692).

to general Heusler. *HEUSLER*, before the *Turks* got into the field, drew together all the forces he could, in order to reduce the place by siege. To this end, in *May* 1692, he raised two bulwarks opposite those of the enemy, called *Rungar* and *Kapudan*; he caused a bridge also to be laid from the *Palanka* of *Oloschi* to the old city, notwithstanding the sallies of the *Turks*: so that by the 7th, the imperialists had surrounded the city, and lodged themselves in the ditch. After this, the bombs and cannon played furiously on both sides, till the

[c] CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 383, & seqq.

(Q) *Ricaut* takes notice of the cruelty, as well as inexperience, of this choleric old *Wazîr*; and says, he was banished, after being ordered to be strangled, by the *Soltân*, for applying to him to turn-out the *Kaymaykam* of *Adrianople*.

(R) *Tarpus* is a sort of cap worn by the *Turkish* women, of which this *Wazir* seems to have been a maker in his youth. *Cant.*

19th

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19th, when the heavy cannon coming-up, and a larger breach being made, the beſiegers, who before rejected the ſummons, on the 28th, ſeeing the imperialiſts preparing for the aſſault, thought fit to capitulate, on condition of being convoyed to *Panzova*. There were found in this important fortreſs 5000 meaſures of barley, 1000 of wheat, 300 ſacks of rice, 50 vats of flour, 50 braſs guns, 22 mortars, 70,000 pounds of good powder, 723,000 of decayed powder, 3500 cannon-balls, 30,000 pounds of unwrought, and 4300 of wrought, iron. The garriſon, to the number of 1200 fighting men, and in all 12,000 ſouls, were detained without the city, till the *Turks* had releaſed the garriſon at *Peſcobara*, who had been detained there contrary to articles. A. D. 1692.

THE *Othmâns*, being deſirous of revenge, in *June* detached a ſtrong party towards *Eſſek*, with a deſign to make an incurſion into *Sclavonia*; but were repulſed here, as well as at *Titul* and *Titz*, by the *Raſcians*, while the *Kroats* plundered and burnt *Behatz* and *Oſtroſatz*. In *July*, the *Turks* attacked the fortreſs of *Portſen* near *Peterwaradin*, but were forced to give over the enterprize; which yet they attempted a ſecond time, no leſs in vain. *Other advantages.*

THERE happened no conſiderable action on either ſide in *Hungary* this campaign, only the *Kroats* and *Raſcians* made an incurſion towards *Meydan*, with good ſucceſs; and the latter had the luck to break into *Morava*, and take 200,000 dollars, after defeating the *Turkiſh* convoy [d].

ABOUT the ſame time, the *Seraſkier* of *Bâbadâghi*, *Daldabân Moſtafa Pâſhâ*, in conjunction with *Arap Paſhâ*, governor of *Trebizond*, in the end of the month of *Zilkaadeh*, enters *Moldavia*. There being joined by the prince of that country, and twenty thouſand *Tatars*, under the command of *Shahbâz Gyeray Soltân*, marches towards *Soroka*: but, being detained for ſeveral days by a bloody flux, at the town of *Orheyus*, four days diſtant, gives the *Poles*, till then negligent, time to fortify that city, and reinforce the garriſon. As ſoon as the *Seraſkier* was recovered, he haſtes, and lays ſiege to *Soroka*, whoſe garriſon was at firſt terrified; but, finding that the enemy had only ſeven ſmall field-pieces, and two mortars, they reſume courage, and deſtroy great numbers of them by ſallies in the night. At length, the *Seraſkier*, finding that the walls could not be undermined, as built on a rock, and that winter approached, is obliged to retire after thirty days ſiege, and the loſs of three thouſand men [e]. *Affairs of Moldavia.*

[d] RICAUT, ubi ſupr. [e] CANT. ubi ſupr. p. 385.

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A. D. 1692. Soraka *besieged.*

THE siege of this place is represented very differently by our historians. According to *Ricaut*, the *Seraskier Mostafa Pasha*, on the 27th of *September*, with 30,000 men, sat down before *Soroka*, whose garrison, consisting of no more than 600 soldiers, bravely resisted so great a power. For though the *Turks*, on the 1st of *October*, advanced their trenches to the ditch side, yet they lost 600 men in storming the place; and though, by their continual firing, they made great breaches, yet the besieged, with indefatigable industry, repaired them in the night. On the 6th likewise, they beat the enemy out of the ditch, and countermined their sappings. However, early on the 9th, one of them having thrown down part of the wall, they began the assault, which the *Poles* bravely withstood for four hours, driving them from the walls, as often as they advanced, and planted their colours. In this action, the besieged took three standards, and killed 800 of the enemy; then, prosecuting their success, drove them out of most of their posts, and lodgements, slaying 1000 of their men. The *Turks*, dismayed at these repulses, raised their camp in the night, with such precipitation, that they left behind them two great guns, and three mortars, with ammunition and provision [f].

Poles *refuse peace.*

AT the end of the campaign, the *Khân* of *Krim Tartary*, *Kior Sefa Gyeray* (S), by advice of *Daltabân Pasha*, sends *Darwish Shabân Aga*, one of his officers to the king of *Poland*; offering to restore *Kaminiek*, with all *Podolia* and *Ukrania*, in case he would renounce his alliance with the emperor. But the *Poles*, who had conceived new hopes of subduing all *Moldavia*, from the ill success of the *Turks* against *Soroka*, pay no regard to the *Khân*'s proposals.

Venetian *affairs.*

THE same year, the *Venetians*, having entirely subdued the *Morea*, resolve to turn their arms against *Kandia*; and, transporting their whole army to that island, think to surprise *Kanea*. But the *Turks*, informed of their design by a *French* ship, had put so strong a garrison into the city, that the *Venetians* are repulsed with great slaughter, and obliged to retire, after a siege of fifty days (T). With equal success

[f] RICAUT.

(S) This was the only prince of the family of *Chobân Gyeray*, mentioned before in the history, who arrived to the dignity of *Khân*; which he did not enjoy above one year. After his deposition the empire of *Tartary* returned to the legitimate *Gyerays*. *Cant.*—*Kior* signifies one blind of an eye.

(T) *Ricaut* says, they had hopes of carrying the place, if 1000 *French*, in their service, had not, at their first landing, deserted, and gone over to the *Turks*.

Soleymân

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Soleymân Paſhâ, governor of *Arnaud*, defeats the *Mante Negrini*, meditating a rebellion; he likewiſe recovers *Zuffa* and *Panduriza*. The *Seraſkier* of the *Morea*, encouraged with thoſe advantages, makes ſeveral incurſions upon the *Venetians*; but, attempting to ſeize *Naupactum* (or *Lepanto*), is repulſed with great loſs. Worſe luck in *Dalmatia* attends the *Paſhâ* of *Hercegovina*, who endeavouring, by *Ali Beg*, to recover *Gracow*, the beſiegers are ſuddenly attacked by the enemy; and, being put to flight, their general is taken priſoner. A. D. 1692.

THE campaign of 1103 being ended, the *Soltân* next year has twins born to him at *Conſtantinople*, *Selim* and *Ibrahîm* (U). As this had never happened to any *Soltân* before, the *Turks* conſidered it as a preſage of future ſucceſs; and for eight days celebrate the *Donanma* (W), with other ſports uſual on ſuch occaſions. Amidſt theſe rejoicings, the *Wazîr Torpoſchi Ali Paſhâ* endeavours to renew the negotiations of peace; but, being reprehended by the *Mufti*, and *Soltân Ahmed* declaring it done without his knowlege, he is deprived of his dignity, as a betrayer of the law and the empire. His ſucceſſor, *Buyukli Moſtafa Paſhâ*, endeavouring to put a ſtop to the rapines committed by ſeveral great men, through the negligence of former *Wazîrs*, ſome of the offenders murmur openly, and others form a ſecret plot againſt him; but, their aſſemblies being diſturbed by the *Janizar-Agaſi*, his friend, and the ringleaders either put to death, or baniſhed, the city is reſtored to its former tranquility. *The Wazîr removed.* Hej. 1104. A. D. 1693.

WHILE the new *Wazîr* was employed in making preparations for war, and had now encamped without *Conſtantinople*, the *Sheykh* of *Pruſa*, *Miſri Effendi* (X), erects his *Sedition begun*

(U) *Ricaut* obſerves, that, in the midſt of theſe rejoicings, a fire broke out in three different places, which burnt 4000 houſes, and 2000 ſhops. At the ſame time, one of the *Menâra*, or ſteeples, of *Soltân Soleymân*'s moſk fell to the ground; which was eſteemed an evil omen, preſaging the next campaign to be a bad one. About the ſame time, according to the ſame author, *Soltân Ahmed* began to be afflicted with the dropſy, the fatal diſtemper of his family.

(W) So the *Turks* call their public rejoicings for a victory, or a fortreſs taken. On ſuch occaſions the ſhops are kept open day and night, all ſorts of diverſions, and even wine allowed to be drank publickly.—*Cant.*

(X) He was in great renown for his ſanctity; yet many thought him too great a favourer of the Chriſtian religion, from ſome expreſſions in the divine poems which he publiſhed, and ordered to be ſung in the *Jami*.—*Cant.*

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A. D. 1693. standard in that city; and lists above three thousand volunteers, under the title of *Darwishes*, without pay, or allowance of provision, merely in the name of God, and in confidence of the divine assistance. With these he comes to *Adrianople*; and, marching to *Selîm*'s temple, at the time of noon-day prayers, first performs his orisons with great devotion, and then makes a speech; in which he tells them, "It was revealed to him from God, that the cause of the "*Othmân* ill success of late was not the valour of the *Ger-*
by Misri Effendi. "*mans*, nor the sins of the whole nation, but the ill conduct "of seventeen great men, and governors of the empire, as the "*Wazîr*, *Janizar Aga*, *Kaymaykâm*, *Tefterdâr*, *Reis Ef-*"*fendi*, and others whom he named: that, unless these "were put to death, no advantage could be hoped against "the *Germans*, but greater calamities, and even the de-"struction of the whole empire, were to be expected; that, "there being no occasion for a numerous army against the "Infidels, he had, by God's command, collected a body "of soldiers, few in number, and unarmed, but animated "by a divine power, and untainted with sin; with whom "he would undertake, not only to stop an innumerable host "of *Gyawrs*, but likewise drive them from the borders of "the empire."

The Wazîr *alarmed.* THE noise of this affair bringing together great numbers, not only of the common people, but *Janizaries*, *Spahi's*, and others of the better sort, the *Sheykh* harangues them for four hours together. The *Wazîr*, being informed hereof, and fearing a sedition, sends the *Kaymaykâm* to desire the *Sheykh* to come to him: but *Misri Effendi* answers, "That he was "the servant of God, sent to the people of God, to declare "what had been revealed to him; and could see no reason "why he should abandon his call, in obedience to such a "*Gyawr* as the *Wazîr* was." The *Kaymaykam*, perceiving, on account of the people, that he could use no compulsion, returns to the *Wazîr*; tells him what he had heard, and advises him instantly to disperse the assembly, since the *Sheykh*'s whole discourse tended to sedition against the nobles, and probably the *Soltân* himself. The *Wazîr* having sent for the *Janizar Aga*, and other officers branded by *Misri Effendi* with the name of Infidels; they send to inform *Ahmed*, by a *Takhtish*, that the *Sheykh*, with a body of soldiers disguised like *Darwishes*, was in the *Selimîyah*, giving odious appellations to his majesty, and charging the great officers of state with being Infidels, as well as friends to the *Germans*; whence he declared, that the divine blessing could not be expected upon the *Othmân* court.

THE

THE *Soltân*, enraged by such misrepresentations, orders the rebel to be seized; and, since he could not be put to death, as wearing the green turbân (Y), to be banished with his followers to *Prusa*. *Buyukli Mostafa* hereupon sends again the *Kaymaykân*, attended by the *Janizar Agasi*, and a good number of soldiers, who, in the *Soltân*'s name, salute the *Sheykh*, still holding-forth, and inform him; that his majesty, hearing of his sanctity, desired to enjoy his conversation, and that he would instantly come to the palace. *Misri Effendi* told them, "That, although they seemed to be sent "rather by *Sheytân* than the *Soltân*, yet that he would go "where-ever they lead him: he added, that, to convince "them he spoke nothing of himself, they should, in a few "hours, receive tokens of a divine evidence." Having said this, he mounted the *Soltân*'s chariot, attended with the guards; and passes with great honour through crouds of people: but, as soon as he is at some distance from the populace, he is put into a covered waggon, and conveyed to *Rodostus*, from whence he is transported to *Prusa* (Z).

A. D. 1693. *Gets him banished.*

HIS prediction however was fulfilled two days after by a great whirlwind and storm, which threw down almost all the tents in the camp; some of which falling on the fires prepared for dressing dinner, and their flames catching hold of the rest, above a thousand tents were consumed in one hour's space: nor were the rest saved without great difficulty. The people looked-on without giving their assistance, saying, it was a judgment for banishing the servant of God, and witness of the truth. The *Soltân* himself, struck with terror, sends the *Sheykh* a respectful letter, and "intreats his pardon; "confessing himself deceived by the treachery of his ministers; "and desiring him to return to *Adrianople*, in order to give "the army his benediction." *Misri Effendi* answers, "That "he knew at the first the fault of his banishment was in the "great men, and not in the *Soltân*: that he had therefore "long since forgiven, and even forgotten, the crime: but that "he could not return to *Adrianople*; because the spirit, which

His prediction verified.

(Y) Which belongs to the *Amirs*, or kindred of *Mohammed*, mentioned in a former note.

(Z) *Ricaut* mentions this sedition of a learned *Turk* against the *Soltân*, as well as the *Waxir*, and ministers in general. He places it on the 15th of *October* 1694, and says, it was quashed by the *Kaymaykam*, who seized the preacher, and put to death the chief ringleaders; among whom were a rapacious *Pasha*, two *Agas*, eleven officers, and an astrologer, who could not foresee his own fate. These tumults were followed by reports of strange prodigies and apparitions, with which the *Soltân* was very much affrighted.

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A. D. 1693. " had prompted him to the first journey thither, would not " permit a second g."

Fire at Constantinople.

MEAN time a fire happened at *Constantinople*, which burnt down 20,000 houses and shops. This disaster was succeeded by the news that the new *Amir* of the *Arabs*, descended from *Mohammed*, threatened to besiege *Bassora* (or *Basrah*), in the *Persian* gulf, to which he pretended an hereditary right: so that the *Soltân* was obliged to send troops over, under the command of the *Pashâ* of *Bosnia*, to reinforce the militia of those quarters. But, being arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, which is all a flat country, the *Arabs* let out the river by sluices; which overflowing the camp of the *Turks*, six or seven thousand of them perished in the waters, and the rest were all put to the sword.

Jeno *taken.*

SINCE the taking of *Great Waradin*, *Ghiula* and *Jeno* had been much streightened by the imperialists. The latter particularly having been for some time blocked-up by *Heusler*, that general, on the 16th of *June*, began to attack its suburbs, which he took; and, having, in a few days more, by his bombs and cannon, made a breach in the city-walls, the *Turks*, not willing to abide a storm, capitulated on the 27th of the same month. Presently after which he went, and took the fortress of *Philagoras* h.

Belgrade *besieged.*

ABOUT the same time, the *Wazîr* marches from *Adrianople*, with a design to penetrate, by *Tekeli*'s route, into *Transilvania* (A). But, hearing at *Distra*, that the *Germans*, after taking *Gena* and *Villagothwar*, had besieged *Belgrade*, he returns towards *Chenghe Dâghlari*, and, with no less danger than difficulty, conducts his army through the straits of those mountains, scarce wide enough for an unarmed man to pass. The *German* general, being informed that the *Wazîr* was attempting the conquest of *Transilvania*, went loiteringly on with the siege, which had continued twenty days already (B),

g CANT. ubi supr. p. 386, & seqq. h RICAUT, in Achmet.

(A) *Ricaut* says, he left *Adrianople* the 26th of *June*, O. S. with that design; but, hearing the siege of *Belgrade* was intended, he marched that way with 80,000 men, and supplied the garrison with 3000 men.

(B) According to *Ricaut*, many blunders were committed in the management of this siege, under the duke of *Croy*, which ended about the 10th of *September* 1693; for the trenches were not opened till 13 days after the place was invested; neither was the fleet, for hindering provisions coming to the town, ready before it was invested; nor the cannon brought before the place, till five weeks after it was invested.

But,

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But, when he found *Buyukli Moſtafa* had paſſed the mountains, he puſhed it with ſuch vigour, that, by his cannon and mines, he had, in eight days, not only demoliſhed the outer walls, but alſo ſhaken the inner, in ſuch a manner, as ſeemed to render him maſter of the city, although defended by ſixteen thouſand *Othmâns*; if the *Wazir*, leaving behind him his baggage, and larger cannon, had not, on the eighth day, advanced to its relief. A. D. 1693.

THE *Germans*, perceiving, from the ſmallneſs of their numbers, that they could not, at the ſame time, carry on the ſiege, and make a ſtand againſt the *Wazir*, who was about to attack their camp, break-up, and paſs the *Save* with their whole army. The *Othmân* general, taking their retreat for a flight, informs the *Soltân*, that he had gained a victory: but, not daring to croſs the river, and attack their camp, he ſends *Selîm Gyeray Khân*, with his *Tatars*, to ravage the adjacent provinces of *Hungary*, and cut-off the *Germans* from all opportunity of procuring proviſions. The *Khân*, roving about incautiouſly, is ſurrounded at *Khonad* by the imperialiſts appointed to guard thoſe parts, under the command of *Hofkirkhen*; and ſhut up in ſo narrow a ſpace, that he could not make uſe of his horſe, or find any means of eſcape. Being thus reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting, or ſtarving, if he continued in this ſituation, and, finding no other way to get out of it, he engaged the *Tatars* in a project never before heard of, or practiſed, among them: this was, to kill their horſes, and fall upon the enemy on foot with their ſwords. So unexpected an attack, at firſt, confounds the *Germans*, till, reſuming their courage, they incloſe them a ſecond time, now almoſt eſcaped; and make ſuch a ſlaughter, that, excepting the *Khân*, and a few of his attendants, ſcarce a man of them was ſaved [1]. *The* Tatars *overthrown.*

RICAUT gives no account of this action, but does of another of the ſame general, before *Giula*, on the 19th of *October*, citing his letter to the duke of *Croy*; in which he ſays, that he fell on the *Turks* and *Tatars* unexpectedly, drove them beyond the firſt *Palanka*, and made his dragoons paſs the ditch on foot: that the enemy were very ſtrong, conſiſting of 40 troops of horſe, 1200 *Janizaries*, and 2800 *Tatars*, who came to convoy proviſions into the fortreſs: that 1000 of theſe laſt were killed, 2500 beaſts taken, and all their proviſion burned. He adds, that he was preparing to follow the *Tatars* who were marching to *Debrezin*; and *Defeated at* Giula.

[1] CANT. p. 390. See alſo RICAUT.

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A. D. 1693. perhaps the defeat of them may be the action ascribed to *Hoffkirken* by the *Turkish* historians.

Brunzen Maydan taken.

THE imperialists had this year one other piece of success against the *Turks*: for count *Batheim*, *Ban* of *Kroatia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Sclavonia*, having marched from the river *Unna* and *Kostannizza*, on the 19th of *September* arrived at *Brunzein Maydan* (C); which was one of the *Soltân*'s magazines, and famous for the iron and copper mines in its neighbourhood. Next day the artillery began to play; and for two hours the *Turks* defended themselves bravely: but, at last, the pallisades being cut down, the city-walls were forced, and above 500 men and women put to the sword, among whom were two chief commanders, and a third taken, with many other persons of note. They found a great number of bombs, some 200 weight, store of brass curiously wrought, and other rich plunder, which they carried off, and then burned the city, with its suburbs, to ashes. This loss chagrined the *Porte*: but they were more alarmed at a fire which happened at *Constantinople* on the 26th of *August*, and burned down one fourth part of the city [k].

Poles, Venetians.

WHILE the imperialists were revenging on the *Tatars* the many defeats given by them to the *Polish* armies, the *Poles* themselves, either amused with new offers from *Selîm Gyeray*, or deterred by former misfortunes, continue unactive (D). The *Venetian* arms are likewise quiet in *Greece*. However, in *Dalmatia*, they besiege *Klobukhi*, under the conduct of *Erizzo*, governor of *Katarri* (or *Kattaro*), but are repulsed with considerable loss by the *Pashâ* of *Hercegovina*; who, notwithstanding, is soon after defeated by *Canegotti*.

The Wazîr changed.

MEAN time the *Wazîr* returns to *Adrianople*: but, while he expects to be rewarded for raising the siege of *Belgrade*, and driving the enemy from the borders of the empire, he is deprived of his dignity on a very slight occasion. For, going out one day to divert himself with hawking, the *Koltûk Wazîrleri*, who had long been his enemies, take a handle from hence to persuade the easy *Soltân*, that he neglected the affairs of state, and minded nothing but his pleasures. Hereupon *Ahmed* takes from him the imperial seal, and gives it to *Shâm*

[k] RICAUT ubi supr.

(C) It stands on the river *Sana*, between *Kastanovitz* and *Bihacz*, to the east.

(D) *Ricaut* observes, that the *French* ambassador procured an ambassador from the *Porte* to be sent to *Warsaw*; so that it was generally believed a peace would be concluded: but he says, the *Venetians* neither did, nor attempted any thing in the year 1693.

Tarabolus

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Tarabolus Alî Paſhâ (E). However, not to ſeem ungrateful for his ſervices, the *Soltân* takes away neither his eſtate, nor his liberty, but makes him alſo governor of *Damaſkus*, a rare example among the *Turks*. A D. 1693.

ALI Paſhâ, conſidering the diſtreſſed ſtate of the empire, and deſpairing of victory, as ſoon as he is advanced to the *Wazîrſhip*, endeavours to make peace with the *Germans* and *Poles* (F), excluſive of the *Venetians*: but, as on one hand, the emperor refuſed to treat on any terms, unleſs they were parties; and, on the other, the *French* ambaſſador, by preſents, and great promiſes, had gained both the nobles and *Ulema* firmly on his ſide, they unanimouſly oppoſed that deſign. The *Wazîr*, being thus diſappointed, in the end of the year 1105, ſends the *Seraſkier* into *Hungary*, who, aſſaulting *Titul*, is repulſed with great loſs by *Caprara*, general of the imperialiſts: but the *Germans* were not able to improve this victory; the emperor, intent on the war with *France*, having left but a ſmall army in *Hungary* [1]. *Peace oppoſed.* Hej. 1105. A. D. 1694.

TITUL, in the *Turkiſh* account, ſeems to be a miſtake for *Peterwaradin*; and one of the moſt famous actions in all this war is here paſſed over in ſilence. The imperial army in 1694, not being ſo numerous as it uſed to be, the marſhal count *Caprara*, who commanded it, underſtanding, that the *Wazîr* intended to attack *Peterwaradin*, entrenched himſelf about that place. In effect, the *Wazîr* did arrive with his army in view of the imperialiſts: but, inſtead of falling on them, he alſo entrenched himſelf; and, what till then was unheard-of, began his approaches againſt the retrenchments of the enemy. Count *Caprara*, ſurpriſed at this novelty, found it expedient to make another retrenchment between the former and the town: to which, upon occaſion, he might re- *The Germans attacked*

[1] CANT. p. 390, & ſeqq.

(E) That is, *Alî Paſhâ*, governor of *Tripolis* in *Syria*.

(F) *Ricaut* ſays, that about *May* 1694. the *Poliſh* ambaſſador was diſmiſſed from *Adrianople*, *re infecta*; and that the myſtery of his embaſſy (which was properly to the *Tatar Khân*, who gave him audience, his letter being directed to that prince), could never be unravelled; for that, though he pretended to treat of peace in the name of all the confederates, the reſt knew nothing of it: but it was ſuppoſed to have been an artifice of the *French* to bring *Poland* into a ſeparate peace; which perhaps had taken effect, had not the ambaſſador too earneſtly inſiſted on the ſurrender of *Kaminiek*, with all the proviſions, arms, and fortreſſes; beſides the *uti poſſidetis*, which term the *Turks* mortally hated.

tire;

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A. D. 1694.

tire; and to furnish it with mines before the ditches, in order to stop the *Wazir*'s progress. To this general account of the matter given by count *Marsigli*[m], who, according to his method, has also inserted a plan of the whole with explanations, we shall add the particulars from *Ricaut*.

at Peterwaradin

THE imperial troops, increasing but slowly, they resolved to act only upon the defensive, and therefore to remain encamped at *Peterwaradin*, within the retrenchment of last year. On the 9th of *September* the *Turkish* army, arriving from *Belgrade*, under the *Wazir Ali Pasha* of *Tripoli* (G), appeared in sight of the imperialists, who had scarce time to repair the damages made the day before by a storm; which had carried away all their tents, broken their bridge of boats, and sunk several of their ships. On the 10th, the whole army came within half an hour's march of the imperial intrenchments: the foot took their quarters next to the *German* front; the horse to the left of their foot; and, on the left of those, was camped the *Tatars*. Their fleet, consisting of 110 came likewise within cannon-shot of the imperial ships, and cast anchor in a line of battle.

by the Wazir:

NEXT day it was thought the *Turks* would have stormed the imperial camp; for they appeared within 800 paces of the retrenchment, behind the earth of a ditch, which covered them so well, that the imperial guns could but little annoy them. On the 12th, the camps and fleets began to fire furiously on each other: the attack of the *Turks* seeming to be a formal siege both of *Peterwaradin*, and the imperial camp; for they plied both with their bombs and cannon till the 18th, when they shewed themselves beyond the imperial intrenchments, but were quickly driven back by the *Hussars*. They likewise drew a new parallel line 60 paces nearer to the imperial camp, and were busy to close it with their line of communication. On the 19th, the *German* left wing, with great guns and muskets, from an eminence, very much annoyed the first line of the *Turks*, who ran, horse and foot from all sides, to strengthen their left wing; and that evening, six battalions of *Brandenburg* foot arriving, the enemy seemed less brisk in their attack.

[m] L'Etat. Milit. emp. Oth. p. 98, & seqq. part ii.

(G) According to *Ricaut*, this *Pasha* of *Tripoli* was different from the *Ali* of the *Turkish* historians. That author makes two of the name, and says, one was made *Wazir* early in *March*; and, being soon after deposed, was succeeded by the second *Ali* of *Tripoli*, who arrived from *Asia* the 18th of *April* following.

BUT

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A. D. 1694.

BUT what moſt incommoded them, was the loſs of 25 of their proviſion-ſhips, taken by the governor of *Titul*, who alſo ſunk three frigates; and fifteen hundred *Tatars* cut-off in an incurſion, by general *Baſſompiere*. The ſon of the *Khân*, being among the ſlain, that prince, incenſed, threatened to return with his troops. For all this, the *Wazîr* perſiſted in his attacks till the 13th of *October*, when the rains falling for ſeven days ſucceſſively, ſo that the ſoldiers were up to their knees in the trenches, he, at length, drew-off in the night [n]. Theſe terrible rains, ſays count *Marſigli*, convinced the *Wazîr* of his folly; nor could he have ſucceeded in his deſign, had his army been double the number [o]. The *Turks* thus ended the campaign; but the *Germans*, after this, added *Giula* to their other conqueſts. Let us now return to the *Turkiſh* hiſtorians.

who is repulſed.

THE *Poliſh* and *Ruſſian* forces this year alſo continue to guard their own frontiers, neither power performing or attempting any thing remarkable. The *Venetians* alone puſh the *Turks* this campaign with vigour, and effect that which would have gained them the dominion of the ſea, if they had known how to uſe their good fortune with prudence and moderation. Early in ſpring, they ſend out a fleet, by invitation of the inhabitants of *Khios*, devoted to the *Romiſh* religion (H), and attack that iſland. *Silahdar Haſſan Paſhâ*, who was then governor, had reſolved to make a brave defence: but, finding the Chriſtian inhabitants endeavoured to deliver-up the town without his conſent, and having but a few *Turkiſh* forces in garriſon, to avoid being made a priſoner,

Venetians *take* Khios:

[n] RICAUT, ubi ſupr. [o] L'Etat Milit. ubi ſupr.

(H) Originally from *Italy*, chiefly *Venice*. They poſſeſſed the greater part of the iſland; the *Greeks* the reſt; and enjoyed more priviledges than the other ſubjects of the *Othmân* empire. After the *Vienna* defeat, they became ſpies for the *Venetians*, and ſent them an account of whatever was done in the *Turkiſh* fleet. When the *Venetians* had conquered the *Morea*, they reſolved to deliver up their iſland to them: but firſt founded the *Greeks*, who, believing they could depend neither on their integrity, nor protection, againſt the *Turks*, ſent notice to the *Kâpudan Paſhâ* to be on his guard. The *Latins*, having diſcovered this, invite the *Venetian* admiral, who comes, and takes the city, as mentioned in the text. The *Venetians*, now maſters, exerciſe cruelty equally on the *Grecks* and *Turks*; forbid the exerciſe of their religion; and deem them rebels, unleſs they frequent the *Romiſh* churches. But next year, the iſland being taken by *Medzomiorto*, they were juſtly treated in the ſame manner themſelves. —*Cant.*

ſurrenders

A. D. 1694. surrenders the place himself (I). The *Venetians* hereupon, to oblige the pope, shut-up the *Greek* churches; and partly by force, and partly by artifice, compel the inhabitants to conform to the *Romish* church: acting also in many other things contrary to justice, and the terms of the surrender.

threaten Smyrna: HAVING settled at pleasure the affairs of *Khios*, they resolve to besiege *Smyrna*: but the *French*, *English*, and *Dutch* consuls, meeting them in their march, intercede for that city; urging, among other reasons against a siege, that almost all the warehouses there were full of merchandize of their respective nations; and that, if they should be destroyed, or plundered by the soldiers, the republick would be responsible to their masters for the damage with interest. Upon this, the *Venetians* desist from their design, and return with their fleet. In *Dalmatia* however, under the command of *Delfini*, they take *Kiklut* and *Klobukh*, which last they attempted the year before. The *Seraskier*, *Soleymân Pashâ*, governor of *Albania*, endeavouring twice to recover the former, is both times repulsed: for which reason, being accused of negligence to the *Soltân*, he is deprived of his post, and succeeded by *Elmas Mehemmed Pashâ*, governor of *Bosnia*, lately sent from the *Saray*.

Succes in Dalmatia.

The Arabs *in arms.* WHILE the *Othmân* arms are successful in all parts of *Europe*, a new sedition breaks-out in *Asia*. *Amîr Mohammed*, one of the *Arab* princes, with several thousands of his countrymen, plunder and spoil the karawân, going in pilgrimage to *Mekka* (K).

AFTERWARDS, augmenting the number of his troops, he besieges *Mekka* itself: but, touched with reverence for the place, and the dread of sacrilege, retires from before it. The *Beglerbeg* of *Shâm* (or *Damaskus*), attended by the other

(I) *Ricaut* only says, that the *Venetians* by surprize, with little difficulty, took the island in a few days; that at first both the castle and forts capitulated; and, on the 19th of *September* 1694, all was delivered-up. Lastly, that the *Turks* were struck with a terrible consternation at the news.

(K) After the time of *Selim* I. 40,000 gold crowns were paid yearly to the *Arabs* of the desart between *Damaskus*, *Bâgdâd*, and *Mekka*; by way of bounty under the denomination of *Surreh*, as if paid them for securing the roads, but, in reality, to restrain them from robbing the karawâns. Now the *Surreh* not being sent for some years, on account of the *Hungarian* war, was the occasion of this attack. But the most illustrious *Khân* of *Tartary* being taken among the pilgrims, the *Arabs* obliged him to carry their complaint to the *Soltân*; and he never rested till the arrears were paid. *Cant.*

Pashâs

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Paſhâs of thoſe parts, is ſent againſt him: but the *Sheykh* defeats them all by a ſtratagem, and puts them to flight P. A. D. 1694.

THE *Amir Mohammed*, in the foregoing paragraph, ſeems, from circumſtances, to be the *Amîr* mentioned before from *Ricaut*, who, about this time, ſpeaks of the *Sharif* (L) being in arms; and, having plundered a very rich city, he ſays, that his army, which obſerved exact diſcipline, was divided in two parts: that one diviſion remained with the *Sharif*, encamped between *Mekka* and *Medina*; the other in the province of *Baſrah*, to oppoſe the *Paſhâs* on that ſide, and cut-off all communication with *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*. At length, the *Mufti*, from a ſenſe of the empire's low condition, wrote to the *Sharîf*, exhorting him to peace; declaring, that he could not, without betraying the *Muſulman* intereſt, perſiſt in war againſt the *Soltân*, at a time when the *Othmân* empire was oppreſſed on all ſides with enemies. This letter of the *Mufti* was ſeconded by exhortations from many *Paſhâs*, *Mollahs*, *Kâdis*, *Sheykhs*, and other religious: even *Kalaïlikos Ahmed Paſhâ*, who was ſent with forces againſt the *Sharif*, became an advocate for peace, making uſe of the pen inſtead of the ſword. Theſe admonitions, in behalf of religion, had ſo good effect, that firſt, ſeveral *Arab* princes fell-off from their alliance with the *Sharîf*; and, at length, the *Sharîf* himſelf deſiſted from hoſtilities. *Perſuaded to peace.*

THE year 1695 began with a terrible fire in *Conſtantinople*, which conſumed 4000 houſes and ſhops: however preparations for war went on both by ſea and land q. Mean time, the empire being ſurrounded with ſo many enemies, and almoſt intirely ruined, *Soltân Ahmed*, in the year 1106, leaves (M) the world, having lived fifty years, and reigned four. Ahmed *dies*. Hej. 1106. 1695.

IN his temper and diſpoſition, he intirely reſembled his brother *Soleymân*, to whom in devotion he was a little inferior; but was of a ſomewhat more lively, though not acute, genius. He liſtened to the calumnies raiſed by his domeſtick officers; and, on their ſuggeſtions, often, for ſlight cauſes, changed the moſt important affairs. He affected to appear a lover of juſtice, though, by reaſon of his ſtupidity, he could not diſcharge the function of a judge; and believed every thing which his friends, bribed by the contending parties, repreſented to him r. *His character*

P CANT. p. 391, & ſeqq. q RICAUT, ubi ſupr. r CANT. p. 394.

(L) This muſt be underſtood of the prince of *Mekka*, who pretends to be a deſcendant of *Mohammed*.

(M) The 27th of *January*, 1694: *Ricaut* puts it on the ſame day.

RICAUT

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A.D. 1695.

RICAUT gives a more advantageous character of him; that he was a very good-natured prince, who feared no hurt himself, nor intended harm to any body: that he was of a lively, free, jocund, humour; being both a poet and a musician, so that he made verses and sang them. He played well also on the *Citern* and *Kolosseo* after the *Persian* manner. The same author says, that the cause of his death was a great defluxion on the lungs; that, in his last agony, he desired to speak to his brother *Mostafa*; and that, *Mostafa* not being to be persuaded to go to him, he ordered him to be told all his desire was, that he would permit his son to live [s].

and person.

HE had large black eyes, a pale complexion, a round sandy beard, with a mixture of black; a strait and long nose, a middle stature, with a prominent belly, occasioned rather by the dropsy than fat [t].

CHAP. XXII.

The Reign of Mostafa II.

SECT. I.

Transactions to the Battle of Olash.

22 Soltân Mostafa.

AFTER *Ahmed*'s death, the *Wazîr Shâm Tarabolus Ali Pashâ* attempts to set aside *Mostafa*, eldest son of *Mohammed* IV. as *Kyoprîli Mostafa Pashâ* had done on the death of *Soltân Soleymân* II. but not with the like success. To gain this point, he calls a council of the principal officers of state, and exhorts them to place *Ibrâhim*, the son of *Ahmed*, a prince of three years old, on the throne; alledging that it was unjust to give the crown from the son of a *Soltân*, who had died in possession of it, to the son of one who had been deposed. These were his pretences: but his true reason was, that he feared to lose, under a prince of vigour, and versed in affairs, as *Mostafa* was, that absolute power over the state and army, which he had enjoyed under *Ahmed*, and hoped to continue, without danger or controul, under his infant son. But, before he could gain the great men to his opinion, *Nezîr Aga*, the *Hazandâr Bâshi* (N), informs *Mostafa* of his brother's

[s] RICAUT, ubi supr.

[t] CANT. ubi supr.

(N) Or keeper of the treasure deposited in the womens *Saray*. He was soon after made *Kiz er Aga*, and continued so the whole reign of *Mostafa*, with so much authority, that the *Wazirs* feared

brother's death; and, releaſing him from his confinement, calls on him to aſſume the *Othmân* ſceptre. The prince readily agrees to ſuch grateful advice; and, while the *Wazîr* is conſulting about the election of a *Soltân*, without his knowledge aſcends the throne, where he is firſt ſaluted emperor by *Chalik Ahmed Aga* (O), and *Cherkies Mohammed Aga* (P). A. D. 1695.

THIS election being notified to the reſt of the courtiers, it was extremely agreeable to them, and all met to kiſs the *Soltân*'s robe. The *Wazîr* himſelf, finding his deſigns prevented by the domeſtick officers, haſtens, with an air of joy in his countenance, to pay his devoir; and is preſented with a robe lined with ſables by the new emperor: who, diſſembling his reſentment, orders him to take care of the affairs; and the third day after declares his intention to command the army in perſon againſt the *Germans* (Q). He examines, orders, and diſpoſes, every thing; appoints great cannon to be caſt, and directs the military preparations: nor was he unmindful of his father's faithful officers, diſperſed in diſtant countries; theſe he rewards with new poſts. Among the reſt, *Elmas Mohammed Paſhâ* (R), his father's moſt beloved chamberlain, is ſent for out of *Boſnia*, and firſt made *Niſhânji Paſhâ* (S), *Confirms the Wazîr.*

ed him. But, after *Moſtafa*'s depoſition, the rebels laying on him the blame of all which had been done amiſs, he was ſent to *Egypt*. *Cant.*

(O) *Chalik* ſignifies maimed or wounded. He was *Imrahor*, but would never accept of a *Paſhâlik*. There was another of the name, who was made *Janizâr-Agâ* by the rebels under *Ahmed* III.—*Cant.*

(P) He ſucceeded *Chalik Ahmed Aga* as *Buyûk Imrahor*, or great ſword-bearer; was afterwards *Paſhâ* of *Halep*; then of *Jeruſalem*; and, laſtly, *Seraſkier* of the *Morea*, as he now is. *Cant.*

(Q) According to *Ricaut*, on this occaſion, there having been only 15 purſes left in the treaſury by *Ahmed*, the great officers and *Ulema* were taxed; the *Wazîr* in a million and half, beſides five millions in jewels. The queen mother advanced ſeven millions and a half in ready money; and half a million was taken from the widow of the late *Soltân*.

(R) For his great beauty called *Elmas*, or the diamond, by *Soltân Mohammed* IV. He was diſcrete, ſober, and prudent, free from covetouſneſs (a rare inſtance among the *Turkiſh* nobility), and a great lover of juſtice; except when reaſons of ſtate obliged him to make away with rivals. Though not ſo experienced in war, as other old *Paſhâs*, the defect was ſupplied by good natural parts, and a wonderful quickneſs in executing affairs.—*Cant.*

(S) He who ſets the *Tura*, mark, or character, of the *Soltân*'s name at the top of all the *Fermâns*, or orders which are made. This is a very honourable place.—*Cant.*

then

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A. D. 1695. then *Rekiub Kaymaykâm* (T). By this means he gains such a reputation, that the people revere him as a sun rising from behind a thick cloud; and the soldiers come voluntarily, offering themselves to serve under him the ensuing campaign.

Puts him to death. ALL things being ready, early in the spring, he commands the *Wazîr* to encamp without *Adrianople*. Three days after, disguising himself to know what was said of him, and his ministers, by the soldiers, he finds, that they still supposed every thing to be directed at pleasure by the *Wazîr*, without his knowledge. As this increased his resentment against that great officer, he resolves to destroy him; and, perceiving, while he examines the warlike stores, that the carriages of the larger cannon were not sufficiently strengthened with iron, sharply reprimands him. The *Wazîr*, to clear himself, casts the blame on the *Topchi Bâshî* (U): but this latter, in his own defence, declares, that the *Wazîr* had refused to give him the iron which was wanting. The *Wazîr* not being able to deny this, *Soltân Mostafa* orders him to be put to death, and his body to be exposed for three days in the *Sirik Meydân* [u].

Takes Lippa *and* Titul. HE is succeeded by *Elmas Mohammed Pasha* before-mentioned, a person of most acute genius, and worthy that dignity; but not without the murmurs of the old *Pashâs*, who resented that they should be commanded by a youth unexperienced in affairs. However, *Soltân Mostafa*, regardless of these murmurs, passes the *Danube* (W), with his army, near *Belgrade*, and takes *Lippa* (X). Afterwards he reduces *Titul*, and demolishes the walls of both places. Mean time, being informed by the *Tatar* scouts, that *Veterani*, with 7000 *Ger-*

[u] CANT. in Mostafa II. p. 395, & seqq.

(T) That is, *Deputy stirrup-holder*, who is appointed to transact affairs when the *Wazîr* is at war.—*Cant.*

(U) Overseer of the cannon, and soldiers thereto belonging, with the *Kombaraji*, or gunners. The powder, balls, and rest of the artillery, are under the care of the *Jebeji Bashi*.—*Cant.*

(W) He set out the 10th of *June*, with an army of 50,000 men, ordering, among other regulations, that no man should be served by boys, or ride into cultivated grounds. *Ricaut.*

(X) On the 7th of *September* 1695, putting all the garrison to the sword: for the *Turks* having got a good way before, the elector of *Saxony*, who had a somewhat stronger army, not able to overtake them, on account of the bad ways, after four days march was obliged to turn back to his former camp, leaving the enemy at liberty to attack *Lippa*; which they took by storm, after four hours desperate engagement. *Ricaut.*

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mans from *Tranſilvania*, was within eight hours march of the imperial army, commanded by *Frederick Auguſtus* (Y), elector of *Saxony*, he ſends *Mahmûd Beg Ogli*, *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm Ili*, with the light-armed forces to intercept them, and follows haſtily with the reſt of his army. The ſecond day he comes in ſight of the *Germans*, who might be called the moſt courageous troops which *Germany* ever produced: for, without any ſign of fear, they halt; and, in a manner, challenge to battle the *Turks*, pouring upon them in prodigious numbers. A. D. 1695.

MAHMUD Beg Ogli, though much ſuperior in ſtrength, orders his troops not to engage, but only keep the enemy in play till the arrival of the *Soltân*, who immediately orders his *Janizaries* to attack them on all ſides. On the other hand, the imperial general, leaving two regiments to guard the camp, had drawn-out but 5000 men into the field; who yet ſo bravely ſuſtain the ſhock of the *Othmâns*, that, after a ſhort oppoſition, they are obliged to retire. The *Soltân*, perceiving from a diſtance ſo unexpected a ſlaughter of his men, in a rage advances; and, killing ſeveral of the runaways with his own hand, urges the reſt to renew the fight. The *Turks*, excited by the ſhame of their repulſe, paſſing by the left wing of the *Germans*, attack their camp ſurrounded with carriages, and break into it, though with conſiderable loſs. *Veterani*, ſeeing this, leads back his troops; and, falling on the plunderers, makes a greater ſlaughter than before. Veterani *attacked*.

HEREUPON the *Turks* again fly without ſtopping, till met by the *Soltân*: who, ſeeing *Shahin Mohammed Paſhâ*, reproaches him in theſe terms; "He was guilty of a great error "who called thee *Shahin*, that is, *the falkon*, ſince thou doeſt "not, like a falkon with rapacious talons, ſtrike at thy ene"my's head; but, like a crane, draw after thee a company "of fugitives." *Shahin*, ſtung with theſe expreſſions, rallies with *Mohammed Beg* the flying troops; and, reſolving to conquer or die, makes a third attack upon the *Germans*. The *Janizar-Aga*, reprimanded by the *Wazîr*, does the like by the diſperſed *Janizaries*. Thus the fight, being renewed, continues for ſeveral hours with great ardor; and the *Germans* would probaby have withſtood all their efforts, if *Vete*- *His brave defence*,

(Y) Called by the *Turks*, *Naal Kiran*, or *the horſe-ſhoe breaker*, on account of his wonderful ſtrength when young. *Cant.*——The elector was advanced again, in hopes to overtake the *Turks* at *Lippa*; but they, being reinforced with 6000 *Tatars*, were marched towards *Tranſilvania* to attack *Veterani* in his camp, where he had 6500 men. *Ricaut.*

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A. D. 1695. *rani* had not, in the heat of the battle, been obliged by a wound (Z) to quit his horse, and get into a waggon: for, on sight of this, the imperialists destitute of a commander, retire.

and retreat. HOWEVER this retreat was performed in so good order, that *Soltân Mostafa*, perceiving it dangerous by pursuit to drive such valiant hearts to despair, privately orders the *Mufti*, by some means, to keep the *Othmân* army in the camp. This that prelate effects by a *Fetvah*, declaring, *That it is contrary to the precepts of the* Korân *to pursue too closely a flying enemy; and that he would lose the crown of martyrdom, who should perish in such a case.* And indeed the *Soltân* had many important reasons for restraining his soldiers from any farther engagement; since the death of 1000 horse and 1500 foot, slain on the enemy's part, had been revenged by the slaughter of the chief officers of the army (A), with about 10,000 common soldiers. The *Soltân* therefore, leaving the *Germans* to make a secure retreat, leads back his forces towards the *Danube*. In this march he takes *Loguſh* and *Karansebes*, places destitute of defence (B); and, demolishing them, returns triumphant through *Walakhia* (C) to *Constantinople*. On the other hand, *Frederick Augustus*, having rather shewn his troops to the enemy, than led them to battle, without any trophies, sends them into winter-quarters.

The Poles *quiet.* THE *Poles*, either on account of the king's indisposition, or deterred by their former losses, do not venture to re-enter *Moldavia* this campaign; content with having secured their conquests, and defended their borders from the perpetual incursions of the *Tatars*. These never failed every year to lay-

(Z) He was shot through the body with a musket-ball, and cut over the head with a simeter, of which wounds he died. All his men were cut to pieces, having had to deal with 18,000 *Janizaries*, and 40,000 *Spahi's*. *Ricaut*.

(A) *Mahmûd Beg Ogli*, *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm Ili*; *Shahîn Mehemed Pasha*; *Ibrahîm Pasha*, brother of *Kojah Jaffer Pasha*, and others of the first rank.

(B) According to *Ricaut*, the *Soltân*, for these exploits, got great esteem among his great men; although nothing could be ascribed to his experience, nor did he give any great indication of bravery: for in all actions he kept at a distance, and out of musket-shot, yet he wrote several letters to his mother, and several *Pashâs*, extolling his actions, and declaring, that he had slain 10,000 *Germans*, and taken 3000 prisoners.

(C) In passing through *Walakhia*, strict discipline was kept. A *Tatar* was hanged for taking a kid by force; and two *Turks* for robbing a bee-hive. The *Soltân* stopped a while about *Widdin*, and crossed the *Danube* opposite to *Nikopolis*.

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waſte *Podolia* and *Pokutia*, as far as *Leopolis*, and take the inhabitants priſoners, who confided too much in the *Poliſh* arms: nay the winter was hardly over, when *Kaplân Gyeray*, *Khân* of *Krîm* aſſaulted the very ſuburbs of that city, carried-off four pieces of cannon from the very gate, and returned with above 14,000 priſoners; having been within a little of ſeizing general *Yablonowſki* himſelf (D). *Peter* I. *Czar* of *Ruſſia*, with a deſign intirely to deſtroy this peſt, in the beginning of ſummer attacks *Azak* (or *Aſof*), the ſtrongeſt bulwark of *Krîm Tartary*: but his ſoldiers, not being yet uſed to ſieges, he was forced to retire (E) without ſucceſs. A. D. 1695.

THE war was carried-on moſt ſucceſsfully this year againſt the *Venetians* (F), who, flushed with their conqueſt of *Khios* (G), claimed the dominion of the ſea; and the *Turkiſh* ſhips not daring to appear, frequent conſultations were held at the *Porte*, for the reſtoration of their naval power. In theſe *Mezzo Morto* (H), at that time no more than the commander Venetian affairs.

(D) *Ricaut* inſerts a letter of the *Poliſh* general himſelf, who gives a different account, *viz.* that, the 10th of *February* 1695, *Zabas* (or *Shabaz*) *Gherey*, ſon of the *Khân*, encamped with 70,000 *Tatars* in the plains of *Crakovian Leopolis*, with deſign to plunder, and carry-off ſlaves, which they did for eight days: that next day the general, gathering only 3000 men, making a ſally to ſecure the ſuburbs, was attacked by the enemy, who ſtrove to force the out-works fortified only with hedges, and a wall of mats; but, after 13 deſperate attacks in four hours, were repulſed with great ſlaughter: that they then got between them and the city, with deſign to keep the *Poles* employed on that ſide, while they broke through the hedge on the other ſide; but, after two hours aſſault, were repulſed with great loſs, though the number was unknown. Of the *Poles* only 100 were killed. Next day the *Tatars* marched homeward.

(E) According to *Ricaut*, the *Ruſſians* took *Aſof* after 57 days ſiege, the *Khân* of *Krîm* arriving there 2 days after the ſurrender.

(F) They however have ſucceſs in the *Morea*, from whence a ſtrong party of them advance as far as *Thebes*; when, after giving the *Turks* an intire defeat, they ravage all the country, and carry-off a great booty, beſides a vaſt number of priſoners. *Ricaut*.

(G) It is, by the *Turks*, called *Sakis*, which ſignifies *Maſtick*, becauſe the iſland abounds with it. It is commonly named *Scio* by *Europeans*.

(H) *Mezzo* pronounced *Metzo*. —— An *African*, born of *Mooriſh* parents, famous for his piracies when young, from *Tunis*. Being ſo grievouſly wounded in a fight, wherein he was taken by the *Spaniards*, that his life was deſpaired of, he got the name of *Medzo Morto*, or *half dead*.

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A. D. 1695. mander of a single ship, made a figure: for, being sent for to the council, he not only advised them against a defensive war, which the majority was inclined to, but undertook to recover *Khios* himself with four *Soltânas* only, and eight gallies. The admiral, *Amujeh Ogli Husseyn Pashâ*, at this proposal, treats him with contempt, as a presumptuous rash man; and even adds threats to his reprimand. But the *Seraskier Mesrli Ogli* (I), who had the chief direction of the war against the *Venetians*, approving of his scheme, delivers to him the ships which he wanted [w],

Defeated by Metzo Morto. WITH these *Mezzo Morto* sails for *Khios*, followed soon after by the whole *Turkish* fleet; and, after taking two of the *Venetian* ships, appointed for defence of the haven, obliges the rest to fly (K). The garrison, who before contemned the *Turks*, on sight of this defeat, quite lose their courage. They never imagined, that the *Turkish* fleet, so often defeated, could be repaired so soon; or that there was any person among the enemy able to teach them the art of naval war: so that, trusting solely to their fleet, they had taken no care to fortify their city. And, as their whole business there had been to shut up the *Greek* churches, and commit other violences in breach of their faith; so now finding themselves unable to defend the place against so numerous an army, they turn their resentment against their fellow-citizens; and, calling them traitors, resolve to plunder and kill them. The *Greeks*, seeing themselves in this dangerous situation, endeavour to mitigate the fury of their tyrants, and incline them to mercy, by giving them strong proofs of their fidelity: but, finding the

[w] CANT. ubi supr. p. 397, & seqq.

dead. After 17 years imprisonment, he was redeemed, and fell to his old trade with great success. For his services at *Khios*, he was made captain of a galley; and, when the *Soltân* was going to confer on him the honour of admiral and *Wazîr*, with 3 *Tûgs*, he was allowed to retain his sailor's habit. When urged by the other *Wazîrs* to lay it aside, he said, the *Turkish* dress did not suit with sailors, and that fine cloaths were the greatest reproach to a mariner: so that, since then, all the admirals and captains of ships have worn the sea-habit. He instructed the sailors and marine forces in the art of fighting at sea. *Cant.*

(I) Next to *Koja Jaffer* for bravery. He was so called as being the son of *Egyptian* parents. *Cant.*

(K) *Ricaut* says, they were worsted in two engagements at sea, to the great wonder of *Europe*, and loss of their reputation; and that the *Turks*, had they followed their blow, might have destroyed the whole fleet.

calumnies

calumnies of their accuſers prevail againſt them, for want of a better remedy, they inform the *Seraſkier* of the danger they are in. A. D. 1695.

THAT general, imagining this to be a ſtratagem of the *Venetians* to prevent a ſudden attack, defers undertaking the ſiege of *Khios*; and ſo gives the *Venetians* time, after plundering the inhabitants and churches, to embark with their effects on board the ſhips remaining in the harbour (L). Next day the *Seraſkier*, acquainted with the flight of the *Venetians*, takes the city; and, dragging-out from their lurking places, ſuch as their ſhips could not contain, puts them to death. He likewiſe conſtrains thoſe *Khians*, who had turned *Romaniſts*, either to conform to the *Greek* church, or ſubmit to captivity; and, reſtoring to the *Greeks* the churches taken from them, ſhuts-up thoſe of the *Latins* (M): thus retaliateing on the latter all the acts of tyranny which they had exerciſed on the former (N). Nor was their misfortune much alleviated by a victory gained by them near *Argos*, in which 400 *Turks* were ſaid to have been ſlain. *They deſert Khios.*

IN *Arabia*, the rebel *Sheykh Amîr Mohammed* is defeated by the pilgrims guarded by *Arſlân Paſhâ*, governor of *Tripoli*, with ſome troops; and that dangerous wound of the *Othmân* empire healed for a time. *Soltân Moſtafa*, on his return to *Adrianople*, ſolemnizes, with great pomp, theſe victories, as ſo many happy omens of his reign; and appoints *Mezzo Morto*, by whoſe conduct he had recovered *Khios*, *The* Arabs *defeated.* Hej. 1107. A. D. 1696.

(L) *Ricaut* only ſays, that all things being put in a conſternation at *Scio*, from the two defeats ſuffered by the fleet, the *Venetian* commanders moſt ſhamefully abandoned the iſland in the night; leaving ſome troops, who were abroad to guard the iſle, to be made ſlaves of.

(M) When *Medzo Morto* had taken the iſland, the *Latins* earneſtly deſired the ſame privileges from whence they had excluded the *Greeks*: but the latter repreſenting, that they could not be ſafe, while mixed with the *Latins*, who had lately betrayed the town, and would do ſo again; the *Soltân*, on the *Kâpudan Paſhâ*'s report, condemns them all to the gallies, and their effects to be diſtributed among the *Greeks*. Nor could the *French* ambaſſador get them exempted from the gallies upon any other condition, but that they ſhould renounce the *Romiſh*, and profeſs the *Greek*, religion: ſo that at preſent there is not the leaſt ſign of a papiſt in *Khios*.—*Cant.*

(N) According to *Ricaut*, they hanged up four; two of whom were deputies appointed to protect the *Romiſh* religion. Some however eſcaped with 40 of the chief families, who left all their poſſeſſions and moveables behind them: by which revolution the *Greeks* gained a full aſcendant over the *Latins*.

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A. D. 1696. high admiral. He likewise rewards the rest, who had distinguished themselves in this campaign; while the *Turks* in general animated by their late successes, on issuing his commands for raising a more numerous army, list themselves voluntarily in great numbers. But, before he had made the necessary preparations for the field, *Frederick Augustus*, elector of *Saxony*, at the end of the year 1107, besieges *Temesvar* with the imperial army. The *Soltân*, on this news, hastes to its relief; on whose approach the *Germans* abandon the enterprize, and encamp eight hours distance from that city, with a resolution to wait for the *Othmâns*.

The Turks *attacked;* THE *Othmâns* soon after come-up, and, pitching their tents in sight of the enemy, by advice of *Tekeli*, who attended on the *Soltân*, fortify their camp with strong ramparts, as well as wide and deep trenches; a method unusual with the *Turks*. The night following the imperial general resolves on a bold attempt, which would have been very glorious, if crowned with success. There lay between the two camps a place full of briars, surrounded with a marshy ground, scarce an *Italian* mile over; but, so thick, that a person unarmed could not pass through it. Here he orders 24 different paths to be cut; and, at day-break, the army, with as many cannon, to march through, and attack the *Turkish* ramparts. The soldiers execute these orders with great bravery; and, having discharged their artillery three or four times, make a vigorous assault on the *Soltân*'s camp: but, unluckily for the imperialists, they happened upon the strongest part of it, where the *Janizaries*, and *Mesrli* with his *Egyptians*, were posted. For all this, they penetrated their trenches, and made a great slaughter, which struck such a terror into the whole army, that the *Soltân* himself left his tent, and retired to the farthest part of the camp: but soon after they are overpowered by numbers, and repulsed with great loss of men, besides their 24 cannon.

and Germans *repulsed.* THIS victory was chiefly owing to the *Wazîr Etmas Mohammed Pasha*, who first, with his men, stopped the fury of the *Germans*, now pressing to the *Soltân*'s pavilions; and, by his example, encouraged the *Janizaries*, thrown into the utmost confusion by the sudden irruption of the enemy. After the *Germans* had given way, they were intirely routed by the *Bostânji* (O); who, though designed only for the *Soltân*'s guard,

(O) Or *gardeners*, instituted with a view, that, while they exercised themselves in the culture of gardens, they might be accustomed to heat, cold, and other severities of the weather; and

guard, and never employed before in any military ſervice, were, in this danger, ſent by *Moſtafa* to aſſiſt the *Janizaries*. However there were ſlain, on the ſide of the *Turks*, *Moſtafa Pâſhâ*, governor of *Temiſwar*, the *Wazîr*'s brother, and many other officers of note, beſides ſeveral thouſand *Janizaries* and *Egyptians*. Of the *Germans*, thoſe only were killed who were found in the trenches. The reſt of the army ſtood the whole day in order of battle, expecting the *Othmâns*: but the *Soltân*, content with the preſent victory, orders the *Mûfti*, by a *Fetvah*, to prohibit any farther engagement; and a few days after, marching eaſtward, puts an end to the campaign *.

A. D. 1696.

As our hiſtorians are ſilent with regard to the *Germans* cutting roads thro' the buſhes, ſo they mention other circumſtances of moment not related by the *Turks*. According to them, the elector of *Saxony*, on the 30th of *Auguſt*, N. S. marched from his camp at *Olaſch*; and, having given out, that he deſigned to beſiege *Temeſwar*, the *Turks* paſſed the *Danube* in order to obſerve his motions. On the 20th of *September* the elector advanced, and repulſed ſome of the enemy's cavalry with conſiderable ſlaughter; and next day was informed, by a *Chauſh* taken priſoner, that the *Janizaries* were advantageouſly poſted on the right ſide of a moraſs, their quarters reaching to the banks of the *Temes*: that another body of them encamped to the left, along the banks of the brook *Bege*, againſt which place their cannon was pointed, as being the only paſſage for an enemy to come at them; and that their camp was ſo well fortified on all ſides, that they were not to be attacked without much difficulty and danger.

Turks how poſted.

A. D. 1696.

To invite the imperialiſts to a battle, the *Turks*, on the 24th, ſallied out of their intrenchments, and, in two hours time, made other lines, where, having planted their artillery, the cannonading began briſkly on both ſides. On the 26th, they advanced in order of battle; and having, under cover of buſhes, ſhrubs, and ſome trees, poſted themſelves between *Temeſwar* and the imperialiſts, the latter marched directly to attack them; but they were ſo fortified with the buſhes and

Battle of Olaſch.

* CANT. p. 400, & ſeqq.

and ſo become fitter to bear the fatigues of war. From them were formerly choſen the *Azapli*, or *furious*, the loweſt kind of ſoldiery; and out of theſe the *Janizaries*. But theſe latter being now recruited out of their own ſons, and ſuch as will inliſt, the *Boſtânji* are employed only to guard the *Soltân*'s palace, dreſs his gardens, and row his barge. They are commanded by an officer, called *Boſtânji Bâſhi*, and never were uſed before this action, as ſoldiers to repel an enemy. *Cant.*

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A. D. 1696. ditches, that it was difficult to come at them. They had also a bog behind them, and a marsh on their left, besides three ranks of waggons chained together in the front; so that the attack seemed almost impracticable: however the generals being resolved upon it, at five in the evening six battalions of foot, sustained by two regiments of dragoons under general *Heusler*, marching into the bashes, charged the *Turks* in flank, whom they galled exceedingly with their fire.

The armies fight THE enemy's horse hereupon advanced, and charging the imperial line with great fury, 1200 of their best horse broke thro' two *Saxon* battalions, notwithstanding their brave resistance. But lieutenant-general *Zinzendorf*, with some regiments of horse belonging to the same line, beat them back, and again closed the line with *Saxon* battalions; after which he attacked the *Janizaries* in their intrenchments, and beat them back from their post. For all this, the enemy's foot being reinforced, and their horse taking the *Germans* in the flank, they were obliged to retire; only two regiments of dragoons, commanded by the young prince of *Vaudemont*, advanced to sustain them, and repulsed the *Turkish* horse. But the *Janizaries* returning to the charge, the dragoons suffered very much by their fire, officers as well as soldiers; when general *Heusler*, bringing-up another regiment to their assistance, beat back the enemy to their intrenchments, although he was himself dangerously wounded.

with various success; MEAN time another body of *Turkish* horse charged a body of *Germans* on the second line, who received them in such a manner as gave a check to their fury. Then *Roses*, advancing with the horse of the same line, drove them back, and pursued them about nine *Hungarian* miles; at what time victory began to declare in favour of the imperialists; and that general had orders to give over the pursuit. However some other squadrons of horse followed them to their entrenchments; from whence the *Turks* made so fierce a fire, both with great and small shot, that they were forced to retire, and were pursued by the enemy's horse, who put into disorder another of the imperial regiments which fell in their way. *Roses*, observing this, advanced with the regiment of *Caprara*, and, charging the enemy in flank, cut-off above 1000 of them.

HEREUPON the whole line marched forward, and pushed the *Turks* into their trenches; where they were in such a consternation, that the *Soltân* himself, with much difficulty, obliged them to keep their ground, and defend their entrenchments, killing several, who would have fled, with his own hand.

AT

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A. D. 1697.

At length the approach of night put an end to the battle, which the imperialiſts would have renewed the next day, but that the *Turks* had ſo fortified their camp before morning, as to have rendered it almoſt impregnable. The imperialiſts loſt here a great many men, beſides ſeveral brave officers; particularly general *Heuſler*, and major-general *Poland*, died of their wounds: they likewiſe loſt ſome cannon in the heat of the action, becauſe their carriages were ſhot to pieces. On the other hand, the *Turks* had above 8000 men killed, according to the report of a *Paſhâ* taken priſoner in the battle [y]. *their loſſes.*

The *Poles*, beſides their uſual ſlowneſs, were prevented this year from raiſing an army, by the death of *John Sobieſki*, after a long illneſs, on the 17th of *Zilkaadeh* (P); whence enſued the cabals, which attend the election of a new king of that nation. Mean time *Peter*, *Czar* of *Ruſſia*, aſſiſted by officers and gunners brought from *Germany*, with a larger and better diſciplined army than the year before, aſſaults *Azâk* (or *Aſof*) with ſuch vigour, that the garriſon, after being reduced to 400, ſurrendered the caſtle on the 18th of *Zilhajeh* (Q): and their example is ſoon followed by thoſe of the caſtle of *Luttikh* oppoſite to it. Ruſſians *take* Aſof.

While the *Ruſſians* prevail on this ſide, the *Venetians* beſiege *Dulcineum*, a port famous for the reſort of the *Turkiſh* pirates; but are obliged by the garriſon to raiſe the ſiege, after they had bravely repulſed *Omer Beg Paſhâ* of *Arnaud* from their trenches: although, it is likely, they would have received a notable defeat, had not *Liberakhi*, prince of *Mania*, drawn his countrymen by a ſtratagem to revolt, ſo that the *Othmân* forces being thus weakened, the *Seraſkier* thought fit to retreat. The *Venetians*, on the other hand, content with defending their former acquiſitions, apply themſelves to repair *Hexamilion* (R), in order to ſecure the *Morea* by land. Venetian *affairs.*

At ſea, *Mezzo Morto*, *Kapudân Paſhâ*, regulates the fleet, in a manner before unknown to the *Turks*; avoids engaging, as his predeceſſors uſed, without regard to wind or ſituation; and watches all the motions of the *Venetians*: who, ſtruck with admiration at his conduct, dare not hazard an engagement; ſo that nothing memorable was performed on either ſide the whole year.

[y] Ricaut, in Moſtafa II.

(P) *June* 6, 1697.
(Q) The 6th of *July*.
(R) A wall ſix miles long, built acroſs the *Iſthmus* of *Korinth*, with a town not far off to the ſouth-weſt.

MOSTAFA,

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A. D. 1697.

MOSTAFA, having led back, and disbanded, his army at *Adrianople*, removes to his other capital, which he enters with as much pomp as if his victories had been far superior to those of the conquerors of *Constantinople*, *Hungary*, and *Egypt* (S). Yet the greatest ornament of this triumph was the 24 pieces of cannon taken from the *Germans* near *Temeswar*, followed by several noble captives taken in the former battle against *Veterani*. On the third day after this publick entry, the *Soltân* visits the monument of *Abu Ayûb Ansâri*, where he is girt with a sword by the *Sheykh* of that *Jâmi* [z].

Mostafa's triumph.

Persian ambassador.

On the 1st of *November*, an ambassador from *Persia* (T) arrives at *Constantinople*, and, on the 20th, makes his entry into *Adrianople*, in great pomp, with a retinue of 150 persons; and had audience of the *Soltân*. The business of his embassy was to get *Babek Soleymân Bey* removed from his government of *Karamania*, on account of his unquiet disposition; to have a place assigned the *Persians* to pray in the temple of *Mekka*, separate from other nations; and that precedence might be given in the *Holy-Land* to the *Armenian* patriarchs, before others of the Christian sects who were subjects of the king of *Persia*. After 25 days stay, the ambassador was answered, that *Babek*, being an hereditary prince, could not be removed without breach of the law: that the temple of *Mekka* being holy, and free alike to all *Mohammedans*, no separate place could be assigned in it to the *Persians*: lastly, that, in the time of the *Wazîr Mostafa Pâshâ*, the pre-eminence in the *Holy-Land* had been given to the *Franks*, in so solemn a manner, that it could not be taken away or violated. Indeed, at his request, a place of devotion at *Balata* in *Constantinople* was restored to the subjects of *Persia*, as having formerly belonged to the *Armenians*; but, after his departure, it was taken away, and the *Armenian* commissary could find no redress [a].

THE ceremonies before-mentioned being over, the *Soltân* applies himself wholly to warlike preparations, orders 36

[z] CANT. p. 402, & seqq.

[a] RICAUT, ubi supra.

(S) *Ricaut* says, they did not brag there much of their success this year, although they had, in reality, withstood a greater force of the Christians than for many years before: which they, in a great measure, ascribe to the valour of the *Soltân* himself.

(T) This must be understood to have been sent by *Shâh Selim* II. otherwise called *Soleymân Hussyn*, who succeeded his father *Shâh Selim* I. son of *Shâh Abbâs* II. in 1694, and was dethroned in 1722, by *Mahmûd*, son of *Mir Vaez*, or *Weis*, commonly called *Miriwêis*.

large

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large ſhips of war to be built, deſigning part of them againſt the *Venetians*, and part againſt the *Ruſſians* (who, ſince the taking of *Azâk* (V), had begun to raiſe a fleet in the *Euxine* ſea), with a great number of gallies and galliots. He honours *Mezzo morto*, the admiral, habited in a mariner's dreſs, with three *Tûgs*, and gives him the command of the whole ſea, with the iſlands in it. He likewiſe beſtows handſome rewards on the reſt of the ſea officers, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in former expeditions. To ſupply his army, he enrolls 12,000 *Yamaghi Janizaries* (U), and 8,000 *Levendi* (W); exerciſes daily the ſoldiers and courtiers in *Kyaghiz Khaneh* (X) in the uſe of arms; and having publiſhed a *Fermân*, orders the whole ſtrength of the empire to be aſſembled at *Adrianople* about *Hedrelez* [b], (or St. *George*'s day). To enable him to do all theſe things, his firſt care was to provide money, by laying taxes on the people and employments. He likewiſe made a new regulation in the coin, never thought of by any of his predeceſſors, and unprecedented in any country except in *England* the year before; which was, that all the pieces of gold and ſilver current through the *Othmân* empire ſhould be ſtamped with his own name. In conſequence of this the *French* five *Sol*-pieces, *Venetian Chekins*, and *Dutch* lion dollars, many millions of which had been imported in a few years, were carried to the mint; and when recoined were delivered out for bullion, or other coin. He likewiſe reduced the charges of officers as much as conveniently could be: among the reſt *Tekeli*'s penſion ſuffered a great retrenchment, no more than five dollars a day being allowed for the

A. D. 1696. *Preparations for war.*

Alters the coin.

A. D. 1697.

[b] CANT. p. 403. & ſeq.

(V) This ſeems to confirm *Ricaut*'s account, that *Aſof* was taken at the time when the *Turkiſh* hiſtorians ſay the ſiege was raiſed.

(U) Thoſe newly liſted, or taken occaſionally out of the *Jebeji*, or other new troops.—*Cant.*

(W) A corruption of ſome *Italian* word. It denotes the marine forces; a diſorderly kind of men: but brought under ſome regulation by *Mezzo Morto*. They are 14,000 in time of peace. In war the *Soltân* raiſes any number for 6 months, paying them for that time 25 dollars. It is the only branch of the *Turkiſh* militia wherein Chriſtians are admitted. *Cant.*

(X) That is, *the paper-ſhop*, or *houſe*; ſo called from paper-mills formerly there; now a foundery for ammunition. 'Tis a very pleaſant place, near the ſuburbs of *Ayûb*. In the meadows about it the *Soltân*'s horſes graze in ſpring; and the mud of its river has ſupplied *Conſtantinople* with very good bricks and tiles, which have been uſed in the buildings erected there for ſo many ages. *Cant.*

main-

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A. D. 1697. maintenance of himself, his consort, and retinue; only to help them, they were licensed to sell wine, which was at that time prohibited. Accordingly the prince set up a wine-cellar within the *Greek* liberties, where he followed the vintner's trade to great advantage.

French vanity. THE *French* presuming on the obligations which the *Porte* had to them, grew very imperious; of which we meet with an instance in the case of the *Pashâ* of *Kayro's Bankier*, the most considerable *Jew* in *Egypt*. This *Jew* being complained of by the *French* consul in that city, for being wanting in some punctilio of respect which he claimed to himself, *Chateauneuf*, the ambassador, made such a noise about it, threatening to depart home, if satisfaction was not given, that the *Wazîr* thought fit to send for the *Jew* from *Egypt*, and imprison him. However, soon after the *French* influence began much to decline, when the court came to discover that they were busy in making peace with all the confederate powers then at war with them, although, at first, the ambassador confidently denied it.

SECT. II.

Battle of Zenta, *and Panic of the* Turks.

THE *Soltân* all the while was very intent on preparing for the campaign: but the troops of *Asia* were detained by the progress which the rebels made in that part of the empire; where they were grown so powerful, that they were forbidden by proclamation to transport themselves into *Europe*, on penalty of having their houses demolished, their *Timârs* and *Ziamets* destroyed, with all the lands they held of the *Soltân*. These menaces so incensed them, as being soldiers, that they cut off the ears and noses of all they took prisoners; and in that condition sent them to *Constantinople*. However, soon after, the *Soltân* promising them a general pardon, 10,000 deserted the cause, and came to serve him in his war.

Rebellion in Asia.

Mostafa sets forward. *MOSTAFA* was now at *Sofia* in his march to *Hungary*, where the imperialists had been forced to raise the siege of *Bihacz*; and though for want of recruits from several parts he had not above 40,000 men, yet he was resolved to proceed. He was so well pleased also on hearing the prince of *Conti* was elected king of *Poland*, that he ordered the *Wazîr* to write *Tekeli* word that he had declared him king of *Hungary*; and at the same time sent him his commission, with a letter superscribed *Orla Majjar Krâli*; *To the king of Hungary*. This miserable prince was gone to the baths of *Prusa*, or *Bursa*, in *Anatolia*, for the benefit of his health; and though he

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he was then grievouſly afflicted with the gout and palſey, was hurried away in a waggon by the *Chauſh*, without the leaſt regard either to his dignity or indiſpoſition. At length the *Soltân* marched to join the forces already in *Hungary* [c]. But it is time now to return to the *Turkiſh* hiſtorians. A. D. 1697.

THE *Soltân* relying on this military force, though informed that the king of *France* had concluded the war with the emperor, yet rejects the peace offered by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ambaſſadors, boaſting that he was alone able not only to repreſs but ſubdue him. Towards ſummer therefore he marches his troops to *Belgrade*, where, on muſtering his army, he finds it to conſiſt of 135,000 men; beſides the families and ſervants of the *Pâſhâs* (a very great number of which attend the camp), with a multitude of other uſeleſs perſons. To this ſtrong army the emperor had only oppoſed 46,000 *Germans*, under the command of prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, with orders not to attack the *Turks*, or engage in battle without compulſion; but only to guard *Peterwaradin*, and the other fortreſſes of *Hungary* ſituate on the *Danube*. *Marches to Belgrade*

THE *Turks* having extorted this intelligence from the priſoners by torture, it is reſolved in council to avoid the *Germans* encamped at *Segedin*, and penetrate into *Tranſilvania*. This advice was given by *Tekeli*, who alledged that it would be eaſy to ſubdue that country, both becauſe the emperor's general had drained the garriſons of their men, and the *Hungarian* rebels, aſſembled to the number of 50,000, offered to join the *Othmân* troops. The army, having paſſed the *Danube*, was ordered to move towards *Temeſwar*: but in his ſecond day's march, hearing that the imperialiſts were advanced to *Titul*, he again calls a council, wherein it was determined to attack the enemy, leſt while the *Soltân* was in *Tranſilvania* they ſhould take *Belgrade*; and by defeating them, lay all *Hungary* open to the *Turkiſh* arms. To put this deſign in execution, the *Soltân* orders his fleet to mount the *Danube* to the mouth of the *Teiſſe*, and marches his land forces towards *Titul*. *againſt the Germans.*

MEAN time the *Germans*, though but 6000 horſe, perceiving the approach of the *Turks* from the high mountain on which that fortreſs ſtands, to prevent their paſſage, fortify its banks with ramparts and cannon. The *Soltân*, perceiving himſelf braved by ſo ſmall a body, orders ſeveral *Pâſhâs* to croſs the river in open boats (Y); promiſing to the ſol- *The Turks worſted.*

[c] RICAUT, ubi ſupr.

(Y) Called *Dumba*, which the *Turks* carry in waggons to ſerve for the foundation of bridges run over rivers.

diers

A. D. 1697. diers 50 gold crowns for every *German* taken alive, and 25 for every head. Not knowing that the banks were fortified, they pass over without any order: but when several thousands of them were gotten on the other side, and their number began to encrease, the *Germans*, who were quiet at first, discharge their cannon among the thickest of them, and mounting their ramparts attack them sword in hand. The *Janizaries*, terrified with the unexpected noise of the cannon, and taking to flight, three thousand of them were slain: nor could one have escaped, if the fleet had not luckily come up in the nick of time, and seized the isle in the middle of the *Teisse*; by which means the *Janizaries* cross the river lower down, and then march in a body against the enemy's ramparts. Hereupon a second but slighter engagement ensues: for the *Germans* seeing the *Janizaries* continually encrease, to avoid being oppressed by numbers, retire first to the city, and thence to the plain of *Kobila* (Z). In the evening some *Haydûks*, who stayed behind, set fire to the castle, and then follow their companions [d].

Attempt Peterwaradin.

THE *Soltân* hereupon passes the *Teisse* with the rest of his forces, and marches towards the enemy, still encamped at *Segedin*. Finding in the plain the bridge left intire by the *Germans* (through design or haste), he turns his army towards the *Danube*, and stops at the lower end of the isle formed by that river opposite to *Peterwaradin*. Here in a third consultation it is resolved to besiege that fortress, and running a bridge over the stream, pass the army, before the imperialists could march thither from their camp. This bridge was computed a work of two days, and might have been finished the second day, if some of the garrison of *Peterwaradin*, concealed in the island with four cannon, had not, when they saw the *Turks* near the bank, pierced several of their boats with great shot. For although, on the coming-up of the *Othmân* fleet, they are obliged to quit the isle, yet they prevented the *Turks* from finishing the bridge till the third day, and by that means deprived them of the victory.

The Germans *appear.*

FOR prince *Eugene*, who, on news of the *Soltân*'s march, had left *Segedin*, with great expedition arrived that day at sun-set; and passing-by the enemy's camp, hastens to the head of the bridge, in spite of the endeavours of *Shahbaz Gyeray*

[d] CANT. p. 404, & seq.

(Z) So the *Turks* call that large plain which reaches from the *Danube* to the *Teisse*, between *Titul*, *Segedin*, and *Peterwaradin*. Cant.

Soltân

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Soltân (A), who, to ſtop his ſwift progreſs, had, with 12,000 *Tatars*, burnt up all the graſs; ſo that neither forage nor water was to be found for the ſpace of nine hours. On this unexpected arrival of the *Germans* a fourth conſultation is held, whether it was proper to attack the enemy in ſuch an open plain, before they had fortified their camp, or to wait till they ſhould aſſault the *Othmâns* in their trenches. A. D. 1697.

THE prime *Wazir* endeavours to perſuade the *Soltân* to the former opinion, alledging "that it was not honourable "to ſuffer the enemy, who were ſo near, to eſcape without "offering them battle: that the impatience with which "God had inſpired the ſoldiers for a battle, ſufficiently de-"clared that then was the time to defeat the enemy; and "that if this ardor ſhould be repreſſed, it was to be feared "it would throw the whole army into a pernicious languor, "or excite in them thoughts of ſedition, for want of other "employment." This opinion of the *Wazir* was boldly oppoſed by *Koja Jâffer Paſhâ*, an experienced ſoldier, who had been preſent in almoſt all the battles againſt the *Germans*. He urged, "that he had obſerved whenever the enemy fought "in an open plain, in which they could at pleaſure open "their front, advance or retire, they had always gained the "victory, even though the *Othman* troops were much ſupe-"rior in number; whereas they had never ſo great an army "in the field as at preſent: and that they were now com-"manded by a general of approved valour and conduct, "who, as he imagined, would not provoke the *Turks* to a "battle, unleſs he had placed his own troops to ſuch advan-"tage, as to be in a manner ſure of victory." *The Wazîr's advice*

THE *Wazir* obſerving almoſt all the *Paſhâs* to be ſwayed by *Jâffer*'s opinion, to prevent it taking place of his own, ſtiles him an infidel and traitor for giving ſuch advice, as if he had been bribed by the enemy, to prevent the *Soltân* from taking wholſome counſel. *Jâffer Paſhâ*, finding the *Wazir*'s obſtinacy could not be ſurmounted any other way, deſires the *Soltân* to remove the curtain (B), and hear in perſon what he had to ſay for the advantage of the *Othmân* intereſt. This being granted, *Jâffer* goes on, "But if, brother, you have "gained ſuch high favour with God, that he inſpires you *oppoſed by* Jaffer Paſhâ.

(A) Was *Khân* after his father *Selim Gyeray*, under *Ahmed* III. but ſoon after was ſurpriſed and ſlain by the *Cherkaſſians*, as before related. *Cant.*

(B) When upon an expedition a *Galibe Diwân* is called, the *Soltân* ſits indeed in it, but in a particular place, with a *Perdeh*, or certain curtain, drawn before him, where he can hear all that is ſaid, without being ſeen. *Cant.*

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A. D. 1697. " with counsels, and assures you of the events, you cannot " blame me if, not knowing it to be so, I do not believe it. " I am content to be laid in irons, by his majesty's order, " while you attack the enemy; and if within an hour or " two you do not betake yourself to a shameful flight, I " will submit to suffer like a stinking dog, whatever punish- " ment his majesty pleases to inflict: but if, which God for- " bid, my prediction should be fulfilled, may you give an " account of your imprudence to the Deity and the *Soltân.*" He added, " That whatever happened to himself he should " adhere to his former opinion, and advise not to engage the " enemy, but only fortify their trenches, and wait to be at- " tacked: that, by this means, although the *Othmâns* should " not prove victorious, yet he could with certainty promise " they should not be defeated: that even in case the enemy " should pass by their camp, and advance to the head of the " bridge, he was of opinion they ought not to march out " against them, but surround them with ramparts; which " would oblige them, for want of provisions, either to at- " tack their camp, or pass the *Danube*, and so give the *Turks* " an opportunity of falling on them in their passage, without " any hazard."

The Soltân doubtful.

THE *Soltân*, although he approved of *Jaffer*'s advice, yet adjourns the council till next day; but commands his men to keep in their trenches, and the *Chaushi* (C) to beat back those who, of their own accord, had already taken the field. This not being sufficient to restrain the ardor of the soldiers for a battle, the *Mûfti* proclaims by a *Fetvah*, *That whoever should fall in such a battle, would not only lose the crown of Shehadet* (or martyrdom), *but also lament their unseasonable boldness in hell.*

Moved at last

MEAN while prince *Eugene*, having advanced as far as the bridge, and with the waters of the *Danube* refreshed his troops almost dead with thirst and heat, drew them up, and in this posture remained all night. The *Turkish* soldiers were, on this occasion, seized with great terror, thinking that they had been restrained from fighting by their gene-

(C) There are two sorts of *Chaush*. The first are employ'd in the *Wazir*'s *Diwân* to receive petitions of the plaintiff; to carry the *Wazir*'s orders to the judge; and put his sentence in execution. The others, called *Alay Chaushi*, are made in time of war, to carry the *Wazir*'s orders to the *Pashâs*; to take care that the horse stand in a strait line; to give the signal of battle; to sound a retreat, and the like; in which they are not half so dexterous as the regular *Aids de Camp.* Cant.

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ral's fear, which they conſidered as the worſt of omens to the *Othmân* affairs. The *Wazir* making uſe of theſe diſcourſes in the camp, to expoſe *Jaffer Paſhâ* to the *Soltân*; urges how fatal that officer's too great caution might prove, unleſs immediately obviated: for that the enemy could not be deprived of neceſſaries, ſince they had the *Danube* open, and were maſters of all the towns above them; while by the *Othmân* inactivity time was loſt, the army languiſhed in idleneſs, and the *Germans* every day ſtrengthened *. A. D. 1697.

to beſiege Segedin.

BUT although the *Soltân* could not conſent to attack the *Germans*, yet he complied to go and beſiege *Segedin*, the *Wazîr* ſuggeſting that it could not hold out above ten days: that when taken, the whole country between the *Teiſſe* and *Danube* would be reduced to the *Othmân* obedience, and the neighbouring parts of *Hungary* laid open to be waſted by the *Tatars*: that the *German* army was ſo heavy and fatigued as not to be able to follow them: that they might indeed beſiege *Belgrade*, but could have no hopes of ſucceeding againſt a place provided with ſuch a ſtrong garriſon, plenty of proviſions, and a fleet at hand to throw in ſupplies: that however, the more effectually to ſecure it, *Jaffer Paſhâ* might be ſent there as governor, whoſe abilities in defending cities had ſufficiently appeared in the ſiege of *Temeſwar*.

Marches to Zenta.

As this part of the *Wazîr*'s advice was given with a view to remove *Jâffer Pâſhâ* from the *Soltân*, and then find occaſion to put him to death for a warning to others, *Moſtafa*, who perceived it, would not conſent, under pretence that *Jâffer*'s counſels would be neceſſary in the army. Next morning, being the 5th of *Jomazio 'lâwel*, at day-break, he ſet forward with his forces, and after nine hours march pitches his tents near a lake, with a bridge over it, where the *Germans* had lately encamped. Next day, leaving *Kyuchûk Jaffer Paſhâ* (D) behind, with 500 horſe, he proceeds before day to *Zenta*, a caſtle, little noted before, on the banks of the *Teiſſe*, with extraordinary expedition.

Prince Eugene follows.

PRINCE *Eugene*, on hearing the *Tubulkhâna*, imagined it was the ſignal for battle, and drew up his troops to receive the *Turks*: but when he underſtood by his ſcouts that they

* CANT. p. 405, & ſeq.

(D) Being taken here by the *Germans*, he gave them an exact account of the ſtate of the *Othmân* army; for which he was ſet at liberty after the battle. Nor was he, at his return, puniſhed by the *Soltân* for this treachery, but reſtored to his dignity. However he died the next year. *Cant.*

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A. D. 1697. were marching to *Zenta*, taking this to be a flight, he orders the *Hungarian* horse to haste before, and leaving behind the heavier and weaker part of his army, immediately follows, with less prudence than courage, at the head of only 16,000 men. The *Hungarians* that night coming to the lake, find the *Turks* sleeping, who expected nothing less than the enemy, and cut off the whole party, excepting the *Pâshâ*'s chamberlain. This person, who escaped by means of the darkness, immediately flies to *Zenta*, and informs the *Wazîr* of this disaster, and the approach of the *Germans*. That minister, to prevent the report from raising new commotions in the camp, immediately beheads the messenger of it; and informs the *Soltân* that the *Hungarians* had indeed surprised *Jâffer Pâshâ*, but were afterwards defeated by the *Othmân* forces. He had scarce made this report, when some *Tatar* troops arrive, and inform the camp that the whole *German* army were pursuing the *Othmân* forces with the utmost speed, and were now just at hand.

Moſtafa flies. HEREUPON the *Soltân* commands his men to halt, and a bridge to be run over the *Teiſſe*; which was performed in four hours. At noon the *Soltân* passes over first on horseback, and when the *Wazîr* came to kiss his stirrup, puts him off with a stern countenance; at the same time bidding him take care to convey over safely whatever was in the camp, for that if the enemy should take but a single waggon he should suffer an infamous death. The *Wazîr* knowing it required at least two days to transport every thing, and that his ruin was inevitable if he should ever appear before the *Soltân*, at first sends over eight cannon with their ammunition, and allows the *Spâhi's*, with the troops commanded by the *Pâshâ's*, to pass, but stops the rest; alledging, that the remainder of the cannon and army, which was the greater part, ought to be detained for defence of the camp, in case the enemy should attack it in the rear.

The Wazîr stays. THESE forces were scarce gotten over next day at noon, when the *Wazîr* being informed the *Germans* were within three hours march of the camp, that he might not die without his rivals, sends for all the *Pâshâ's* who had already passed over with their troops, under pretence of consulting them. They being obliged to obey his order, return on foot, as the waggons on the bridge would not allow horses to pass; and being all assembled, except the *Kaymaykâm*, *Bayukli Moſtafa Pashâ*, the *Wazîr* tells them, "That the enemy being now "in sight, they, who had refused to fight when they had a "convenient place and opportunity, should now be forced to "do it, without those advantages: that they had but one

"hap-

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" happineſs left, to be *Gâzi*, if they conquered, or *Shehîd*, A.D.
" if they died valiantly; and as one of thoſe ineſtimable 1697.
" priviléges waited for him that day, he thought it unrea-
" ſonable to defraud them, his brethren, of the right they
" had to be partakers with him. Behold, therefore, conti-
" nued he, paradiſe open before you, which I command
" you by the divine injunction to enter, and enjoy the de-
" lights promiſed by our prophet: but if you refuſe to obey
" the law, and my orders, my ſword (which he ſhewed)
" ſhall deprive you both of the life which you deſire, and
" the paradiſe which you deſpiſe."

THE *Pâſhâs*, not daring to oppoſe the *Wazîr* in the midſt *Reſolved* of the camp, or knowing how to eſcape, pretend obedience, *to die* and retire to the trenches; which being too extenſive for the *fighting.* forces which remained, they began to form a leſſer trench within the greater. The ſoldiers indeed complained, and reproach'd the *Wazîr* to his face with their imminent danger, yet obey'd his orders, as their own ſafety was concerned. Mean time the *German* army appears, and covers the whole plain; at which ſight the *Soltân*, enraged, ſends repeated *Khatiſhâriſs* to the *Wazîr*; commanding him to ſend over the *Janizaries*, cannon, and ammunition, let what would become of the other carriages. But *Elmâs Mohammed* conceals theſe orders from the *Pâſhâ's*, and anſwers the bearer, *that he had rather die fighting valiantly with his ſword, than be put to death by the Soltân*; and ſtops the *Janizaries* from paſſing. In this he is aſſiſted by the negligence of the herdſmen, who, ſeeing the *Germans* approach, drive all the cattle appointed for drawing ſo many thouſand waggons into the river. The ſtream forcing them againſt the bridge, they endeavour to mount it, and thus ſink three of the boats on which it was founded; ſo that no more than one man at a time could make a ſhift to paſs upon planks laid acroſs.

THE imperial forces arrive about three hours before night; *Battle of* and imagining the *Turkiſh* camp to be only guarded by the Zenta. carriages, fall on at once, but are repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Therefore when they find, that beſides two rows of waggons, chained together, the *Turks* were fortified by a double trench; and that the forces on this ſide the river were much ſuperior in number to their own, they reſolve to go another way to work. The channel of the *Teiſſe*, when ſwoln by the autumnal or winter rains, is full of water, which falling in ſummer, leaves a ſandy ſpace of thirty paces at the foot of the weſtern banks of the river, which are high and craggy. Here prince *Eugene* orders a trench to be dug a little below the *Turkiſh* camp; and ſeveral regiments to fall

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A. D. 1697. on the enemy that way within, while he attacked them without. And leſt the *Soltân*, to reinforce the *Wazîr*, ſhould repair the bridge, he plants two cannon near the head of it, which quickly demoliſh it. To prevent this, *Moſtafa* had ordered *Arnaud Abdi* the *Kyehaya* (E), with four cannon, to fire from the oppoſite bank; but having nothing to ſecure the engineers but a place covered with reeds, he was forced to remove them, after ſeveral of them had been killed.

The Turks *overthrown.* INDEED every thing ſeemed to conſpire the deſtruction of the *Turks*: for the *Janizaries* themſelves having repulſed the *Germans* from the outer trench, retire into the inner, and declare their reſolution to defend it. But the *Wazîr*, with the reſt of the *Paſhâ's*, endeavouring to divert them from their purpoſe, firſt by entreaties, and afterwards by force, they turn their deſpair into rage, and deſtroy not only the *Wazîr* and *Paſhâ's*, but all their own officers, excepting their *Agâ Delli Bâlta ogli* (F). In the midſt of this confuſion part of the *German* forces ſeize the outer trench abandoned by the *Turks*, and feign to attack the inner; with a view to draw the enemy from that ſide of the camp next the river, and by diſpoſing their own men along the bank, render the aſſault more eaſy. Theſe appearing ſuddenly at the head of the bridge, the *Othmâns*, ſtruck with terror, employ their whole ſtrength in that part to hinder the *Germans* from entering. The inner trench being thus left negligently guarded, the imperialiſts, who were on that ſide ſeize it, and fall in the rear upon the *Turks* fighting at the river; who, now incloſed, and preſſed on all hands, fight bravely, though in confuſion. But at length, having in vain attempted to force a paſſage, in the ſpace of three hours are all ſlain to a man [f].

THE account *Ricaut* gives of this famous battle is as follows. The imperialiſts under prince *Eugene*, having marched towards *Titul* and the *Teiſſe*, to meet the *Turks*, ſtrongly en-

[f] CANT. p. 407, & ſeq.

(E) He was inferior to none in courage and political knowledge. After the battle of *Zenta*, being the only ſurviving *Pâſhâ*, he was honoured by the *Soltân* with three *Tûgs*, and ordered to conduct the forces to *Belgrade*. And as this was what never happened to any before (for all the *Paſhâs* are created by the *Wazîr*, and receive from him their badges of authority), he obtained the name of *Pâdiſhâh Chiraghi*. He was afterward made *Paſhâ* of *Egypt*. Cant.

(F) Surnamed *Delli*, or *the Mad*, on account of his exceſſive daringneſs, in ruſhing on the enemy. *Cant.*

trenched

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trenched themſelves. Hereupon the *Wazîr* aſſembles all his *Paſhâ's*, 15 in number, and leaves the *Soltân* on the other ſide of the river, with part of the army: the *Arnauds* obſerving the *Germans* advance to attack them, endeavoured to paſs the bridge, and fly. Their example the *Janizaries* intended to follow, ſaying they were deſerted by the *Spâhî's*: but the *Wazîr* interpoſing with his *Pâſhâ's*, to prevent their flight, and killing a great number of the *Arnauds*, they mutinied, and killed him. However, ſome *Spâhî's* poſting themſelves at the farther end of the bridge, would let none paſs over. By this time the imperialiſts, having put themſelves in order of battle, furiouſly aſſailed the *Turks* on all ſides, who, at the ſecond attack, began to give way; and being ſtrangely terrified at the great ſlaughter which was made, threw themſelves headlong into the river, where the major part of them were drowned. So conſiderable a number of men was never before known to have been deſtroyed in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time; for the whole action did not laſt above two or three hours [g].

A. D. 1697. *Kill their* Paſhâs.

By the liſts there appeared to have been killed 14,070 *Janizaries*, with their *Agâ*; 73 *Ojâk* and *Bulâk Agulari*; 3700 *Topchi* and *Jebeji*; 7000 *Arnauds* (G). The *Wazîr Elmâs Mohammed Paſhâ*, fifteen *Paſhâ's* of three horſe-tails (H); twenty-ſeven *Paſhâ's* of two or one horſe-tail; beſides a great number of the uſual attendants on *Turkiſh* camps: ſo that the whole number of ſlain may be juſtly computed (I) at above thirty thouſand. The only perſon who eſcaped was *Mahmûd ebn ogli* (K) *Paſhâ* of the *Arnauds*; who, being twice *Great ſlaughter.*

[g] Ricaut in Muſtapha II.

(G) They are the braveſt and boldeſt of all men in war, as reſolute yet more diſcreet in attacks than the *Janizaries*. They are ſo expert in ſhooting, as to make nothing of taking an egg or apple from off their wife's or mother's head with a bullet, at 200 paces diſtance. *Cant.*

(H) The moſt eminent of whom were *Koja Jaffer Paſhâ*, *Miſirli Ogli*, who recovered *Khios*, *Kioſeh Halil Paſhâ* of *Diyarbekr*, and *Fazli Paſhâ* of *Shercûli* (*Shahrzûl*). This laſt was famous for his learning (whence called *Fazli*), and other excellent qualities. He was, for his fine writing, made *Kyehâya* by the *Wazîr Elmas Mohammed*. Cant. *Ricaut* mentions all the *Paſhâs* above recited.

(I) The *Turks* were never known to fight ſo ſtoutly; for not one was taken alive. And had not the *Janizaries*, before the battle, ſlain their commanders, men renowned for valour, 'tis generally thought, that with their aſſiſtance they might eaſily have repulſed, if not defeated, the *Germans*, who were much inferior to them in number. *Cant.*

(K) *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm ili* [or *Rumelia*], whoſe family has there a great eſtate. *Cant.*

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A. D. 1697. wounded, was saved by the strength of his horse, who conveyed him over the river. However, the *Othmâns* did not fall unrevenged, for six thousand *Germans* are said to have perished in that expedition (L).

Strange panic *SOLTAN Mostafa*, who was a melancholy, as well as idle, spectator of this misfortune, was seized with such a panick, that at midnight, without any guide or light, he abandons his camp, although there was nothing to be feared from the *Germans*; who, fatigued with toil, could not repair the bridge in sight of his numerous army. He directs his course towards *Temeswar*, putting to death the *Kâpuji Bâshi*, *Shahîn Mohammed*, a *Venetian* by birth, as a dignified Christian, and bribed by the *Germans* to suggest pernicious counsels; only because he advised him not to leave his camp dishonourably, and by an unnecessary flight give the enemy, who had destroyed but a small part of his army, an entire victory. To add to the misfortune, the night was so dark that the *Soltân*'s retinue, unable to discern the road, turning too much to the right, towards the *Teisse*, fell into marshy grounds, from which they were obliged to free themselves by leaving their horses and baggage behind. At length, about sun-rise, *Soltân Mostafa* comes to the place where a battle had been fought the year before with the *Germans*; and there changing his horse, as well as habit, unknown to all, flies with the utmost speed to the city whither he was bound.

of the Turks THE army arriving at noon near the same place, and perceiving neither the *Soltân*, nor any of the great officers among them, are struck with great surprize; which being increased by a rumour that the *Soltân* was taken by the *Hungarians*, or betrayed by his followers to the enemy, the soldiers disperse themselves different ways, every one anxious how to escape the *Germans*, whom they every moment imagined to be at their heels. In the evening, when they came to *Temeswar*, the governor, who had been ordered by the *Soltân* to conceal his arrival, lest the *Germans* hearing of it should invest him there, shuts the gates against them; which increases the rumour of *Mostafa*'s being taken, as well as their distress: for, having been too much in haste to bring provi-

(L) The emperor, in his letter to *William* III. king of *England*, inserted by *Ricaut*, says, that in this battle, fought 10th *August* 1697, the *Turks* were 30,000 strong; that 10,000 were killed on the spot; and that the bridge being too narrow for the rest to get over, they threw themselves into the river, and were most of them drowned: that 72 cannon were taken, and some thousands of waggons laden with provisions; and that only 500 *Germans* were killed, and as many wounded.

Hon

ſion with them, both men and beaſts were ready to die with thirſt; and if there were any ſtinking puddles to be found in the dried-up moraſs, about *Temeſwar*, thoſe who were ſtrongeſt (M) ſeized them, and excluded the reſt [h]. A. D. 1697. and their Soltân.

At laſt, after the *Othmân* army had, for three days, been like a ſhip in a ſtormy ſea, without either rudder or pilot, *Soltân Moſtafa*, finding there was no danger from the *Germans*, diſcovers himſelf to his ſoldiers. Theſe teſtify their joy on ſight of him, as if he had returned in triumph, and cry out, they regard not their misfortune, ſince they were aſſured of their emperor's ſafety, and would take a ſevere revenge upon the enemy. Next day *Moſtafa* leads his troops towards *Belgrade*, and being met at *Alî-bunar* (N), by *Amûkje-ogli Huſſeyn Paſhâ*, governor of that city, whom he had ſent for, as there were preſent no other *Paſhâs* honoured with three *Tûgs*, he confers on him the *Wazîrſhip*. After a ſhort ſtay at *Belgrade*, he returns, in the end of *Jomazio'lâwel* 1109, with his army, to *Adrianople*. Hej. 1109. A. D. 1698.

This was the fate of the *Turkiſh* forces after the battle. As for the imperialiſts, they continued all night in the place of victory, apprehenſive of ſome ſtratagem uſual among the *Turks*; but next day paſſed the *Teiſſe*, and gleaned-up what *Tekeli* (O) had left in the camp. After this, being diſcouraged from the ſiege of ſuch ſtrong cities, as *Temeſwar* and *Belgrade*, by the lateneſs of the ſeaſon (P), they turned their arms againſt *Boſnia*, took the caſtle of *Doba* and *Mogla*, ſet fire to *Saray*, the capital of the country, and reduced almoſt the whole province. In this diſtreſs the *Turkiſh* forces appointed to guard the ſame, not knowing what other me- *Affairs of* Boſnia.

[h] Cant. p. 411, & ſeq.

(M) Prince *Cantemir*, who was in the army at that time, gives a particular account of the confuſion and diſtreſs it was in.

(N) *The fountain of Ali*, between *Temeſwar* and *Belgrade*. As it lies very high for a proſpect, the ſpies commonly meet there. *Cant.*

(O) After the defeat, knowing the bridge could not be repaired by the *Germans* in ſo ſhort a time, he ſtayed all night in the camp, where he plundered all which was moſt valuable; and by that means got greater riches than he could have done from the *Soltân*'s penſion, which was hardly ſufficient to maintain him. *Cant.*

(P) However, on the 30th of *October*, ſome troops were detached towards *Karanſebes* and *Vipalanka*; which being inveſted, on the 4th of *November*, by general *Rabatin*, was taken by ſtorm on the 6th, and all the garriſon of 800 men put to the ſword, with the loſs only of ten *Germans*; and thus the campaign ended. *Ricaut.*

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A. D. 1697. thod to take, go to *Dâltabân Moſtafa Paſhâ* (Q), who then happened to be at *Bichkia*, a town of *Boſnia*, and force him to take the command upon him. Under his conduct the *Turks* reſume their courage, and not only repreſs the victorious *Germans*, but oblige them to retreat beyond the *Save*, and take from them four and twenty caſtles, ſituated on both ſides of that river.

Ruſſian and Venetian

If we turn our eyes to other quarters, we ſhall find that the *Ruſſians* this ſummer employ themſelves in fortifying *Azak* and *Luktikh* with new works, without any diſturbance from their enemies; while the new king of *Poland*, *Frederick Auguſtus*, before elector of *Saxony*, is buſy to gain the nobles, and prepare for the next campaign. Not long after the *Venetians* ſend a fleet into the *Mediterranean*; and *Kiel Mehemed Beg* (R), with his gallies, attempts *Tinos*: but being repulſed by *Bartolomeo Moro*, quits that iſland. Several other ſlight battles happened at ſea with various ſucceſs. The *Turkiſh* fleet, taking three pirate ſhips, carry them to *Conſtantinople*: on the other hand, as the *Turks*, after a ſhort diſpute, twice ſeemed to avoid a fight, the *Venetians* challenge two victories [1].

SECT. III.

The peace of Carlovitz, *and depoſition of* Moſtafa.

inclinations to peace.

SUCH were the events of this campaign. The beginning of the next might be juſtly ſaid to confirm the *Turkiſh* proverb, *An enemy does never perfectly know the ſtate of his*

[1] Cant. p. 414—422.

(Q) Famous for his warlike virtues. From a ſimple *Janizary* he at length became *Janizar Aga*; and from walking on foot about the city, inſtead of on horſeback, both day and night, to ſee if order was obſerved, got the name of *Dâltabân*; that is, *unſhod*, or *barefooted*. He was by the *Wazîr Huſſeyn Paſhâ* made governor of *Bâghdâd*, and ſent againſt the *Arabs*, whom he defeated, tho' 120,000 ſtrong, and killed 32,000, with only 12 regiments. He alſo recovered *Boſtra* [a miſtake for *Bâſrah*, or *Baſſora*] from them. *Cant.*

(R) There are in the iſles many *Begs*, who have one galley at leaſt; wherewith they trade in time of peace, and exerciſe piracy in time of war. *Mehemed Beg* was richer than the reſt, and kept three galleys at his own charge. The name of *Kiel* was given him, for having a bald and ſcurfy head. The *Greeks* called him *Kaſida*. Cant.

enemy.

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enemy. *Soltân Moſtafa*, after his return to *Conſtantinople*, makes all poſſible preparations for war; but with a mind troubled, and foreboding ill ſucceſs. The *Turks*, who had before entered voluntarily into the ſervice, are now backward in obeying even the *Soltân*'s commands, and inflexible either to intreaties or threats. *Moſtafa*, while he paſſes in diſguiſe through the aſſemblies of the people, frequently hears theſe words from the citizens and ſoldiers: "For the *Oth-*
"*mâns* to defeat the *Germans*, is a thing beyond their power.
"God has publickly teſtified, that he is on the ſide of the
"*Gyawrs*. He has ſignified his decree in that reſpect by
"ſufficient tokens. It is in vain therefore to ſhed ſuch tor-
"rents of *Muſulmân* blood, while we are to contend as well
"againſt God as man." The *Soltân*, who knew how neceſſary peace was to recover the exhauſted ſtate of the empire, earneſtly wiſhed for it: but was prevented from propoſing it, leſt the enemy ſhould become elated, and the honour of the *Othmân* empire diminiſhed. The *German* emperor was no leſs impatient on his part for an end of the war: not that he deſpaired of victory againſt the *Turks*, but he feared that if the king of *Spain* ſhould die before the war was finiſhed, the diſputes which would ariſe, concerning the ſucceſſion, might ſtop the progreſs of his arms. However, he thought it diſhonourable to deſire peace of a conquered enemy, and of his own accord offer him the palm. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ambaſſadors, indeed, were at hand to mediate a peace: but their offers having been ſo often rejected, they choſe rather to hear peace ſought for, than to propoſe it. A. D. 1698.

THE chief interpreter of the *Othmân* court, *Alexander Maurokordatus*, perceives the inclination of both parties; and as he was no leſs ſagacious, and fond of glory, than devoted to the intereſt of the *Porte*, reſolves to raiſe himſelf a great reputation by reſcuing the *Turkiſh* empire from deſtruction. As his hopes of this were chiefly grounded on the pacifick diſpoſition of the *Wazîr Huſſeyn Paſhâ*, he, in a viſit to him, turning the converſation upon the ſubject of peace, tells him; that by conſidering the preſent ſituation of affairs in *Chriſtendom*, he could with certainty affirm the *German* emperor was very deſirous of a peace with the *Othmâns*. The *Wazîr* anſwers, it was not probable that the emperor, flushed with his late victory, and full of hopes, would accept of peace, though offered, much leſs deſire it. *Maurokordatus* replies, it might ſeem ſo indeed: but that if a week's time was allowed him to ſound the Chriſtian ambaſſadors, he would engage to procure not only the emperor's conſent, but even his requeſt for a negociation. Maurokordatus contrivance

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A. D. 1698.

to compass it.

HAVING easily obtained leave, *Maurokordatus* waits on the ambassadors, and pretending "that he came of his own "accord, in gratitude for the favours he had received from "the emperor, and to demonstrate the fidelity due from "him as a Christian; said, he knew the emperor, from his "apprehensions of a *French* war, was very desirous of peace; "that he would not discover this to the *Turks*, lest it should "make them more large in their demands: but that, if they "would confide in him, with a power to manage the affair "as he should think proper, he would undertake to settle "a peace on such terms as the emperor might reasonably "desire." In the mean time he required of them an oath of secrecy, alledging the danger both himself and family should be exposed to, if suspected by the *Turks* of the least unfaithfulness. The ambassadors replied, "That the em-"peror would not perhaps reject honourable conditions of "peace, yet would never ask it of the *Porte*: but that in case "the interpreter, in his own name, would propose the af-"fair, he would lay a great obligation on his imperial ma-"jesty."

Sounds both parties.

MAUROKORDATUS, returning to the *Wazîr*, gives him a very different account: for he tells him, he found by the Christian ambassadors that the emperor was not only not averse to peace, but very desirous of it, and had requested them, by any means, to put an end to the war. The *Wazîr* seemed by this speech to be raised from the dead; and embracing the artful framer of lies (S), says to him, "If "you execute this divine work, and restore the wished-for "tranquility to our empire, you may be assured that you will "highly oblige the *Soltân*, and for ever endear the memory "of your services to the rulers of the *Othmân* state." By these artifices of *Maurokordatus* both the *Turks* and Christians are induced to speak a little more openly concerning the affair of peace, and think they may do it without detriment to the honour of their respective masters, because each party being deceived by the *Othmân* interpreter, imagines the first proposal came from the enemy.

French *opposition.*

As soon as these things became publick, *Feriole* (T), the *French*

(S) *Alexander*, who had a perfect knowlege of the eastern languages and poetry, seems herein to have followed the instructions of *Sheykh Saadi*, the famous *Persian* poet, especially where he says in his *Gyulistân*, "*A lie which does a* [good] "*work, is better than truth* "*which breeds confusion.*" Cantemir.

(T) He succeeded *Chateauneuf*; was haughty and obstinate; opposed the *Porte* in many

French ambaſſador endeavoured, by bribes, promiſes, and other arts, to prevent a negotiation; alledging that his maſter had only made a ſhort truce with the emperor, and that in a few years he would invade *Germany* with a greater force than ever. But the *Othmân* court having, by fatal experience, often found the inſincerity of *French* promiſes, that ambaſſador's efforts are to no purpoſe; and he is ordered to deſiſt from his deſign [k]. A. D. 1698.

MEAN time the *Turks*, omitting no meaſures proper to ſtop the progreſs of the *Germans*, *Soltân Moſtafa*, in the end of *Zilkaadeh*, 1109, removes to *Adrianople*; from whence, on the firſt of next month, he orders the *Wazîr* to march with the army towards *Hungary*, while he ſpends the ſummer in the village of *Akbunar* (U), expecting the iſſue of the conferences relating to peace. In the ſame hopes both armies, the imperialiſts at *Peterwaradin*, and the *Turks* near *Belgrade*, continue without motion, and only guard their borders. The like is done by the *Ruſſians* and *Poles*. The *Venetians* indeed have a ſlight engagement, near *Mitylene*, with the *Othmân* fleet, which is put to flight; and in *Dalmatia* attempt to take *Stolaz* by ſtratagem, but are forced to retire. The *Seraſkier*, on the other hand, endeavours to reduce *Ging*; but on the approach of the *Venetians* raiſes the ſiege. *Hoſtilities ſlacken.* Hej. 1109. A. D. 1697.

THUS much for the ſtate of hoſtilities, this campaign. Let us now ſee what paſſed with regard to peace. The preliminaries having been ſettled at *Conſtantinople*, ambaſſadors were appointed by all the princes engaged in the war. The *Turks* choſe *Rami Mehemed Reis Effendi* and *Alexander Maurokordatus*, honoured with the title of *Beg* and *Mahremî Eſrar* (X); the emperor, count *Pettingen* and count *Schlik*, his privy counſellors; the *Czar* of *Ruſſia*, *Prokopius Bogda-* *Ambaſſadors meet.*

[k] CANT. p. 422, & ſeqq.

ny reſpects, and demanded ſeveral things contrary to the uſage of the *Othmân* court: which cauſed ill blood, and ſometimes danger; of which our author produces inſtances. Yet he was endowed with many virtues, was courageous, liberal, an agreeable companion, of eaſy acceſs, a moſt ſincere and conſtant friend in all times. He fell at laſt into a frenzy, and was ſent chained to *France*. Cant.

(U) That is, *the white fountain*, near *Adrianople*.

(X) That is, *to whom ſecrets are diſcovered*. He invented this name himſelf, and long ſolicited the princes of *Moldavia* and *Walakhia* to give him the title of *moſt illuſtrious* in their letters, inſtead of *moſt excellent*, which uſed to be given him as chief interpreter, and is not reckoned ſo honourable as the other.—*Cant.*

nowitz,

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A. D. 1697. *nowitz Woznîcini*; the *Poles*, *Staniſlaus Mikhelowſki*, *Waywod* of *Poſnania*; and the *Venetians*, *Ruzini*; *Paget* and *Collier*, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ambaſſadors, were to act as mediators of the peace. They all met about the end of the year 1110 at *Carlovitz*, between *Peterwaradin* and *Belgrade*, where they pitched their tents on both ſides of the river of the ſame name.

at Carlowitz. AT firſt there aroſe diſputes concerning the place of conference, the ſeats of the ambaſſadors, and the order in which they were to viſit each other. The *Turks* inſiſted on having the firſt place, which was claimed by the emperor's ambaſſadors; next to whom the *Poliſh* plenipotentiary demanded to ſit, which was objected to by the *Ruſſian*, and all the reſt, excepting the *Venetian* miniſter, who claimed the next ſeat to the *Engliſh*. The conteſt on this head grew ſo high at laſt, that what had been already done muſt have come to nothing, had not *Maurokordatus* found out an expedient to reconcile the ambaſſadors, now incenſed beyond meaſure againſt each other. He propoſes that a round building ſhould be run-up for the place of conference, with as many doors as there were parties, each facing the country from whence the ambaſſador came: that the tents ſhould be ranged in the ſame manner round the building; and on the firſt day of the conference, the miniſters proceeding from their pavilions with an equal pace, ſhould reach the houſe at the ſame time, and ſaluting one another at the entrance, take the ſeats next to them (Y).

Peace concluded. THIS expedient being approved by all, after many conferences, and diſputes, the peace wiſhed for by the whole world, excepting the *French*, is at laſt concluded on the 26th of *Rajeb* 1110 (Z), and the inſtruments ſigned by all the ambaſſadors. The emperor made a truce for 25 years, upon condition that all *Tranſilvania* ſhould be reſigned to him in

Hej. 1110. A. D. 1698.

(Y) The tent or houſe appointed for the conferences had four doors, at which the ſeveral ambaſſadors entered; and after mutual compliments took their ſeats, placed in the middle of the tent, one oppoſite to the other, in ſuch a manner as that there could be no exceptions taken or diſpute about precedence. The ſecretaries were placed behind their reſpective ambaſſadors, at a ſmall table, where they took down the minutes of articles. *Mauro Cordato* ſtood a while behind the *Reis Effendi*; but afterwards was ordered to ſit on the ground after the *Turkiſh* manner. The doors were guarded by an equal number of *Turks* and *Germans*. Ricaut.

(Z) This year begins *June* 29th, 1698; ſo that the 26th of *Rajeb* falls on *January* the 15th, 1698-9.

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the ſame extent as it had been held by *Mikhael Apaffi*, and his predeceſſors: that *Temeſwar* ſhould be left to the *Soltân*; and to prevent its being blocked up by the adjacent caſtles, *Lippa*, *Khonad*, *Karanſebes*, *Lugos*, *Herkoniſia*, *Bech*, *Bechkerek*, and *Sabbia* (A), were to have their walls demoliſhed: that the navigation of the *Teiſſe* and *Maros* ſhould be free to the ſubjects of both empires; and the country between the *Danube* and *Teiſſe*, called *Bachkâb*, remain in the emperor's hands: that the boundary of the eaſtern part of *Hungary*, belonging to the emperor, ſhould be a right line drawn from the mouth of the *Maros* towards the banks of the *Teiſſe*, to the mouth of the *Boſſut*, where it falls into the *Save*: that towards the ſouth the *Save* ſhould part the *Turkiſh* from the imperial limits, till it receives the *Unna*; and that no new caſtles, beſides *Belgrade* and *Peterwaradin*, ſhould be erected, or old ones fortified, any-where within thoſe boundaries. A. D. 1698.

THE *Ruſſian* ambaſſador made a truce only for two years (B), upon the foot of each party poſſeſſing what he had taken. The *Poles* made a truce on like terms with the *Soltân*; namely, that they ſhould have *Kaminiek*, *Podolia*, and *Ukrania*, reſtored to them in the ſame extent as poſſeſſed by them, before *Soltân Mohammed*'s firſt expedition into *Poland*; and, on the other hand, reſign *Soczava*, *Nemoz*, and *Soroka* in *Moldavia*, to the *Turks*. The *Venetians* obtained theſe conditions, that all the *Morea*, as far as *Hexamilos*, ſhould belong to them; and the firm land, with *Naupaktum* (or *Lepanto*) *Preveſa*, and the caſtle of *Romania*, which had been demoliſhed, ſhould be reſtored to the *Turks*: that the bay of *Korinth* ſhould be common to both; and the *Venetians* poſſeſs *Lenkade*, with the adjacent iſlands. The yearly tribute paid by the iſlands in the *Archipelago*, to the *Venetians*, was to be aboliſhed; and *Zakînth* to be declared free from the like burthen by the *Turks*. In *Dalmatia Knin*, *Cing*, *Kiklut*, *Verlika*, *Duare*, and *Vergoraz*, were to be left to the republic, and fixed as the boundaries of their dominions on that ſide. The *Raguſians* were to continue free, and the *Venetians* to retain the caſtles of *Caſtelnuovo* and

Terms agreed on by all parties.

(A) *Ricaut* has *Czanad* for *Khonad*, *Berſche* for *Bech*, and *Sabla* for *Sabbia*.

(B) But afterwards, on ſending an ambaſſador to the *Porte*, the time was enlarged to 30 years, on condition that the *Ruſſians* ſhould retain *Aſof*, and all other places on the *Nieper* taken from the *Turks*; only *Kaſikermen* near the mouth of that river was to be demoliſhed, and left to the *Turks*. Neither could our author, *Ricaut*, find that the *Ruſſians* could obtain a free trade in the *Black ſea*, with all the inſtances they made for it.

Riſano,

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A. D. 1698. *Risano*, with what they possessed in the neighbourhood. Both parties were allowed to fortify their borders with new fortresses; or to repair those which were decayed, excepting *Naupaktum*, *Preveſa*, and the castle of *Romania* before-mentioned (C).

Fresh murmurs THE *Turkish* ambassadors, at their return to *Adrianople*, receive royal rewards for their services from the *Soltân*; who having settled a peace with all his enemies, disbands his army, and departs for *Constantinople*. There committing the whole administration of affairs to *Hussyn Pasha*, he removes, with his court, to *Karishtirân* (D), to divert, by hunting, his regret for the loss of so many provinces. But the people, especially the soldiery, grow uneasy at this recess of their *Soltân*, after so many toils, as if the peace was granted them for no other end but to watch and censure his words and actions. They blushed not to say in their assemblies, that he seemed disposed to imitate his father in all things; and that, like Hej. 1111. 1699. him, after applying the first years of his reign wholly to the affairs of state, he was now resolved to follow dogs and hunting, though he was yet young, and not so conspicuous for his services to the *Othmân* empire as *Soltân Mohammed*: *against the* Soltân. alledging that he had recovered nothing from the enemy, nor done any thing deserving the thanks of the public during the late war, except in hindering the enemy to penetrate farther into the empire. They therefore conclude, that since his father, illustrious for so many victories, was deposed on account of his excessive fondness for hunting, it was to be feared that a like, if not a worse fate, would attend the son, who was much inferior to him [1].

Russian *preparations.* TO avoid these reproaches, *Soltân Mostafa* takes a method, often tried, and retires to *Adrianople* with the *Wazîr*, and all the great officers of the empire; which had the desired effect. During his stay there, in the month of *Râjeb*,

[1] CANT. p. 425, & seq.

(C) *Ricaut* has given the treaties made with the several confederate powers at large. The conferences began about the middle of *November* 1698, and by disputes were spun out in that cold place, till the new year began. The *Russians* were the first who signed the treaty; the *Poles* and *Germans* signed two days after; the *Venetians*, last of all.

(D) A town between *Chorlo* (or *Chîurli*) and *Purgaz*, near the road to *Adrianople*, where is a fine palace built by *Mohammed* IV. for the conveniency of hunting in that pleasant country, whose hares are famous for their swiftness. *Cant.*

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1111 (E), he is informed by letters from the *Khân* of *Tartary*, that the *Czar* of *Ruſſia* having changed the habit and religious ceremonies of his country (F), had introduced thoſe of *Germany*, and raiſed a very numerous army, diſciplined after the *German* manner: that he was preparing a fleet with the utmoſt expedition, as well as building new cities and caſtles on the *Don*, *Nieper*, and other rivers: that therefore the *Soltân* ought to take care leſt while he was at eaſe from the *Germans* in the weſt, a new *Nemche Gyawr* (G) from the north did not endanger the *Othmân* empire; ſince nothing could hinder the *Ruſſians* from over-running all *Krîm Tartary* in the firſt campaign, before the *Othmâns* could come to its relief: that it was neceſſary therefore either to ſettle a firm peace, or immediately to declare war, before the enemy could ſtrengthen themſelves; and that if the *Soltân* ſhould doubt the truth of this report, he would do well to ſend a truſty officer, who might examine it on the ſpot. A. D. 1699.

HEREUPON *Soltân Moſtafa* ſends his maſter of horſe, *Kibleli Ogli*, ſon to the *Wazîr*'s ſiſter, without that miniſter's knowledge, into *Krîm Tartary*; with orders ſtrictly to pry into the conduct of the *Ruſſians*, and immediately return, without acquainting any perſon with the occaſion of his journey. For all this charge *Kibleli Ogli*, before his departure, ſecretly informs his uncle of the *Soltân*'s commiſſion. *Huſſeyn Paſhâ*, for fear this ſpark ſhould become a greater flame than what had been extinguiſhed, directs his kinſman to come to him, at his return, for inſtructions what to ſay, before he went to the *Soltân*. *Kibleli* obeys his uncle's orders; and, being returned, goes to him in diſguiſe, and acquaints him, that the *Ruſſians* had built a large fleet at two places, *Varoneſhi* and *Azak* (H), and were every day increaſing it: that they had fortified *Taganorok* in a ſurpriſing manner; and that above 20,000 workmen were employed in building new fortifications: that the works at *Kamenzaton*, above the *Nieper*, were already finiſhed, and the cataracts of that river opened fit for navigation: that the *Tatars* had nothing ſecure beyond the *Kherſoneſus*; and were perpetually annoyed by the incurſions of the *Koſaks*. Kibleli Ogli's

THE *Wazîr*, conſidering that if theſe and many other facts *falſe* re- of the like nature, were related to the *Soltân*, that they would *port*

(E) *December* 1699.

(F) The firſt is true; the laſt falſe. *Cant.*

(G) That is, a new *German infidel*; in alluſion, doubtleſs, to the *Czar*'s introducing the *German* diſcipline. For *Nemche*, with the *Turks*, ſignifies *Germany*, or the *Germans*.

(H) *Veronitz* and *Aſof*.

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A. D. 1699. occasion a more dreadful war than the former, desires his nephew to conceal them, and persuade his master that the *Khân*'s report of things was a mere fiction, aggravated after the usual manner of the *Tatars*, impatient for plunder: that the *Russians* had, indeed, during the war, began several castles, but had now discontinued their works; were desirous of nothing more than preserving the peace and commerce between both nations; and for that end would soon dispatch an ambassador extraordinary to the resplendent *Porte*. *Kibleli Ogli*, furnished with this false story, next day waits on *Soltân Mostafa*, as if just come from his journey, and tells him exactly what he had been taught. The *Soltân*, suspecting his fidelity, is extremely incensed against the *Khân*; and, in a letter, severely reprimands him for his false information. The *Khân* perceiving by this that the *Soltân* had been imposed on by his master-of-horse, answers, that he never dared presume to offer falshoods to his majesty, but judged that *Kibleli Ogli*, bribed by the enemy, had concealed what he had seen and heard in the *Krim*, and perhaps had accused him of falsehood, because he had not received such rich presents from him as he expected: adding, that the account which he had before given his majesty, was as evident as the light of the sun; and that *Kibleli Ogli* himself would not deny it, in case he was strictly examined.

detected and punished. THIS answer of the *Khân* being delivered by unknown persons to the *Soltân*, as he was coming out of the *Jâmi*, he immediately sends for *Kibleli Ogli*, who, threatened with death in case he did not declare the truth, acknowledges that every thing which the *Khân* had asserted was fact; and, humbly begging pardon for his crime, alleges, that what he did was by persuasion of the *Wazîr*, whose commands he could not refuse on account both of his authority and relationship. The imposture of both being thus detected, the *Soltân* deprives *Kibleli Ogli* of his post, and banishes him; but soon after orders him to be put to death. At the same time removing *Hussein Pashâ* from the office of *Wazîr*, he banishes him to a village near *Sillebria*, though without touching his estate. After his removal, the *Wazîrship*, by a very rare example, was vacant 40 days, till the arrival of *Dultabân Mostafa Pashâ* governor of *Baghdâd*, whom the *Soltân* had resolved to advance to that dignity, for having subdued the *Arabs* (I); and during this

(I) This *Pashâ* having been falsly accused during this expedition, by *Râmi Reis Effendi*, as if favouring the *Arabs*, an officer was sent to take off his head: but finding he had subdued them, and

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this interval *Silâhdar Haſſan Pâſhâ* had the adminiſtration of affairs under the title of *Vekil* [m]. A. D. 1699.

As ſoon as the new *Wazîr* was veſted with his office, he calls for a liſt of the caſtles which the *Othmân* empire was poſſeſſed of before the laſt war with the *Germans*; and finding by it that a great many towns beyond the *Saave*, which he had taken from the *Germans* when *Pâſhâ* of *Boſnia*, were reſtored to them by the peace, he is extremely provoked, declaring that the perſons who had made the peace were no leſs *Gyawrs* than the *Germans* themſelves, ſince they had delivered-up, without any neceſſity, ſo many places reduced to the *Othmân* obedience by his own blood; and had given *Kaminiek*, a city deſigned by *Soltân Mohammed* for the bulwark of the whole empire, as well as a noble monument of the *Muſulman* religion, by the erection of a magnificent *Jâmi*, in exchange for three towns of *Moldavia* filled with Chriſtians. Not content with reproaching the makers of the peace, he reſolves to break it, and particularly to declare war againſt the *Poles*, whoſe weakneſs, while *Seraſkier* on that ſide, he had obſerved; and the rather as the confuſed ſtate of *Europe*, on the death of the king of *Spain*, was ſuch, that neither the emperor, nor any other Chriſtian power, could aſſiſt them. Doltabân *made* Wazîr.

His next buſineſs was to ſeek a handle for declaring war, leſt the people, thinking the truce violated, might fear the event: but having no pretence to accuſe the *Poles* of a breach of the treaty, he declares, that the *Othmân* ambaſſadors had acted contrary to the *Korân*, and the *Soltân*'s command, by giving-up more than their orders would juſtify; for which reaſon he reſolves to put them to death. But perceiving that the *Mufti*'s authority would be a great obſtacle in this affair, ſince he had not only approved of the peace by his *Fetvah*, but was alſo a profeſt patron of the ambaſſadors, he determines to diſpatch him privately, in reverence to his office. With this view he feigns a ſincere friendſhip for him, often viſiting him in a familiar manner, and diſcourſing with him about public affairs. At laſt, when he thought the matter ripe for *Plots againſt the* Mufti.

[m] Cant. p. 428, & ſeq.

and that it was dangerous to execute his commiſſion, he returns and tells the *Soltân* how matters ſtood. After this, *Doltabân*, knowing the *Mufti*'s covetouſneſs, and great intereſt with the *Soltân*, whoſe preceptor he had been, ſends him a preſent of 60,000 gold crowns. *Feizallah Effendi*, in return, offers to get him made *Wazîr* (*Huſſeyn Paſhâ* being ſickly, and become unfit for affairs by his drunkenneſs); which he accordingly performed. *Cant.*

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A. D. 1699. execution, he invites the *Mufti* to a ſplendid entertainment; directing ſome of his chamberlains ſuddenly to ſtrangle that prelate with a cord, when the water was pouring-out for him to waſh his hands.

His Kyehaya's treachery. But this plot, through his own imprudence, proved his ruin: for having diſcovered the ſecret to his *Kyehaya Ibrâhîm Aga* (K), the latter, to ingratiate himſelf with the *Mufti*, goes with the *Kaſâb Bâſhi* (L), and informs him of the danger. On this the *Mufti*, pretending ſickneſs, throws himſelf on his bed; and, in a faint voice, anſwers the *Wazîr*, now come to invite him (M), that he was extremely ſorry his ſudden indiſpoſition ſhould prevent his going: but that he would ſend his ſon, the *Nakîb Effendi*, to ſupply his place. When *Huſſeyn Pâſhâ* was gone, the *Mufti* ſends for the *Reïs Effendi*, *Râmi Mehemed Pâſhâ*, lately made a *Kubbeh Wazîr* (N), and *Mau-*

(K) For this treachery he was, by the *Mufti*'s application, made *Paſhâ* of *Saloniki*; and on account of his lameneſs named *Topal Ibrâhîm Paſhâ*, that is, *Ibrahim Paſhâ the lame*: but died a few months after in horrible torments, as it was ſaid, calling on the name of his maſter. *Cant.*

(L) Or *chief butcher*; whoſe buſineſs is to ſee that none but ſound and freſh meat be brought to market, or ſold above the ſtated price. There is another made in time of war, to buy cattle for the army. He was named *Kara Mehemed Aga*, from his blackiſh complexion, and was the richeſt *Turk* in his time: for he often lent 500 or 1000 purſes at three days notice, but was ſtripped of all at laſt; as is commonly the caſe with ſuch men, on a falſe accuſation. *Cant.*

(M) The *Wazîr* and *Mufti*, who hold the higheſt offices in the ſtate, never meet without great previous ceremonies; the *Mufti* ſending a proper officer to know if the *Wazîr* is at leiſure for a viſit; the *Wazîr* ſends his officer to conduct him. Being come in his chariot to the *Wazîr*'s palace, he is led under the arms by two other domeſtic officers to the ſtair-caſe, where the *Wazîr* meets him on the firſt ſtep, and ſalutes him. Then going-up, the *Mufti* follows, and, with both hands on his breaſt, bleſſes the people on both ſides, with a *peace be with you*. Being come into the room, he is ſeated on the right hand of the *Wazir*. Cant.

(N) He was of mean birth, and applied himſelf to learning and poetry. When he had finiſhed his ſtudies, and left the academy (where he got the name of *Râmi*), he frequented taverns; where, being handſome, and having a ſweet voice, as well as ſkill in muſic, he got a tolerable livelihood. He was removed from this way of life by the famous poet *Nâbi Effendi*, by whoſe inſtructions he was eſteemed at court a good writer: for he outdid all the *Turkiſh* writers in quickneſs of wit, and elegance of expreſſion. He was firſt promoted

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Maurokordatus: who being made acquainted with the deſign againſt them, it was agreed, by ſome accuſation, true or falſe, to procure the *Wazir* to be removed; and, if poſſible, to be put to death. The *Mufti* undertakes this province, and next day informs *Soltân Moſtafa*, that the *Wazîr* was engaged in ſome new deſigns deſtructive to the whole *Othmân* empire; had ſecretly liſted a very numerous army; made his dependents officers in it; and ordered them to excite the ſoldiers to demand a rupture of the peace, with a charge to depoſe his majeſty, if he refuſed to gratify their deſires [n]. A. D. 1699.

THE *Soltân* readily believing what that prelate, for whom he had a great eſteem, falſely charged upon the *Wazîr*, orders him to be ſent for; and, having loaded him with reproaches, commands him to be put to death (O), without ſuffering him to ſpeak in his own defence (P), and gave his poſt to *Râmi Mehemed Paſhâ*. But from the *Wazîr*'s blood, as from a copious fountain, torrents of human gore flowed-out. The *Ulema*, citizens and ſoldiers of *Conſtantinople*, hearing what had happened at *Adrianople*, begin to complain openly of the preſent adminiſtration; declaring, "That the new *Wazîr*, *Put to death.*

[n] CANT. p. 430, & ſeq.

moted by the *Wazîr Elmas*, and made *Reis Effendi* by *Huſſeyn Paſhâ*, who joined him with *Maurokordatus* in making the peace; although in effect he did nothing but what the latter propoſed. After the rebellion he was made *Paſhâ* of *Egypt*, under the *Wazîr Haſſan*; and thence removed to *Cyprus*, where his conſtitution being proof againſt the bad air too long, an officer was ſent to put him to death; but he died while ſaying his prayers. *Cant.*

(O) *Motraye*, who was then at *Conſtantinople*, paſſes over this remarkable event with as little notice as if he had been a thouſand miles off. He only ſays, that *Uſſeim Paſhâ*, having, in *October*, deſired leave to lay down his *Vizirſhip*, one *Altaban Muſtapha*, a *Georgian* ſlave, a bold, haughty, unpolite man, who could not write his own name, ſucceeded him, and was ſtrangled ſome weeks after, occaſioned, as it was ſaid, by a quarrel with the *Mufti*. *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 218.

(P) The hiſtory of this affair is told at large by prince *Cantemir*, in a note, p. 414, *& ſeq.* where the folly, as well as injuſtice, of the *Soltân*, appears to a ſurprifing degree in putting *Doltabân* to death, on the bare accuſation of the *Mufti*, without allowing him the hearing, tho' he ſaid he had ſomething of importance to impart to him. Being aſked, at the place of execution, what it was he had to ſay to the *Soltân*, he anſwered, *that he could impart it to none but him: although he ſhould not then behold, without horror, the face of ſuch a Soltân as put thoſe to death who faithfully ſerved him.* Cant.

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A. D. 1699. "*Mufti*, and other great officers, were traitors; and that "their whole management tended to the ruin of the em- "pire: that for this purpose they had persuaded the *Soltân* "to put to death *Daltabân Mostafa Pasha*, one of the greatest "hero's of the age, who had twice signalized his abilities "against the *Germans* and *Arabs*; so that supposing he had "been guilty of some misconduct, he should rather have "been banished, that he might, when occasion required, be "let loose upon an enemy: but that they being jealous of his "merit, would not suffer him to live; and had raised to the "*Wazirship Râmi Mehemed Effendi*, a good scribe indeed, and "a learned man, but unfit for such an office: that this was "the reason of persuading the *Soltân*, thereby become haugh- "ty, to reside at *Adrianople*, and wander in the woods, while *The people murmur.* "the capital of the empire, by absence of the court and ty- "ranny of governors, was reduced to the lowest poverty: "that to disgrace it the more, *Kyoprili Abdo'lla Pasha* (Q), a "youth of eighteen, who, except the glory of his father, "had nothing to recommend him but his marriage with the "*Mufti*'s daughter, was appointed *Kaymaykâm*; as if no "bounds could be set to the *Mufti*'s will, who wanted but "little of ingrossing, with his family, the whole *Othmân* em- "pire: that all the best *Mollahships* were filled by his young "sons, or those who could purchase them; for that his house "was become the office of avarice, where justice and eccle- "siastical dignities were sold to the rich, instead of being be- "stowed on men of integrity and learning [o]."

New provocation given Hej. 1114. SUCH discourses as these sufficiently indicated the people's readiness to revolt: all they wanted was a leader, and plausible occasion; which last is soon given them by the *Kaymaykâm* himself. For in *Moharram* 1114, after the *Janizaries* had received their pay, the *Jebeji*, who are next in order, went to the houses of the *Kaymaykâm* and *Tefterdâr*, desiring also to be paid: but *Kioprili Abdo'llah* putting them off from day to day, about 40 of them go the *Diwân*, while he is hearing causes, and by an *Arzuhal* beseech him to grant their demand in turn. This petition firing his youthful blood, he re-

[o] CANT. p. 432, & seq. See also *Motray*'s Travels, Vol. I. c. 13. p. 230.

(Q) The son of *Kioprili Mostapha Pasha*, slain in the battle of *Salankamen*, 1691. After these troubles, growing wiser with age, he acted with more moderation; and after he had quelled a rebellion, was made *Pasha* of *Siwas* (or *Sebastia* in *Anatolia*) by *Soltân Ahmed* III. *Cant.*

proaches

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proaches the *Jebeji* in very injurious language, and bids them wait, becauſe there was no money in the treaſury. The ſoldiers, provoked at this treatment, in going-off, return the *Kaymaykâm*'s reproaches with great ſharpneſs, on the very ſtairs of the *Diwân*, and ſo loud that the by-ſtanders could hear almoſt every word. A. D. 1699.

THE *Kaymaykâm* being informed of this, commands the *Muhzurs* (R) to go ſeize and carry them to their chief officer, to be put to death: for it is a capital crime among the *Turks* to contradict, or uſe reproachful terms to any judge, eſpecially the *Kaymaykâm*, who is ſuppoſed to be the *Soltân*'s vicegerent. The *Muhzurs* uſing force, are reſiſted by the *Jebeji*, who, raiſing a tumult in the ſtreet, in the uſual phraſe of the ſoldiers, *Yoldaſh Yokmidur? Are no companions at hand?* call out for aſſiſtance. At this cry the *Jebeji*, flocking from all parts, reſcue their fellows from the officers of juſtice, and returning to their quarters, there give an account of what had happened; adding, that it was in vain to expect their pay while the diſtribution was in the hands of a boy, whoſe brains were turned by his high and undeſerved dignity. The reſentment thus kindled, is inflamed by *Kârakaſh Mehemed*, a man of great boldneſs, and fond of changes in the government; who, exciting the whole aſſembly to revenge the injury, they immediately take arms, and run to the *Kaymaykâm*'s palace. *by the* Kaymaykâm.

KYOPRILI Abdo'llah Paſhâ being informed of their approach, eſcapes through a back-door; while the *Jebeji*, on their diſappointment, run about in parties to ſtir-up the *Janizaries* and *Ulema*. Next day the leaders of the ſedition meet in the *At-meydân* (S); and there bind themſelves by oath either to deſtroy the *Wazîr*, *Mufti*, and other oppreſſors of the people, or periſh in the attempt. In this aſſembly *Firâri Haſſan Paſhâ* offers to be their leader, and is, by them, appointed *Kaymaykâm* (T) in the room of *Kyoprili Ogli*. The *The ſoldiers riſe.*

(R) Their name is derived from *Ihzar, to bring*; becauſe their buſineſs, beſides guarding the *Wazîr*'s palace, is to bring the guilty, and if any are to be confined, to keep them till the next *Diwân*.—To put malefactors to death there is a body taken out of the *Muhzari*, who, from the *Falanga*, or inſtrument uſed in beheading, are called *Falangaji*. Cant.

(S) Or *Hippodrome*, built by *Juſtinian*, near *St. Sophia*, and ſtill uſed to air and exerciſe the *Soltân*'s horſes. *Cant.*

(T) *Motrays* ſays, that *Firalli*, having ſtrangled the *Kâpiji Bâſhi*, ſent to ſtrangle him, he hid himſelf among his women in *Conſtantinople*, and appeared on being cried by a public crier.

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A. D. 1699. *Nakib Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi* (U), assumes the office of *Mufti*, and *Dorojan Ahmed Pashâ*, a person of no note, who had been recalled from his *Pashâlik*, and lived privately, is made *Wazîr* by the rebels. *Kul-kyehaya Chalik Ahmed Aga* is appointed *Janizar Agâsi*, and *Diw Ali Aga* (X), who had been deprived of the post of *Kul-kyehaya*, is restored to that office. By their advice the conspirators shut the gates of the city, and suffer no man to go forth unless sent by themselves, to prevent the *Soltân* being informed of their designs. After this they plunder the magazines of the arms kept there; and prepare themselves for war with the empire.

March in arms *SOLTAN Mostâfa*, when he heard of this sedition, sends *Mostafa Effendi*, the chief secretary, to enquire into the reason of so great a rebellion in his capital city, with a promise to grant all their desires: but, arriving at the gate on the eighth day of the sedition, the guard force him from his horse, and carry him to the *At-meydân*; where the people, seizing him as a spy, before their leaders could restrain them, beat him almost to death, and tortured him to such a degree, to make him confess what the *Soltân* was doing, that they left him neither sense nor speech to declare any thing. Yet this (which they imputed to his obstinacy, rather than their own cruel treatment) incensing them more against the *Soltân*, they assemble above 50,000 soldiers on the 19th day; and, leaving the city, resolve utterly to destroy *Adrianople*, as the rival of the capital, in case the inhabitants should dare to oppose them. Being come to *Hapsa*, a town not far from thence, they send to inform the *Soltân*, "That they had not taken up arms "either to fight against him, or the *Musulmâns*, but only to "oblige the evil ministers to submit to be tried by the divine "judgment of the *Korân*: but that, if he should use the "sword to decide this affair, they would repel force with "force; and he would be accountable to God for the needless effusion of *Musulmân* blood." They likewise privately warn the inhabitants of *Adrianople* not to appear in arms, if they would avoid being plundered; since they came not to fight with their brethren, but to punish the betrayers and oppressors of the *Othmân* empire [z].

towards Adrianople.

[z] CANT. p. 433, & seq.

(U He was of the race of *Amirs*, and had been *Mufti* in the reign of *Mohammed* IV. He was called *Kiazibi*, or liar, as being thought much given to lying. *Cant.*

(X) He was the only one of the rebel party who escaped the pursuit of *Ahmed* III. flying to *Jezayri*, or *Algiers*; so that he could never be found. *Cant.*

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THE *Soltân*, on this meſſage, aſſembles his *European* troops with the utmoſt expedition, and orders them to march under the conduct of the *Wazîr Râmi Mehemed*, againſt the rebels: who, by a *Fetvah* of the *Mufti*, *Feyzo'llah Effendi* (Z), are declared *Gyawrs*; and thoſe promiſed a crown of martyrdom, who ſhould die fighting valiantly againſt them. But, when both armies were in ſight, the *Nakib Effendi*, who acted as *Mufti* among the conſpirators, holds-up the *Korân* to the *Soltân*'s forces, and deſires them to conſider: "That they "were brethren of the ſame religion, the ſame blood, and "ſubjects of the ſame dominion: that the people of *Conſtan-* "*tinople* had not taken-up arms to overturn the empire, or "attempt any thing againſt the ſacred law: but to puniſh the "infidels, and contemners of the law, agreeably to its pre- "cepts; and that, if they endeavoured to oppoſe ſo pious "a deſign, they would draw upon themſelves, not only the "indignation of God, but likewiſe the ſevereſt puniſhments." The *Soltân*'s troops are ſo affected with this ſpeech, that they abandon the *Wazîr*, and join the rebels, ſaluting them brethren.

A. D. 1699. *Army join them.*

THE *Wazîr*, in this deſperate ſtate, flies, with two ſervants in diſguiſe, to *Varna*; and, from thence, back to *Conſtantinople*, concealing himſelf, for ſome time, in a houſe which he had in the ſuburbs of *Ayub*. Mean time the rebels encamped under the city, at *Solâk Cheſhmeſi* (A); and, from thence, ſend to demand the heads of the *Wazîr*, the

The Mufti *tortured.*

(Z) He was a native of *Wân*, in *Armenia*, and of the *Amîr* race. In the time of *Mohammed* IV. when *Muderis*, or maſter, of the *Soleymâniyah* ſchool, he was appointed *Shehzadeh Hoja*, or *preceptor to the* Soltân's *children*, *Moſtafa* and *Ahmed*. After having often changed, contrary to cuſtom, his eccleſiaſtical employments, he was created *Mufti*, and continued in that dignity for ſeven years; a thing unheard of among the *Turks*. He was a man of no great learning, and more crafty than wiſe: yet had ſuch an aſcendant over the *Soltân*, that he never did any thing without conſulting him, nor could refuſe him any thing. He was ſo covetous, that he took preſents with both hands; would aſk for them, if not offered him; and would for money give any *Fetvah* deſired of him, whether right or wrong. The eldeſt of his four ſons he appointed *Nakîb*; and conferred rich *Môlâhſhips* on the other three, though but young; which gained him the hatred of the *Ulema*, as well as people. What was worſe, he encouraged them, like another *Eli*, in all ſorts of extravagancies.—*Cant.*

(A) *The fountain of Solâk*, ſo called, either becauſe the builder was of the order of the *Solâki*, or elſe had loſt a hand. It is in a field a mile from *Adrianople*, in the road to *Conſtantinople*. *Cant.*

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A. D. 1699. *Mufti* with his ſons, and *Maurokordatus*. The *Soltân*, expecting this, had ſent-off the *Mufti* two days before, but with ſeveral *Boſtânji's* to attend him, with deſign to ſtop his flight, if the danger encreaſed: finding therefore the rebels more obſtinate in their demands, he ſends for him back, and delivers him up, with his two ſons. As ſoon as they have him in their power, they fix nails in his knees; and, by other horrid cruelties, endeavour to make him diſcover the immenſe treaſures he was reported to have amaſſed: but, being a man of great courage, he bears all with ſingular patience; and utters not one word, excepting to deſire vengeance from God on ſuch an impious and ungrateful people. At length, exhauſted with ſo many torments, he is put to death; and his body (B) thrown into the river, as if he had been an infidel, and unworthy of burial.

Moſtafa reſigns. THE *Soltân*, perceiving, from theſe circumſtances, that the people were more exaſperated againſt him than he had imagined, ſends to *Dorojân Ahmed Paſhâ* (C), the *Wazîr* of the rebels, the ſeal belonging to that employment; and confirms the other officers choſen by them in their poſts: with a promiſe to grant all their demands, and deliver up to them the *Wazîr*, and *Maurokordatus*, who were fled, as ſoon as they ſhould be taken. But, growing more preſumptuous by the *Soltân's* condeſcenſion, they concert meaſures to depoſe him. For this end, they diſpatch a letter to *Ahmed*, brother of *Soltân Moſtafa*, deſiring him, ſince they ſcrupled to enter

(B) As the laws of the *Korân*, and the empire, forbid putting a *Mufti* or *Mollah* to death (the higheſt puniſhment of the whole order of the *Ulema* and *Kâdis* being baniſhment), the rebels, to excuſe their treatment of him, declared he was a *Gyaur*; and would not allow his body *Mohammedan* burial, but hired a *Greek* prieſt to put him in the ground. This man got ſome perſon to drag him along, while he went before ſinging, inſtead of the burial hymn, *Ordure be upon thy ſoul*; and, at laſt, flung it into the river, having firſt, it is ſaid, perfumed it with frankincenſe, and repeated two *Turkiſh* verſes; whoſe ſenſe is, *neither yours nor ours, he is gone directly to hell*; with which the *Turks* were ſo pleaſed, that they both praiſed and rewarded the *Pâpâ* for his ingenuity. *Cant.*

(C) So called by the rebels, becauſe like *Doroſhenko*, *Hetmân* of the *Koſâks*, who was called *Doroſhân* by the *Turks*. But he was before named *Damad Ahmed Paſhâ*, that is, *Ahmed Paſhâ the ſon-in-law*: becauſe he had married the ſiſter of the *Wazîr Amuje Ogli Huſſeyn Paſhâ*, and grandaughter of *Kyoprili Moſtafa Paſhâ*; the handſomeſt woman in her time, but ſo laſcivious, that ſhe kept many gallants, eſpecially *Franks*. —*Cant.*

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the imperial palace with an armed force, to come, if poſſible, to the camp, either with or without his brother's leave, and the army would immediately proclaim him emperor. A. D. 1699.

SOLTAN Moſtafa, intercepting this letter, continues long in ſuſpence, whether he ſhould kill his brother, or voluntarily reſign the ſcepter to him. Many of his domeſtick officers adviſe the fratricide; alledging, that the conſpirators would be obliged to confirm him in the throne, in caſe there were no other heirs to the empire. But the *Soltân* abhors ſuch a deed, and reſolves to commit himſelf to the divine providence. He goes therefore to *Ahmed*, and, embracing him with great affection, informs him, that he was univerſally deſired to fill the throne, and firſt ſalutes him *Soltân*. At his departure, he ſpeaks as follows: "Remember, bro- "ther, that, while I governed the empire, you enjoyed the "utmoſt liberty; I deſire you will allow me the ſame. Think "alſo, that, although you by right aſcend this throne, as "having been poſſeſſed by your father and brother, yet, that "the inſtruments of your advancement are treacherous re- "bels, who, if you ſuffer them to eſcape with impunity, "will quickly treat you as they do me (D) at preſent." Having ſaid this, he retires to the ſame chamber in which he had kept his brother; where, ſix months after his depoſition (E), he died of a diſtemper contracted through melancholy. He reigned eight years and ſome months. *the throne to Ahmed.*

SOLTAN Moſtafa was a prince of great expectations in the beginning of his reign; but fortune afterwards blaſted them. He had greater advantages from nature than both his predeceſſors: for he was of a mature judgment, great application, and ſtrict ſobriety. Neither covetous in collecting, nor profuſe in diſtributing, the public monies. He was a good archer, and expert horſeman. A lover of juſtice (F), and very devout in his religion. He gained great reputation by the peace of *Carlowitz*; which, having been in vain attempted by his father and uncles, he ſettled, by wonderfully reconciling all parties. *His character.*

HE was, as to his perſon, of a moderate ſize; his face round, and beautified with red and white: his beard red, *His perſon.*

(D) *Ahmed* followed the advice of his brother, and, probably, by that means, eſcaped an early depoſition. However that fate befel him at laſt: for he was depoſed in 1730, by a ſedition of the ſoldiery, which a corrupt adminiſtration had given occaſion to; and his nephew *Mahmûd* advanced in his room. *Ahmed* died in 1736.

(E) More properly his abdication, which is a voluntary depoſition; by which he prevented a forcible one.

(F) His treatment of *Doltabân* calls in queſtion both his judgment and juſtice.

thin,

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A.D. 1699. thin, and not long: his nose short, and a little turned-his eyes blue; and his brows thin and yellow. In the spr he used to have spots break out in his face, which disappea again in the winter. He left no son alive (F), although had been father of several. He was particularly fond of *I him* (G), son of his uncle *Ahmed*, whom he always car with him; and designed, as was thought, for his succes in case he died without issue [a].

[a] Cant. Othm. Hist. p. 435, & seqq.

(F) *Motrays* says, he left three sons, *Jesus*, *Mustapha*, and *Mahomet*. Trav. vol. i. p. 247.—Perhaps *Mahomet* is a mistake for *Mahmûd*, who succeeded *Ahmed* III.

(G) He was a hopeful good-natured prince; but d at *Constantinople* after I left t city. *Cant.*

END *of the* OTHMAN HISTORY.

Mode

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Modern Hiſtory:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Univerſal Hiſtory.

BOOK XVI.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of the Diſperſion of the Jews; *or an Account of their diſtreſſed State from the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem *to the End of the laſt Century.*

WE concluded the ſecond part of the antient hiſtory of the *Jews*, with an account of the dreadful ſiege of their once celebrated metropolis; the horrid ſlaughter of ſome myriads of its inhabitants; and the diſperſion and miſerable ſlavery of the reſt of the *Jewiſh* nation†: all which, we there obſerved, befel them as a juſt puniſhment for their horrid and complicated impieties, which were by that time grown to ſuch a monſtrous height, that *Joſephus* himſelf ſcruples not to ſay, That, if this dreadful vengeance had not fallen upon them, the earth would, of its own accord, have opened itſelf to ſwallow up thoſe ungrateful miſcreants. Altho' the thing, which above all others aggravated their guilt, was their rejecting and crucifying the ſo long promiſed and expected Meſſiah; who, in conſequence of their unbelief, injuſtice, and horrid ingratitude, expreſly, and in the cleareſt terms, denounced all thoſe woes which have happened

Impiety of the Jewiſh *nation at the time of their diſperſion.*

† See before, vol. x. p. 686, & ſeq.

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poned to them exactly according to his divine and infallible prediction. However had the divine vengeance ſtopped here, and had God contented himſelf with the deſtruction of a city and a temple, in which his worſhip had been ſo impiouſly prophaned; and with the diſperſion of a rebellious nation, whom he had ſo often tried to gather under his wings; or had the effects of his vengeance fallen only on the guilty, eſpecially on the chiefs of the nation, the Scribes and Phariſees, who were deepeſt in the guilt; there would have been nothing ſurpriſing in all their puniſhment how heavy ſoever.

Their woful ſtate ever-ſince.

BUT that it ſhould have continued from generation to generation, and from age to age; that their poſterity ſhould have already groaned under the ſame ſevere captivity almoſt ſeventeen centuries, without the leaſt glimpſe of relief or abatement, is what may juſtly fill us with wonder: eſpecially if we add to it, that the *Jewiſh* nation, as unhappy and numerous as it is over the world, hath preſerved itſelf ſo long, under all the contempt and hatred, ill treatment and cruelty, and ſometimes under the moſt bloody perſecutions, raiſed againſt it almoſt in all the places of their diſperſion. Such infinite difficulties and diſcouragements have they met with from Chriſtians, and *Turks*, as well as all other ſorts of nations, that their hiſtory is hardly any thing but a continued ſeries of woes and miſeries, of injuſtice and violence, the moſt flagrant calamities, and bloody cruelties exerciſed againſt them: ſo that one cannot but wonder, how a people, whom he might rather have expected to find long ſince drowned in thoſe ſeas of blood which had been drawn from them, ſhould yet ſubſiſt in ſo many parts of the world; unleſs we ſuppoſe, that the divine providence has preſerved them hitherto for ſome great and glorious purpoſe.

Preſerved hitherto by divine providence

AND, if neither the length and dreadfulneſs of this their laſt captivity, nor the learned books which have been ſince written by Chriſtians againſt them, expoſing the poor ſhifts which their rabbies have been driven to, as well as the many palpable lies, forgeries, falſe gloſſes, and interpretations of the ſacred books, to keep up their deſponding hope in a Meſſiah not yet come, hath not hitherto been able to open their eyes to their fatal error; if all attempts made by Chriſtians, whether by fair arguments or by violence, have hitherto proved ineffectual to perſuade them to ſeek for truth, peace, and happineſs, in the goſpel of Chriſt; and, if they have all along preferred a miſerable and ignominious ſlavery to their temporal, as well as eternal, welfare, we may juſtly conclude, that the divine wiſdom and goodneſs, which hath ſo wonderfully preſerved them through ſuch a ſeries of ages, and thro' ſuch

for a miraculous converſion.

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ſuch vaſt difficulties, and dreadful perſecutions, deſigns their converſion in his own time to be altogether as miraculous as that of the heathen world. When that glorious and happy time will come is one of thoſe inſcrutable ſecrets, which God hath been pleaſed to reſerve in his own diſpoſal[a]: altho' we cannot read the ſacred books of the Old and New Teſtament with any attention, without obſerving indiſputable promiſes of their call and total converſion. But, as this laſt is out of our province, we ſhall readily refer our readers to thoſe many and learned treatiſes which have been written on the ſubject, particularly thoſe which the reader will find in the margin[b]; whilſt we confine ourſelves to what more properly relates to their hiſtory, their diſperſion over the world, their various ſettlements in the eaſt and weſt, their ſufferings, their learned men and writings, falſe Meſſiahs and miracles, their academies and famed profeſſors, their diſputes with Chriſtians and other nations, as well as among themſelves: likewiſe to ſuch material occurrences as have happened to them ſince the deſtruction of their city and temple, by the *Romans*, to the cloſe of the foregoing century, beginning with thoſe who retired immediately after the ſad cataſtrophe into the eaſtern, and ending with thoſe who ſettled in the weſtern, parts of the world, from which they came to be diſtinguiſhed into eaſtern and weſtern *Jews* (A).

The chief ſubject of this hiſtory.

By

[a] Acts i. 7. [b] Vid. int. al. Joſe. Mede, Jurieu, Mekring, Rhud, and a late treatiſe on the reſtoration of the Jews and Iſrael. Biſhop Sherlock on Prophecy, & al. plur.

(A) We muſt here take notice to our readers, that, by this diſtinction, we do not mean that ancient one which was made between the *Jews*, who were tranſplanted beyond the *Euphrates*; and whoſe ſituation being eaſterly from thoſe of *Judea*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, &c. were called eaſtern, and theſe weſtern. But, by the former, we mean thoſe who have diſperſed themſelves thro' the eaſtern part of the world, ſuch as *Turky*, *Perſia*, *Egypt*, *Paleſtine*, &c.; and, by the latter, or weſtern, thoſe who have been, or ſtill are, tolerated in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, *England*, *Germany*, and other provinces of *Europe*, where they have had, or ſtill have, very conſiderable ſettlements.

Beſides this diſtinction, the *European Jews* divide themſelves into northern and ſouthern; the former of whom, being thoſe who for many ages lived in *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, and other northern provinces, not only differ in their liturgy, ceremonies, and in ſome of their tenets; but, being more ſtrict adherers to them, do hate and deſpiſe the ſouthern ones, which are thoſe chiefly of *Spain* and *Portugal*, who are not only more remiſs in all theſe reſpects, but, go even ſo far as to make outward

Jewish accounts fraught with fables.

By this vast scope of time, place, and matter, which this chapter comprehends, the reader will easily imagine, that we do not intend to give a full and regular history of the whole nation in every place of their dispersion, much less a chronological one through every age to this time, which would rather require some volumes; and, consequently, can have no place in a work so comprehensive as this. Neither would the greater part of it be either instructive or delightful to him, as most of our knowlege of it is fetched from the *Jewish* writers: who are justly noted not only for their more than ordinary partiality to their own, and hatred as well as contempt for other nations, but likewise for their constant dealing in the most palpable falshoods and absurdities. In reality, they outdo all the fabulous writers in the number, variety, and extraordinariness, of their miracles and surprising events; the sublime character of their doctors, Saints, and martyrs; the exaggerated descriptions of their schools, academies, and cities, their riches, populousness, and a vast number of other pretences. The whole calculated indeed to raise the credit of the *Jewish* nation above all others, even under all the disadvantages lately mentioned; but in effect these stupendous stories are couched in such positive and unguarded terms, and with such magisterial confidence, as serves rather to expose either their imposture or credulity (B). To this if we add, that they are the most wretched

Their chronology very imperfect;

ward profession of popery in those countries, for the sake of enriching themselves; and scruple not to go to mass, to confession, to worship the host, cross, relicks, *&c.*; or even to take priestly orders among them, and enter themselves into their convents, as we shall have further occasion to hint in the sequel.

(B) To give at once a satisfactory proof of this, we shall subjoin some instances of it by way of specimen to the rest. First, most of their eminent men, either for sanctity or learning, have not only been very conversant in miracles, but their very conception and birth have been accompanied or preceded by some signal prodigy; whilst their lives, and even deaths, have been signalized with a much greater number and variety of them.

We begin with the famed *Simeon Jochaides*, the pretended author of the book of *Zohar*, said to have lived a little before the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and the first who ventured to write down the sublime mysteries of the *Cabbala*, which had, till then, been only conveyed by the angels unto the patriarchs, till *Moses*; and by him revealed to the seventy elders, from whom it passed from mouth to mouth unto his days, when he undertook, for the first time, to commit them to writing in the book above-named, as we have

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wretched chronologiſts, not only in the imperfect calculations *very often* of *falſe and abſurd.*

have had occaſion already to mention in a former part (†).

They tell us, among other things, that he and his ſon did, in ſome miraculous manner, eſcape the cruely of the emperor *Titus*, who had condemned them to die; and went and hid themſelves in a cavern, where they found leiſure to write the book above-mentioned, not without the aſſiſtance of the prophet *Elijah*, who was ſent to him, from time to time, by God, to explain to him ſuch myſteries of that divine ſcience as were above his reach. The book thus miraculouſly compiled, *Simeon* came forth to communicate the contents of it to ſuch diſciples of his as were fit to receive thoſe ſublime myſteries; and whilſt he was uttering them, ſuch a reſplendent light filled the whole houſe, that they were not able ſo much as to caſt their eyes on him; and at the ſame time a fire ſurrounded the place, which kept all other perſons from coming in. At length, the double miracle ceaſed; by which they perceived, that the light of *Iſrael* was gone out; upon which, one diſciple kiſſed his hand, another his feet, and vaſt numbers came to attend and honour his funeral.

Whilſt they were carrying him to his grave, a voice was heard in the ſky, crying out, Come to *Simeon*'s nuptials; he will enter in peace and repoſe in the bridal chamber. A bright flame likewiſe ſurrounded the bier, as if to ſet it on fire; and, on his being let down into the grave, another voice was heard, ſaying, This is he who hath cauſed the earth to quake, and the kingdoms to tremble. Theſe are ſome of the wonders, they tell you, of the author of the *Zohar*, whom they look upon as the chief of all the *Cabaliſts*; altho' his book doth not appear to have been ſo much as known among the *Jews* till 1000 years after.

Nor are they leſs laviſh of their prodigies, even to ſome of their ancient doctors; whom the nation ought rather not only to have been aſhamed of, but to have even execrated, for their impoſtures, and for the dreadful calamities which thoſe brought upon them.

Of this number was their famed *Akiba*, who ſet up for the forerunner of the falſe Meſſiah *Coziba*, who appeared under *Adrian*, and took upon him the name of *Bar-Chochab*, the ſon of a ſtar; and of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully in the ſequel. *Akiba*, according to them, was deſcended from *Siſera*, general of *Jabin*, king of *Tyre*, by a *Jewiſh* mother (1), who had kept the flocks of a rich inhabitant of *Jeruſalem* 40 years, when his daughter became enamoured of him; and, being aſhamed to marry an obſcure ſhepherd, adviſed him to go and ſpend 12 years in ſtudy at ſome academy, which our author does not name; and, upon his promiſe of doing ſo, was privately married to him (2). He went

(†) *See ancient hiſtory, vol* iii. *p.* 5. *note* (B). (1) *Gantz Tzemach David, p.* 99. (2) *Ex Ketuboth, fol.* 62. *ap. Vagenſeil in* סוטה *p.* 312.

accord-

of time, in which they vaſtly differ from us and other nat

accordingly; and, at the end of 12 years, brought home 12,000 diſciples; at ſight of whom, ſhe bad him go again another 12 years; at the end of which he came home to her with 24,000. She met him in tears, and, with her cloaths rent, told him, that her father had diſinherited her on his account. However the old man had no ſooner ſet his eyes on him but he altered his mind, fell on his knees before his ſon-in-law, and beſtowed a handſome fortune on him. What they add, concerning the death of his pretended 24,000 diſciples, who died every one between the feaſts of *Eaſter* and *Whitſuntide*, for ſome miſbehaviour to each other, and their being all buried in a valley near *Tiberias* along with their maſter and his firſt wife, is no leſs extraordinary.

As to his learning and writings, they tell us wonders of them (3): they aſſert that he could account for the leaſt tittle in the ſacred books. They even add, that God had revealed things to him which he had concealed from *Moſes*; and that the *Miſhna* and *Talmud* have collected 1000 of his ſentences, which are eſteemed ſo many judicious and infallible deciſions: moreover that, a large volume would hardly contain all the memorable things which he wrote and did (4). They alſo affirm, that he was permitted to enter into paradiſe, as well as the famed *Rabbi Aſai*, to whom he was to give his ſiſter in marriage. Theſe are ſome o wonders which they tell the celebrated *Akiba*, wh nevertheleſs the pretended runner and ſtrenuous fau that falſe Meſſiah, whoſ poſture brought as great ſtruction on the *Jewiſh* under *Adrian*, as their f had been under *Titus*. Tl ſhall ſee in the ſequel, we ſhall take notice of t cataſtrophe of both by or that emperor.

In like manner they ex veral of his diſciples, pa larly thoſe who follow *Judah*, the ſon of *Elai*, nc for having been the pri orators, but much more not having committed o gle ſin during his whol He became the chief of a demy, and his comment *witicus*, is ſtiled, by w excellence, the Book. He moſt of the year, lived herbs and roots; and was ed among their greateſt after his death: inſomuc his tomb, which they pla hill covered with olive near the little town of 2 in *Galilee*, was viſited a vered by all the *Jewi* votees.

R. *Chanina*, the ſon o *chinai*, another of *Akib* ciples in the ſame reign, a of the five judges of the tribunal at *Japhneh*, is re to have married when but to have left his wi home to ſtudy the la which he applied himſe

(3) *Ex Katubot*, *fol.* 62, *ap. Voguſail in* טוטה, 312. (4) *in Juchaſin*, *p.* 62.

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as the reader may ſee by the ſhort account which we ſhall

ſuch aſſiduity, that, upon his return, he neither knew his wife, houſe, nor family. Another, named *Eleazer Ghiſma*, became ſo profound an arithmetician, that he could calculate the drops of water that were in the ſea (5). We omit ſeveral others of leſs note to come at the moſt celebrated of them, called, by way of excellence, *Mehir*, or *inlightner*, and was ſtiled, *the light of the learned*, as his maſter *Akiba* was the light of the world; which title deſcended likewiſe on his diſciple *Judah Hakkodeſh*, or the ſaint of whom we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak. *Mehir* married a wife who became more learned than he, and whoſe deciſions bear a much greater authority; inſomuch that ſhe is reckoned in the rank of the *Tanaites*, one of the higheſt claſſes of their doctors. She has left 300 traditions, which ſhe had learned from 30, or, according to others, 300, maſters. She one day, among the reſt, took upon her to correct one of her huſband's interpretations in ſuch a manner as diſplayed, if not a greater judgment, at leaſt a higher degree of charity; for ſome looſe fellows having by their noiſe interrupted him in his ſtudy, *Mehir* immediately pronounced a curſe againſt them out of the civth Pſalm *Let the ſinners be conſumed out of the earth*, &c. verſe ult.; upon which ſhe checked him with ſome emotion, telling him, that the curſe of the Pſalmiſt was levelled againſt the ſins, and not againſt the ſinners; for that if the former were routed out of the world, there would be none of the latter left in it (6). It is pity his reſentment cauſed her end to prove diſhonourable and tragical to her. For we are told, that ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be ſo far deluded by one of her huſband's diſciples, who acted in concert with him, as to appoint a private meeting with him, in which being caught, and unable to outlive her diſgrace, ſhe went and hanged herſelf; ſoon after which, *Mehir* married another, which he took care ſhould not eclipſe his fame as this had done.

All theſe, as was lately obſerved, were the diſciples of *Akiba* above-mentioned; and this ſketch of the ſurpriſing things which the *Jewiſh Rabbies* have wrote of them, will ſuffice to give our readers an idea of their ſwollen ſtile and fondneſs for the fabulous ſublime. We ſhall only add, what they ſay farther of the famed univerſity of *Bether*, or *Bither*, in which their maſter and his falſe Meſſiah had refuged themſelves againſt the army of the emperor *Adrian*; and which had 400 ſchools or colleges, each college 400 profeſſors, and each profeſſor 400 diſciples; all which formed ſuch a potent army, that the defence they made againſt the *Romans* made not only *Judea*, but the whole earth to quake; there being none of them but was ſtout enough to pluck up a cedar by the root upon a full gallop.

(5) *Bartoloc Bibl. Rabin. tom.* iii. *p.* 271. *Wolf. ſub voc. & alib. paſſ.* (6) *Gantz Tzemach, Wagens, ub. ſup. p.* 300. *See alſo Wolf. Bibl. Rab. ſub voc.*

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give in the margin (C); but that they are the most negligent in that important point, leaping over whole scores of years, if not

(C) We need not here repeat what we have observed in our ancient history of the imperfect calculations of the antient *Jews* (7), before the *Babylonish* captivity. And though it was in some measure rectified, as we have elsewhere shewn under the *Maccabitish* princes (8), yet was this amendment far enough from being so exact as those of other nations. Besides, their writers made no scruple to compute their years from different æras, such as from the flood, from *Abraham*'s or *Jacob*'s descent into *Egypt*, others from the exod, from their being formed into a monarchy, from the first or second destruction of the temple under *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Titus*, &c. And it doth not appear, that they began to reckon from the creation till after their *Gemarrah* was finished; at which time they fixed that for their common æra.

But, in this, we must observe, that the *Jews* since fix the birth of Christ in the year of the world 3760, contrary to our chronology, which fixes it at the end of the 4th millenary, so that they come short by 240 years from ours; for add that number to 3760, and that makes up the whole 4000 years. But, besides this, they have another, which they call the lesser reckoning, in which they throw off all the millenaries, and reckon only the years that have elapsed since the last; which being added to the 240 years above-mentioned, brings it exactly to the christian æra. Thus when we read of any of their famed *Rabbies* who flourished, or of any persecution, or other considerable event that happened to them in the year 460, according to this lesser calculation, the above-mentioned addition of 240 to that number will bring it to the 700 of Jesus Christ, and so of the rest. Our readers will not be displeased to have a farther and fuller idea given them of this new way of the *Jewish* computation which is taken from the year of our Christian æra 1674, which was with them, according to their short reckoning, the year תלה, or 435th year, their chronology ran thus (9):

From the	
Creation	5435
Flood	3779
Confusion of tongues	3439
Birth of *Abraham*	3487
——of *Isaac*	3387
——of *Jacob*	3327
Descent into *Egypt*	3197
Birth of *Moses*	3067
Exod, and the giving of the law	2987
Entrance into *Canaan*	2947
Anointing of *David* king	2547
Building of the temple	2507
Captivity of the ten tribes	2231
Destruction of the first temple	2097
Beginning of the *Mede* and *Persian* monarchy	2046

(7) *See vol.* iii. *p.* 22. *sub note p.* 30, *& seq. p.* 36, *and notes p.* 238, *& seq.* (8) *See Anc. Hist. vol.* x. *p.* 177, *& seq. p.* 302 (K) *& alib. pass.* (9) *See Basnage Hist. des Juifs, lib.* vi. *c.* 29.

From

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not ſometimes more than a whole century, to make their fabulous conceits coincide, of which we may have occaſion to give ſome pregnant inſtances in the ſequel; it will be no wonder that we decline a taſk, which would make us continually liable to ſtop, either to confute ſome of their abſurd fables, or rectify their wretched anachroniſms.

FOR, with reſpect to this taſk, they appear wholly careleſs and unconcerned about it; and, as long they know, that their people never read any of our books, and wholly rely upon their own, they are in no pain about any objection we raiſe againſt them, or any error or falſhood we prove againſt them.

Eaſtern Jews ſtill more unknown to us.

WITH relation to the hiſtory of the eaſtern *Jews* we are ſtill more in the dark. The *Jews* themſelves being ignorant of what hath happened to their brethren in thoſe remote countries; and having received but a very imperfect intelligence from thence, either from books written there, or from any epiſtolary intercourſe. Their chronologers have indeed taken the pains to tranſmit the names of thoſe doctors who have preſided at their moſt celebrated ſchools, both in the eaſt and in the weſt; but they ſpeak rarely of thoſe whom they ſtyle the chiefs or princes of the captivity, in the former. We find at moſt but three of them mentioned from *Huna*, who was the firſt of them (D), to the time of the finiſhing of the *Talmud*, that

	From the
Building of the ſecond temple	2027
Beginning of the *Greek* monarchy	1992
Ceſſation of prophecy	1982
Beginning of the *Aſmonean* kingdom	1772
Beginning of the Chriſtian æra	1674
Ruin of the ſecond temple	1607
Compiling of the *Miſhna*	1534
Reign of *Conſtantine the Great*	1401
Origin of the *Manean* ſect	1382
Compleating of the *Talmud* or *Gemarra* of *Babylon*	1196
Ditto of *Jeruſalem*	1167
Birth of *Mohammed*	1184
Beginning of the *Iſhmaeliti-ſh*, or *Mohammedan* faith	1080
Maimon's writing his *Haicad*	500
Jews baniſhed out of *France*	279
out of *Spain*	183
Portugal	175

(D) This chief did not flouriſh till about the End of the ſecond century of the Chriſtian æra, and was cotemporary, according to the *Jewiſh* chronologers, [except *D. Gantz*, who makes him near a century more recent] with the famed *Jehudah Hakkodeſh*, or the ſaint of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel; and was choſen chief of the oriental *Jews* about *an. Ch.* 220, or 222. Before him we meet with no mention of any; and we may affirm, that in the weſt that dignity did not begin till after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*;

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Chiefs or princes of the captivity.

that is, during the space of three whole centuries; which is a plain proof that they knew little of them, or, at least, that those so much boasted dignities were inconsiderable there, and had little or nothing in them that could raise the honour or credit of the *Jewish* nation; as the learned Mr. *Basnage*, whom we have chosen to follow in the most material transactions of this history (E), hath fully proved in his. And yet some of the

lem; for till then, those that dwelt in the east sent their gifts to *Jerusalem*, or if they were of the schismatic leaven, to mount *Garizzim*; and the chiefs of both being under the *Roman* power, their authority was inconsiderable.

Some critics (10) indeed pretend, that soon after the destruction of the metropolis, the *Jewish* nation divided itself into three bodies, each of which chose a chief over them. Those which remained in *Judea*, continued under the chief of the *Sanhedrin*: those that refuged themselves in *Egypt* set up a patriarch over them, who is mentioned by *Adrian*: and those of *Babylon* appointed another, whom they styled the chief of the captivity; though it is still pretended, that that of *Judea* had some kind of jurisdiction over the whole nation; which was the opinion of *Origen* and *St. Jerom*; and is farther confirmed by the emperor *Adrian*'s mentioning but one patriarch over the whole *Jewish* nation; and whose authority extended over *Egypt*, as well as over the east. The former of these is indeed more than probable; since *Egypt* being subject to the *Romans* as well as *Judea*, the patriarch of the last, or of *Tiberias*, being the only one acknowleged in the *Roman* empire, the other seems of course to have been subject unto him. But as to that of *Babylon*, who was independent of the *Romans*, it is more likely that the *Jews* chose him there to exempt themselves from the homage and tribute which those of *Judea* exacted from them. It were presumptuous to affirm any thing positively in so dark and disputed a matter; and we shall trouble our readers no farther with it.

(E) We do here readily acknowlege, that we have for the most part chosen to follow that excellent author in the sequel of this chapter, not only as his history of the *Jews* from their dispersion is the most elaborate and diffused, but as it hath hitherto been esteemed by the learned the most exact and accurate; and hath stood the test of so many editions in other countries as well as in *Holland*; insomuch that the editor of that of *Paris*, the famed *Dupin*, who published it without the author's name, hath not been able to accuse him of any one material error or omission; tho' he hath made no scruple to curtail and castrate it of a great number of facts and remarks

(10) *Vide Gothofred. Cod. Theod. tom.* viii. *c.* 21. *Vide Basnage, ubi sup. lib.* iii. *c.* 4.

which

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the *Jews* pretend that theſe chiefs were ſuperior in dignity and authority to the patriarch of *Judea*; becauſe all that were

which he thought would diſpleaſe thoſe of his own church.

We have had two editions of it in *Engliſh*; the firſt by Mr. *Tho. Taylor*, A. M. *ann.* 1708, which the author himſelf owns to be faithful and exact; and the other, which is rather an abridgment of it, by *J. Cruth*, M. D. F. R. S. in two vols. 8vo. and printed in the ſame year—But we have choſen to follow the laſt *French* edition, which Mr. *Baſnage* hath not only much enlarged, but hath cleared it from all the little cavils raiſed againſt it on the other ſide of the water; for on this ſide his work hath met with all the kind reception which it ſo juſtly deſerves.

In his preface to this new edition, that learned author hath not only acknowleged and corrected every fault, ſupplied every omiſſion, which hath been objected to his firſt, and expoſed the unfair practice by which his pirated and mangled hiſtory was uſhered into the world by Mr. *Dupin*, and his learned licenſer *Arnaudin*, but hath been at the pains to confute a great number of objections raiſed againſt him, with more prejudice and partiality than reaſon or candor from thoſe of the *Roman* church; among which we may reckon thoſe of the learned father *Hardouin*, written chiefly in vindication of his own chimerical ſyſtems, which yet his whole ſociety were ſo much aſhamed of, as to oblige him to recant it, notwithſtanding the great honour and commendation, which they foreſaw ſuch a public act muſt reflect on the *Jewiſh* hiſtory and its author, a perſon, in all other reſpects, the leaſt in favour with the Jeſuitical Society.

Some other libels, as we may juſtly ſtile them, came out againſt his learned work from the ſame *Romiſh* quarter; one in particular written by Mr. *Simon*, tho' publiſhed by his kinſman *Barat*, *anno* 1714; to ſay nothing of ſome others from the monkiſh tribe, not worth mentioning here; all which the author hath likewiſe condeſcended to give a full and ſatisfactory anſwer, either in the ſaid preface, p. 10, & *ſeq.* or in the body of the book; on which, for that reaſon, we ſhall not dwell longer

But there is ſtill an extraordinary one which we cannot, in juſtice to the author and ourſelves, omit taking notice of, as it came out from a very oppoſite quarter; and, by its menacing ſtile and aſpect, joined to a more than common diſplay of learning, ſeemed to threaten no leſs than the utter exploſion of that great and learned work, and the ruin of its author's character. This ſingular piece was publiſhed under the pompous title of *Entretiens ſur divers ſujets d' Hiſtoire, de Religion, Litterature, & de Critique*; but the writer, who was likewiſe a miniſter of the *French* reformed church, and had been library-keeper to one of the late kings of *Pruſſia*, prudently conceals his name, as well he might; and, to give his cenſures the greater ſanction, puts them into the mouth of a pretended *Jew*, but half converted to Chriſtiani-

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were left of the race of *David* are affirmed to have left that province, and to have retired into that of *Babylon*, where they

ty, by way of dialogue; in which himself bears no other part than that of commending, applauding, and sometimes backing, his objections with some specious proof, but more frequently by prefacing them with expressions the most derogatory, and reflecting on his antagonist, or with some fulsome encomium on his pretended *Jew*. The two first dialogues being merely introductory to his design, and to apprize the readers, how this *Aboab* (that is the *Jew*'s name) came by his stock of polite literature, we shall say no more of it, but proceed to the third, where the threatened censure on the *Jewish* history begins at p. 126, and ends at p. 244. *Aboab* comes punctually at the hour, is so eager to vent his spleen against his adversary, that he breaks out with this exclamation, *Di magni horribilem & sacrum libellum!* and then bluntly opens his first heavy charge against our historian, which is, that he hath falsly accused the *Jews* of *preferring their Talmud to the Sacred Scripture, by their comparing the latter to water, and the former to wine.*

We have formerly observed †, that the Talmudists compared *the Written Law to water, the Mishna to wine, and the Gemarra to hippocras*, or a rich compound wine. The fact is so undoubted, that no *Jew*, before his pretended *Aboab*, ever denied or pretended to disprove it; and he is the first, if not the only one, who hath attempted to expound that proverbial saying in a quite opposite sense. The method he takes to do it is no less new and singular; water, says he, being the most useful and necessary liquor, especially to the *Jews*, on account of their frequent washings and legal purifications, it plainly follows, that the comparing the written law to it must imply their giving the preference to it on the very account.

A man must indeed have the stupidity as well as impudence of the worst of *Jews*, to father such an unheard of exposition on a talmudist, so contrary to their avowed sense of it, and to the manifest import of the gradation from water to wine, and from common wine to the most excellent and cordial of that kind. Mr. *La Croze* therefore rightly judged, that such an unfair and unjust censure would better fit the mouth of a *Jew in nubibus*, than the pen of a protestant: though, in order to qualify him for that part, and to give some colour of reason to his censure, he hath been forced to supply him with some quotations out of the *Greek* poets, and other parts of literature; for which the talmudists always expressed a more than ordinary contempt. But there was still, it seems, a farther occasion for furnishing his *Aboab* with all this pompous shew of literature, as the bulk of his censures were to be merely critical, and of the lowest of that kind, and every *Hebrew*, *Greek*, or *Latin*

(†) *Annot. bib. vol.* iii. *p.* 5, *note* B.

word

they conclude the ſceptre, mentioned by *Jacob*, is only to be found (F); ſo that theſe princes of the captivity are, according

word miſ-accented or ſpelt, and other as palpable as unavoidable errors of the preſs, were to be brought in as ſo many undeniable proofs of the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian's ignorance of the learned languages; though had he but reviſed his own ſhort dialogue with half that critical accuracy, he muſt have obſerved a much greater number of ſuch inaccuracies, if not much more palpable blunders, than he hath been able to ſpy out in that voluminous work. But for ſuch a ſevere and exaggerated examen of thoſe errata, his cenſures againſt it would have appeared as impertinent and contemptible for their number as they are in their nature. And ſuch we dare affirm every candid reader will believe, and all that will be at the pains to read will find them, at the firſt ſight; though much more, if they will be at the trouble of peruſing the full and ſatisfactory anſwers, which the learned author hath condeſcended to give to each of them, in his preface to that new edition of his work; for which reaſon, we ſhall dwell no longer upon that idle heap of impertinent cenſures, being no farther concerned with it than to juſtify what we had aſſerted in our antient hiſtory, which was the very firſt point which that pretended *Jew* undertook to confute. The reader will eaſily gueſs at the reſt of his performance by this his *firſt coup d' Eſſay*, and excuſe us from following its author farther in it, eſpecially, as nothing material hath come out from that or any other quarter againſt the work above-mentioned ſince its author's full reply; but, on the contrary, a general approbation of the one, and encomium on the other.

(F) Theſe accordingly quote a conceſſion of *Judah Hakkodeſh*, who is reported to have owned, that if *Huna* above-mentioned had come into *Judea*, he would have been obliged to have acknowleged him his ſuperior, that *Babyloniſh* chief being of the ſeed of *David* by king *Jehoakim*, whereas he (*Judah*) was of the tribe of *Benjamin*, and only of the royal race by the females. But this paſſage, ſo derogatory to the *Jews* of *Paleſtine*, ſeems rather to have been inſerted in the *Jeruſalem* talmud long after the extinction of thoſe patriarchs, and when the *Babyloniſh* chiefs had got all the authority in their own hands. Neither is it credible, that *Jehudah Hakkodeſh*, who was dead before *Huna* had been choſen to his dignity, or at leaſt before he came to take poſſeſſion of it in *Judea*, could make him ſuch a compliment before his election, eſpecially as his progenitors were equally of the tribe of *Judah*, and of the *Davidic* race, as we ſhall ſhew from the very genealogies of the *Jews*.

However that be, thoſe chiefs have always diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the title of *Rabana*; whereas they give the *Jewiſh* pontifs only that of Rabbies. They likewiſe aſſume the title of *Naſſi*, or prince; on pretence that it is only with them that the royal race of *David* ſubſiſts in its full vigour; though that

ing to the *Jewish* tradition, affirmed to have been set up in lieu of the royal dignity; and that they have the same right with the ancient *Jewish* monarchs, over the whole nation wheresoever dispersed; and whether they pleased to assume or disclaim it (G). But here they grosly contradict themselves, merely to raise the authority of those *Babylonish* chiefs, who afterwards flourished a considerable time, and in great splendor there, above that of the patriarchs, who were more obscure, and of shorter duration, most probably to keep up the notion of the regal power being still extant in the former; and, to evade the objection which the Christians raise against them, of its having been long since extinct; for their very genealogies plainly shew, that the elder *Hillel*, the chief of them, was of the tribe of *Judah*, and of the seed of *David*, being descended, according to them, from *Shephathiah*, the son of *Abitail*, the son of *David* (H). The western *Jews* pretend moreover, that some of the most considerable families of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* went and settled in *Sepharad*, or *Spain*; and that it is among them that the royal line is best preserved, on which account they have looked upon the rest of their nation with a singular contempt, and arrogate to themselves a superiority over them: though we should think, that if any could justly claim such a merit over the rest, it should be those, who, instead of abandoning their native country to go and seek their fortune either in *Spain* or *Babylon*, preferred the living in it among the dreadful dilapidations of their metropolis, and other cities, and with a view of calling the dispersed thither again, and raising it as much as was in their power out of its ruins. We shall leave it to the *Jews* to dispute these points among themselves; and only

Royal lineage not confined to them.

title is often taken in a much lower sense by some of the western *Jews*, especially in *Germany*, *Poland*, and *Italy*; where they give it those who have only the superintendency over about 20 synagogues.

(G) So says the book intituled *Jad Khazakha* (11), *Capita sive principes captivorum qui sunt Babylone vice reges sunt constituti, licetque ipsis imperare in omni loco, sive placeat illis sive non placeat.*

(H) We may further add, that this pretended retreat of the royal race into *Babylon*, is not only without foundation, but it appears, on the contrary, that they subsisted still in *Judea* in the time of *Adrian*, particularly in several of the relations of Jesus Christ, who never, that we can find, left their antient dwelling to go into *Babylon*; so that it is a mere *Jewish* fiction, that they were all to be found in the latter, and none in the former.

(11) *Tract. de Regib. cap.* iv. *de Aixmalatarcha.*

add,

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add, that all this artifice of theirs will by no means prove what they deſign by it, *viz.* the exiſtence of the ſceptre, or royal dignity, ſince thoſe *Babyloniſh* chiefs were then ſubjects to the kings of *Perſia*, and ſo could have no pretence to either. We ſhall find a more proper place to ſpeak of their pretended grandeur, pompous inſtallation, and other particulars, related of them by the *Jewiſh* writers; and thus much ſhall ſuffice to have premiſed concerning their ſwollen and fabulous ſtyle; their fondneſs for ſublime fictions and miracles, in order to keep up the people's deſponding expectation of a Meſſiah, as well as to raiſe an implicit faith and ſovereign regard for thoſe doctors and their writings. By all which our readers will eaſily ſee, what dependence can be had upon hiſtorians and maſters, whoſe main authority is founded on heaps of the moſt abſurd miracles, as are only fit for a *Jewiſh* creed. We ſhall therefore reſume the thread of their hiſtory, and proceed to give an account of the moſt material events that have happened to that nation ſince the deſtruction of their metropolis.

Jews *diſperſed into* Gallilee, Egypt, &c.

WE need not repeat here what we obſerved near the cloſe of their hiſtory, of the deſolate condition to which both city and kingdom were reduced; or of the dreadful ſlavery to which the greateſt part of the ſurviving *Jews* were condemned by the conqueror (I). Thoſe that ſurvived this ſad cataſtrophe, and eſcaped the fury of the *Romans*, retired, ſome into *Gallilee*, and a much greater number into *Egypt* and *Cyrene*,

(I) Were we to credit the exaggerated calculation which ſome Chriſtian authors have made of the number of inhabitants in *Judea* (12), amounting, according to it, to 66,240,000, one would hardly ſuppoſe it to have been ſo far depopulated by the loſs of 13 or 14 hundred thouſand, which *Joſephus* reckoned to have periſhed in this war; but that there would be ſtill a ſufficient number to have kept it from ſuch an utter deſolation as the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian repreſents it. But if the former is viſibly wrong and exaggerated, the latter ſeems no leſs ſo on the other ſide; ſince we find in *Judea*, about 60 years after, the deſtruction of the temple, a ſufficient number of them to put a numerous army on foot, to fortify 50 caſtles, and to make a ſtout defence againſt the emperor *Adrian*, beſides the city of *Bither*, which held out a long and ſtout ſiege againſt him. All which ſhews plainly, that either there were a greater number left in the country than his account would intimate, or, at leaſt, that they were not ſo far diſperſed, much leſs deſtroyed or enſlaved, but that they could quickly rally again, and reſettle themſelves in it.

(12) *Vid. int. al. Villalpand, de viſion. Ezech. explan. tom. ii. p. 3. diſput. xv. diſput. iii. cap. 52, & alib.*

where

where we shall find them again raising new rebellions, committing horrid massacres, and bringing again the victorious *Romans* against them. A learned countryman of our own [c], however hath imagined, that the *Jewish* sanhedrin was not immediately destroyed, but only removed to *Jamnia*, and thence to *Tiberias*, where it subsisted till the death of *Judah* the saint; and that there were likewise academies set up in other cities, whilst the nation was still governed by a patriarch. But all this is said on the bare authority of their tradition, which is little to be depended upon where the *Jewish* honour is concerned, and is eminently false in this (K); for it doth not appear that that supreme court had the least shadow of power or authority left it by the *Romans*; but, on the contrary, that the whole nation was oppressed all manner of ways, on account of their frequent and bloody revolts; insomuch that they were not even permitted any exercise of their religion, unless they paid the annual didrachma to the emperor's treasury (L), over and above the other heavy taxes formerly laid on them; and we find that *Titus*, who appropriated

Sanhedrin whether subsisting after the destruction of Jerusalem.

[c] Lightfoot, op. posthum. p. 70.

(K) This tradition, founded on some predictions of the *Cabala*, says, that this translation was performed about forty years before the destruction of *Jerusalem*; whereas it is plain that Christ, St. *Stephen*, and St. *Paul*, appeared before, and were condemned by, that court sitting then in the metropolis; and *Josephus* informs us, that it subsisted there still in the time of the *Jewish* war. Neither doth it appear from his whole history to have been removed to any other place. Those that say, that *Titus* granted that favour to the *Jews* at the request of *Jochanan*, the then patriarch of it, not only contradict those which pretend it was removed forty years before, but even *Josephus*, who would not have omitted so singular an instance of that emperor's condescension to that pontif, who, if any such there was, must have been dead before the siege of that place. Lastly, it contradicts the common notion both of the *Jews* and Christians, who affirm, that that supreme court had no power to sit in any other place but in *Jerusalem*, as we have had occasion to shew in our ancient history [*]; and our Saviour seems to hint as much when he said (*Luke* xiii. 33.) that *it could not be that a prophet should perish*, or be condemned to death, *out of* Jerusalem; since the sanhedrin alone had the power of passing that sentence on him.

(L) This was a yearly tax, which each *Jew* was formerly obliged to pay to the temple, and amounted to about 1 *s.* 3 *d.* of our money; but which *Titus*, after the taking of *Jerusalem*, ordered to be paid to *Jupiter*

(*) *See ancient hist. vol.* iii. R, *p.* 418, H, *Vol.* 195, Y. 3-6, M.

Capitolinus

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propriated that tax to his own uſe, as well as his ſucceſſor *Domitian*, made them pay it with the utmoſt ſeverity; inſomuch that they ſtript men of all ages and conditions to diſcover whether they were circumciſed, in order to extort that tax from them [d]. And is it credible, that a people, become ſo odious and oppreſſed, would be allowed to keep up ſuch a ſupreme court, and endowed with ſuch an extenſive authority; or that, if *Titus* had made any ſuch conceſſion, *Joſephus* would not have taken notice of it, both for the honour of that emperor, and the credit of his own nation? And as to *Domitian*, he is known to have hated the *Jews* too much to have ſufferred them to enjoy any ſuch ſignal privilege, and was rather a perſecutor, than a friend or benefactor to them: it muſt therefore be under his ſucceſſor *Nerva*, who proved a much more favourable prince to them (M), that we muſt ſeek for the firſt appearance and inſtitution of theſe *Jewiſh* patriarchs, rather than in the two preceding reigns, during which they had met with nothing but cruelty and oppreſſion; and therefore cannot be ſuppoſed to have been able, under all thoſe calamities, to have recovered themſelves from their total diſperſion; and to have been in a condition to obtain this new

Jews oppreſſed with taxes.

[d] Sueton. lib. vii. Xiphil. in veſpas.

Capitolinus (13); and was ſo much the heavier and diſgraceful, becauſe it obliged them to buy their liberty of religion with that very money which they uſed to contribute for the preſervation of it, and the ſervice of the temple.

(M) This emperor made three ordinances in favour of the *Jews*, *viz.* 1ſt, That all thoſe, that had been accuſed of impiety on account of their religion, ſhould be releaſed; and thoſe that had been baniſhed on that account, ſhould be recalled; which ſhews that if *Domitian* had had any ſuch favourable deſign towards them, as ſome attribute to him, he had been aſſaſſinated before he could accompliſh it. 2dly, He forbad the moleſting of the *Jews* on account of their religion: and 3dly, He ordered them to be diſcharged from the grievous taxes which had been impoſed on them on that account in his predeceſſor's reign, all which ſeems farther proved by a medal of that prince with this legend,

Calumnia fiſci Judaici ſublatæ.

From this ſome have imagined, that the impoſt of the didrachma, mentioned under the laſt note, was alſo taken off; but *Origen* doth ſo poſitively aſſure us, that it was ſtill paid in his time, that it is likely this ordinance freed the *Jewiſh* nation only from the diſgrace or calumny of thoſe heavy fines which had been impoſed upon them on account of their religion, or, as *Domitian* ſtyled it, impiety.

(13) *Xiphilin. in Veſpaſ.* 217.

dignity,

dignity, much leſs to have raiſed it to ſuch a degree of authority.

The riſe of the patriarchs of Judea.

THESE are generally looked upon, not without good grounds, to have been rather of the *Aaronic* or *Levitical* race, than of the tribe of *Judah*, which, in theſe parts of *Judea*, was either extinguiſhed, or, at leaſt, ſo far depreſſed that they were not only in no condition of reſuming their former power, but the very leaſt attempt to do it would have rendered them obnoxious to the reſentments of the jealous *Romans*; but that the prieſts and *Levites* ſhould be ſuffered to aſſume the power of teaching the people, and to that end to ſet up ſchools, to appoint maſters over them, and at length to inſtall one at the head of the reſt, with the title of *Roſh Abboth*, or head of the fathers, to which the *Greek* one of *Patriarch* anſwers, and came to be moſt in vogue, is the more probable, becauſe neither their tribe, which had nothing to do with the regal dignity, nor their office, which was then confined to matters of religion, could give any umbrage to the *Roman* power, eſpecially as their authority over their flocks did chiefly owe its gradual growth to their great reputation for learning and piety, and conſiſted chiefly in deciding of caſes of conſcience, and other controverſies about their religion, and eſtabliſhing the wiſeſt and moſt effectual rules for the re-eſtabliſhment and durable ſettlement of it. And as the towns of *Tiberias*, *Japhne*, or *Jamnia*, and *Lydda*, appeared to them the moſt commodious to ſet up the firſt academies in, not, in all probability, without the government's permiſſion, this might give occaſion to the *Jews* to affirm afterwards, that the *Sanhedrin* had been removed to thoſe cities. Theſe *Patriarchs* having likewiſe gained ſome great reputation for their extraordinary learning, zeal, and piety, might, in time, not only bring a great concourſe of other *Jews* from other parts, as from *Egypt*, and other weſtern provinces of their diſperſion, but likewiſe prove the means of their patriarchal authority being acknowleged there. From them they ventured, in time, to levy a kind of tribute, in order to defray the charges of their dignity, and of the officers under them, whoſe buſineſs it was to carry their orders and deciſions thro' the other provinces of their diſperſion, and to ſee them punctually executed by all; that ſome ſhadow of union, at leaſt, might be kept up among the weſtern *Jews*. They likewiſe nominated the doctors who were to preſide over their ſchools and academies; and theſe were, in proceſs of time, ſtiled chiefs and princes, in order to raiſe the credit of that dignity, or to imply the great regard which their diſciples were to pay to them. Theſe chiefs became, at length, rivals of the patriarchs;

Academies ſet up at Tiberias, Lydda, &c.

Their gradual riſe and power.

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patriarchs; and ſome of them poſſeſſed both dignities at once; which cauſed not only great confuſion amongſt them, but oftentimes very violent and bloody conteſts. However, as the *Jewiſh* rabbies have trumped up a much older æra for this patriarchal dignity, and have given us a ſucceſſion of them down to the fifth century, in which it was aboliſhed, it will not be amiſs to give our readers the ſubſtance of what they wrote of it in the margin (N); and, at the ſame, to ſhew them

Fabulous liſt of patriarchs mentioned by the Jews.

(N) According to them, the firſt patriarch was *Hillel*, ſurnamed the *Babylonian*, becauſe he was ſent for from thence to *Jeruſalem*, about 100 years before the ruin of their capital, or 30 years before the birth of Chriſt, to decide a diſpute about the keeping of *Eaſter*, which on that year fell out on the Sabbath day; and it was, on account of his wiſe deciſion, that he was raiſed to that dignity, which continued in his family till the ſaid 5th century. He was likewiſe looked upon as a ſecond *Moſes*, becauſe he lived like him 40 years in obſcurity, 40 more in great reputation for learning and ſanctity, and 40 more in poſſeſſion of this patriarchal dignity. They make him little inferior to that lawgiver in other of his excellencies, as well as in the great authority he gained over the whole *Jewiſh* nation. The wonder will be how *Herod the Great*, who was ſo jealous of his own power, could ſuffer a ſtranger to be raiſed to ſuch a height of it, barely for having decided a diſpute which muſt, in all likelihood, have been adjudged by others long before that time.

However *Hillel* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Simon*, whom many Chriſtians pretend to have been the venerable old perſon of that name, who received the divine infant in his arms (14). The *Jews* give him but a very obſcure patriarchate; though the authors above quoted make him moreover chief of the ſanhedrin; and *Epiphanius* ſays, that the prieſtly tribe hated him ſo much for giving ſo ample a teſtimony to the divine child, that they denied him common burial. But it is hardly credible, that St. *Luke* ſhould have ſo careleſly paſſed over his twofold dignity, if he had been really poſſeſſed of them, and have given him no higher title than that of a juſt and devout man.

He was ſucceeded by *Jochanan*, not in right of deſcent, but of his extraordinary merit, which the Rabbies, according to cuſtom, have raiſed to ſo ſurpriſing a height, that, according to them, if the whole heavens were paper, all the trees in the world pens, and all the men writers, they would not ſuffice to pen down all his leſſons. He enjoyed his dignity but two years, according to ſome, or five according to others; and was the perſon, who, obſerving the gates of the temple to open of their own accord, cried out, *O temple, temple! why art thou*

(14) *Luke* ii. 25, *& ſeqq. Vid. int. al. Baron ſub. an.* 1°. *N.* 40, *p.* 58. *Allet. de Simon. p.* 2, *& ſeq. & Calmet ſub voc.*

thus

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them the absurdity and falshood of that pretended succession to this imaginary dignity. By all which they will plainly see,

thus moved! We know, that thou art to be destroyed, seeing Zechariah *hath foretold it, saying, Open thy gates, O* Lebanus, *and let the flames consume thy cedars.* Upon this, he is further reported to have complimented *Vespasian*, or rather, as some have corrected the story, *Titus*, with the title of king, assuring him, that it was a royal person who was to destroy that edifice: on which account they pretend that general gave him leave to remove the sanhedrin to *Japhne*, as was lately hinted.

The *Jewish* writers add, that he likewise erected an academy there, which subsisted till the death of *Akiba*; and was likewise the seat of the patriarch; and consisted of 300 schools or classes of scholars. Another he erected at *Lydda*, not far from *Japhne*, and where the Christians have buried their famed St. *George*. He lived 120 years; and being asked, what he had done to prolong his life? he gave this wise answer; I never made water nearer a house of prayer than four cubits: I never disguised my name: I have taken care to celebrate all festivals: and my mother hath even sold my head ornaments to buy wine enough to make me merry on such days; and left me at her death three hundred hogsheads of it, to sanctify the Sabbath. The doctors that flourished in his time were no less considerable, both for their number and character, particularly the famed *Rabbi Chaniza*, of whom the *Bath Col* (†) was heard to say, that *the world was preserved for the sake of him*; and *R. Nicodemus*, whom they pretend to have stopped the course of the sun, like another *Joshua*.

He was succeeded by *Gamaliel*, a man, according to them, of unsufferable pride; and yet, of so universal authority over all the *Jews*, not only in the west, but over the whole world, that the very monarchs suffered his laws to be obeyed in their dominions, not one of them offering to obstruct the execution of them (15). In his days flourished *Samuel the Less*, who composed a prayer full of the bittersest curses against heretics, by which they mean the Christians, and which are still in use to this day. *Gamaliel* was no less an enemy to them; and yet both have been challenged, the former as the celebrated master of our great apostle, the other as his disciple in his unconverted state; for take the מ *mem* from שמואל, and there remains שאול, *Saul*; and the word *Kalon*, or lesser, in the *Hebrew*, signifies *paulus*, or little, in the *Latin*; and as for the מ *mem* it being the first letter of the word *Min*, a heretic, it was thus taken from the name of *Samuel* to shew that *Saul* did turn Christian (16). The apocryphal author of the recog-

(†) *De hac vid. Anc. Hist. vol.* x. *p.* 582 (C). (15) *Vid. Gantz Tzemach David.* (16) *Alting. in Scila, lib.* vi. *c.* 28. *Vid. Basnag. Hist. des Juifs, lib.* xi. *c.* 1. §. 23, *& seqq.*

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ſee, that it did not begin to appear in *Judea* till about the time of the emperor *Nerva*, lately mentioned; nor to be raiſed to

nitions pretends, that the *Gamaliel* mentioned in the Acts was actually a Chriſtian, but ſecretly; and ſuffered to remain among the *Jews* by the conſent and advice of the church (17). *Baronius* hath not only followed that fabulous author, but pretends that *Gamaliel* was buried afterwards in the ſame tomb with the proto-martyr *Stephen*, both whoſe relicts were pregnant with miracles. It is ſurpriſing if *Gamaliel* was originally a patriarch, and prince of the ſanhedrin, St. *Luke* ſhould give him no better title than that of a phariſee, and doctor of the law, and in great repute among the people; and that, inſtead of preſiding in the council, he ſhould only repreſent him as a member of it, and giving his opinion among the reſt of his brethren (18). There is moreover a manifeſt anachroniſm in making him ſucceed *Johanan*, who out-lived the ruin of the temple. He could not therefore be the perſon mentioned in the Acts.

Simon II. his ſon and ſucceſſor, was the firſt martyr who died during the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*. The people ſo regretted his death, that an order was given, inſtead of ten bumpers of wine, which were uſually drank at the funeral of a ſaint, to drink thirteen at his, on account of his martyrdom. Theſe bumpers were in time multiplied, they tell us, to ſuch ſhameful height, that the ſanhedrin was forced to make ſome new regulations to prevent that abuſe.

Theſe are the patriarchs, which the Rabbies tell us preceded the deſtruction of the temple; and we need no farther confutation of this pretended dignity, than the ſilence of the ſacred hiſtorians, who not only make not the leaſt mention of it; but aſſure us all along, that they were the high prieſts who preſided in the ſanhedrin; and before whom all caſes, relating to the *Jewiſh* religion, were brought and decided. It was the high prieſt who examined and condemned our Saviour; that condemned St. *Stephen*; that forbad the apoſtles to preach in Chriſt's name; and who ſat as judge on the great apoſtle at the head of that ſupreme court. The ſame may be urged from *Joſephus*, who muſt needs have known and mentioned this pretended dignity, if any ſuch there had been; and yet is ſo far from taking the leaſt notice of it, that, like the evangeliſts, he places the pontifs alone at the head of all the *Jewiſh* affairs; and names the high prieſt *Ananus*, as having the care and direction of the war againſt the *Romans*; which is an evident proof that there were then no ſuch patriarchs in being †.

To all this let us add, that, if there had been any ſuch remarkable ſucceſſion, the talmudiſts would have preſerved it to future ages; whereas neither they, nor any of the an-

(17) *Recog. Clement. l.* i. *c.* 65. (18) *See Acts* v. 34, *& ſeqq.* (†) *Anc. lib.* xx. *c.* 8, *& bell. Judaic. in fin. lib.* iii. *& alib.*

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to that degree of authority which the *Jews* give it, till that of his succeſſor *Trajan*, or, perhaps more properly, till the reign of *Adrian*.

Its moſt likely beginning.

ALLOWING, therefore, the liſt and ſucceſſion given in the laſt note to be right in the main, though falſe with reſpect to the great power and dignity attributed to five or ſix of them, *Gamaliel* will be probably the firſt who took the title of *Roſh Abboth*, or *Patriarch*, in *Nerva*'s time, and began to get ſome credit over the weſtern *Jews*; but if we are to date that dignity from the firſt cotemporary author who makes mention of it, we ſhall be forced to bring it down to the reign of *Adrian*, who is the firſt that takes notice of it (O), and

tient authors of the *Jewiſh* church, make any mention of it; but only ſome of their doctors, who have written a conſiderable time after them; and of whom we have had occaſion to ſpeak in a former part (†), as of writers to whom little credit can be given in points of this nature; eſpecially as there are ſuch unſurmountable contradictions between them, as no authors, either *Jewiſh* or Chriſtian, have, with all their pains, been hitherto able to reconcile (19).

Their ſucceſſion, according to the generality of thoſe rabbies, ſtands as follows:

1 *Hillel*, the *Babylonian*.
2 *Simeon*, the ſon of *Hillel*.
3 *Gamaliel*, the ſon of *Simeon*.
4 *Simeon* II. the ſon of *Gamaliel*.
5 *Gamaliel* II. the ſon of *Simeon* II.
6 *Simeon* III. the ſon of *Gamaliel* II.
7 *Judah*, the ſon of *Simeon* III.
8 *Gamaliel* III. the ſon of *Judah*.
9 *Judah* II. ſon of *Gamaliel* III.
10 *Hillel* II. ſon of *Judah* II.
11 *Judah* III. ſon of *Hillel* II.
12 *Hillel* III. ſon of *Judah* III.
13 *Gamaliel* IV. ſon of *Hillel* III.

According to *Gantz Tzemach David*, who hath reduced them to ten. They are:

1 *Hillel*, the *Babylonian*.
2 *Rabbun Simeon*, ſon of *Hillel*.
3 *Rabb. Gamaliel Ribona*,
4 *R. Simeon*, the ſon of *Gamaliel*.
5 *Rabban Gamaliel*, his ſon.
6 *R. Jehudah*, the prince.
7 *Hillel* the prince, his ſon.
8 *Rabban Gamaliel the Old*.
9 *Simeon* III.
10 *R. Judah*, *Naſſi* or prince.

(O) We are told, that that emperor was informed in *Egypt*, that a certain patriarch, who came thither ſometimes, was much importuned by ſome to worſhip *Serapis*, and by others Jeſus Chriſt (20): from which one

(†) *See Antient Hiſt. vol.* iii. *p.* 242, *& ſeq.* (19) *De his vid. Worſt. Obſerv. p.* 214. *Bartolec & Wolf. Bibliot. Rabbin. Othon. Hiſt. Doctor Miſhnia. Baſnag. ub. ſup. l.* iii. *c.* 1. §. *ib. & ſeq. Calmet. ſub. voc. patriarch. &c.* (20) *Vid. Flav. Vopiſc. p.* 245.

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and then *Simon* III. will be the firſt who enjoyed it in that high degree; for he flouriſhed in that emperor's time, and was lineally deſcended from *Hillel*, in whoſe line it continued till its abolition, A. C. 429, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

OUR deſign, however, is not to go through an hiſtorical account of thoſe pontifs, eſpecially as we find it fraught, by the *Jewiſh* writers, with the moſt abſurd and fabulous legends, and miraculous exploits. What we have already given by way of ſpecimen, of ſome of the former, will eaſily incline our readers to excuſe us from doing the like by the latter; and to think it ſufficient, that we take notice of their moſt material tranſactions in every age they have flouriſhed, and ſtripped of all the rabbinic fables, and of every thing that is dubious, controverted, or impertinent.

Reſidence at Tiberias.

HAVING thus far ſettled the moſt probable æra of their riſe, our next buſineſs will be to fix the place of their reſidence; which, tho' ſome have ſuppoſed to have been *Lydda*, or *Jamnia*, yet is, by the far greater number, allowed to have been the famed city of *Tiberias*, ſituate on the lake of its name; and ſo called by *Herod* who built it, in honour of *Tiberius* ‡, and which became afterwards the capital of *Galilee*, and the reſidence of *Agrippa*, on whom *Claudius* the emperor beſtowed it, and from whom it was alſo called *Claudia Tiberias*. This city, famed for its advantageous ſituation, as well as for its medicinal waters, was choſen, as leſs liable to give umbrage to the jealous *Romans*, to be not only the patriarchal ſeat, but likewiſe that of the *Jewiſh* learning, a new academy being ſoon after founded in it, which became famous for its learned men; particularly the compilers of the *Miſhnah*; of which more in its proper place (P).

An academy founded there.

THE

‡ De his vid. vol. ii. p. 425, 459, & ſeqq. ſub. note (Y). Vid. & Jos. Ant. l. xviii. c. 3. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8.

may conclude that he was neither Heathen nor Chriſtian, but a *Jew*, who refuſed to worſhip their God. We took notice, that all things conſidered, that dignity could but begin to ſpring up; it could make but a ſlow progreſs under *Trajan*, who uſed the *Jews* with great ſeverity; but in *Adrian*'s time was got up to ſuch a height, as to take frequent progreſs even as far as into *Egypt*; no æra therefore can be more proper to fix the riſe and progreſs of that dignity than this, in which we find the firſt mention, as well as the firſt ſignal exerciſe, of it.

(P) Buxtorf adds (21), that it did ſtill ſubſiſt in *Jerom*'s time;

(21) *In Tiberiad.*

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The patriarchal authority.

THE authority of these *Patriarchs* hath been much exaggerated by the *Jews*, in order to repel a powerful argument urged by the Christians of those early ages, that the sceptre, or regal authority, mentioned by *Jacob* [a], was departed from them. But whatever they may write of it, it was rather a shadow of power, than a real one; and the *Romans* were too jealous of it to let them enjoy it in any higher degree. It was mostly confined to religious and controverted matters. They had officers of several ranks under them, whose business it was to carry their decisions, and to regulate other matters, under their cognizance, in all places where their authority reached. And these were stiled *Apostoli*, *Legati*, and the like. They likewise levied the tribute that was paid to the *Patriarch* (Q), and, at their return, gave him an account of the state of the *Jews* under his dependance; and were also used as counsellors by him; on which account they held a rank superior to the rest. The chiefs of the synagogues, schools, and academies, were likewise nominated by, and

Their apostles or officers;

[a] Gen. xlix. 10. See also Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 317, and (B).

and that it was at this academy that the *Mazorites*, so famed in the *Jewish* history, made the noblest appearance; and where they are supposed to have invented the vowel, and other grammatical, *&c.* points, of which we have spoken in a former part *.

(Q) What this tribute was which he exacted from the *Jewish* nation, whether the didrachma paid formerly to the temple, and since to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, but released by *Nerva* either in part or wholly, or some other imposed by him, is hard to guess. But it is undeniable, from the origin of that tribute to maintain a new dignity and union among the dispersed, from the writings of the rabbies, as well as from some of the imperial laws, that such a tribute was universally paid to the patriarch of the west, and was conveyed to *Tiberias* from all the countries of the dispersion, and not to the chief of the captivity at *Babylon* as *Bartolocci* hath affirmed. All the synagogues of the west were bound to pay it; and that which was levied in *Egypt*, where the *Jews* were richer than in most other places, amounted to a very great sum; and it was perhaps on that account, in part, that he went thither in person. *Epiphanius* tells us, that it was paid in all the provinces of *Sicily*, and the imperial laws mention its being paid in all the parts of the *Roman* empire where any *Jews* were settled. And we are further told, that it was exacted with such severity that the people were at length forced to complain of the avarice of those pontifs, in order to obtain a relief; till at length we find it quite abolished by *Julian* the apostate, *an.* 363, if the letter quoted to prove it be really his (22).

(*) *See An. Hist. vol.* iii. *p.* 220, *& seqq.* (22) *Jul. epist.* πολιτῶ Ἰουδαίων, *p.* 223.

obliged

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obliged to receive their directions from him; and the imperial laws gave him the title of *Illuſtris*, or *Clariſſimus*; and ſome of them forbad the Chriſtians to moleſt or uſe them diſreſpectfully, though we find nothing in any of them that ſhews that they had the power of life and death. *Titles.*

THEY could inflict ſevere cenſures, penances, and even excommunication, as well as ſome corporal puniſhments; but in this laſt they are charged to have abuſed the indulgence which the laws gave them; and to have ſuffered, if not ordered, delinquents, eſpecially thoſe that were found inclined to, or had embraced, Chriſtianity, to be whipped to death. As their dignity was hereditary, and exceeding profitable on many accounts (R), it came at laſt to be ſo abuſed, that the emperor *Theodoſius* the younger was obliged to iſſue out an edict to ſuppreſs the exorbitant power they had aſſumed, and to reduce it to its proper limits. It was cuſtomary for them to enrich themſelves, not only by the exactions lately mentioned, but by ſelling of places under them, ſuch as chiefs of the academy, of the ſchools, of the ſynagogues, *&c.* and, by-and-by, depoſing them, and putting others in their place [b], the licenſing of new ſynagogues, ſetting up tribunals, and trying of cauſes between *Jews* and Chriſtians, were ſome of the abuſes ſuppreſſed by that edict. *Abuſe of their power.*

THUS much for the origin of the patriarchate in the weſt, and of its inſtitution in this firſt century of the church. The *Jews*, to raiſe the character of their nation, make this and the next century pregnant of learned men, to whom they attribute a great number of celebrated books, which, upon ſtrict enquiry, are much more recent, ſince they mention facts and writers which are poſterior to them by ſome centuries. We ſhall therefore waive the far greater part of them, as not worthy farther mention, and throw the others into the margin (S). *Great men of this century.*

THE

[b] Vid. Pallad. in vit. Chryſoſtom.

(R) Some pretend, that it was not ſo far hereditary, but that the owner might alienate it, and inſtance in the famed *R. Judah Hakkodeſh*, who preferred *Chanina* to his own ſon. But that is falſely urged, ſince he left the patriarchate to his ſon *Gamaliel*, and alſo made *Chanina* chief of the academy. And *Epiphanius* aſſures us, that it was ſo far hereditary, that *Hillel* having left only a ſon behind him, he ſucceeded him though a child; and this he had from *R. Joſeph* who was left tutor to the boy, and could not but be well informed of the cuſtoms of his own nation.

(S) We have already mentioned

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The chief events of the 2d century.

THE next century produced several remarkable events; the most considerable of which were, 1. The rebellion they raised

tioned the famed *R. Jochaides*, author of the book of *Zohar* (†). The next was *Elisha Hagaili*, or the *Galilean*, who wrote a very mystical treatise of the thirty-two properties of the law, answerable to the thirty-two roads to wisdom (23). One *R. Eleazar* wrote another of the measures of the temple (24), and is pretended to have lived whilst it stood; and to have taken them from it, as most of the rabbies since did theirs from him (25). The next worth speaking of was the poet *Ezechiel*, who wrote a poem on the exod, or the deliverance from the *Egyptian* bondage, probably to comfort his nation under their present calamities. He is supposed to have lived between the times of *Josephus*, who makes no mention of him, and of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who hath quoted him; so that he must have flourished about the end of the first, or the beginning of the second, century (26).

The last we shall mention is the testament of the twelve patriarchs, whose author hath concealed his religion; but speaks so frequently like a *Jew* that the learned Dr. *Grabe* (27), who first published it in *Greek* (for till then it was only known by that poor *Latin* version which Dr. *Greathead*, bishop of *Lincoln*, who had procured a *Greek* copy in the 13th century, caused to be made of it by one *Nicholas* a *Grecian*, and by some few other scattered fragments) believed it to have been wrote originally in *Hebrew* by some doctor of that nation, whom he supposes to have lived some time before our Saviour, seeing he follows the common notion of the *Jews* in expecting a temporal and conquering Messiah. The bishop above-named seems also to have been of the same mind, seeing he so bitterly complains of the jealousy of the *Jews*, who had kept that work so long concealed from the Christians, lest they should urge the prophecies that are in it, concerning the Messiah, against them.

These prophecies are indeed very many and pregnant against them, was the book itself of any authority: but it seems rather to have been wrote by some half-converted *Jew*, who puts into the mouths of the patriarchs sundry prophecies concerning Christ, but still retains a great number of *Jewish* prejudices, particularly that of his being a temporal, instead of a spiritual, Redeemer; and so is not fit to be quoted either against *Jew* or Christian. We shall refer our readers to the authors quoted in the margin for the further character of the book (28), and its pretended version into *Greek* by St. *Chrysostom*. And all that we shall add to it is, that it must have been very antient, since

(†) *P.* 126 (B). (23) *Bartoloc. & Wolf. Bibliot. Rabbin.* (24) *Middoth. in Taanith. fol.* 7. *Wagenseil. p.* 311. (25) *Bartol. ub. sup.* (26) *Le Moyne var. sacr. tom.* ii. *p.* 356. *Basnag. ub. sup. lib.* vii. *cap.* 11. § *ib.* (27) *Specil. patr. tom.* i. § 1. (28) *Grabe ibid. Fabric. Apocr. vet. Test. Nourry. appar. ad Bibl. Basnag. ub. sup. Calmet. sub voc. Testament. Prideaux Connect. &c.*

Origen

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raiſed under the emperor *Trajan*. 2. The horrid ſlaughter they committed in *Cyrene*, a city of *Lybia*, and in the iſle of *Cyprus*, and other places. 3. The appearance and puniſhment of the falſe meſſiah *Barchocheba*; the taking of the city of *Bither* by the *Romans*; and the dreadful condition the *Jews* were reduced to after it. 4. The rebuilding of *Jeruſalem* by *Adrian*. And, 5. The writing of the *Miſhnah*, by *Judah Hakkadoſh*, or the ſaint.

Rebellion under Trajan, the year of Chriſt 115.

1. THEIR rebellion under ſo powerful a prince as *Trajan*, can only be aſcribed to their impatience under a foreign yoke, aggravated by the miſery and hardſhips they endured under it, which made their reſentment break out with ſuch fury, notwithſtanding the low ſtate they were reduced to, as cannot be read without horror. It began at *Cyrene*, where the *Jews* had been ſettled for ſome centuries, and were become powerful; and had now gained ſome conſiderable advantages over the *Cyrenians* and *Egyptians*. Theſe fled immediately to *Alexandria*, and filled that city with ſuch alarms, that they maſſacred all the *Jews* they found in it. Thoſe of *Cyrene*, provoked at ſuch a dreadful repriſal, which yet they had brought upon themſelves, choſe one *Andrea*, whom *Euſebius* ſtiles king *Lacuas*, for their head [c]; under whom they preſently deſtroyed two hundred and twenty thouſand inhabitants, waſted the whole country of *Libya*, and fought many deſperate battles againſt *Martius Turbo*, whom *Trajan* had ſent with a powerful army againſt them; inſomuch that *Adrian* was forced afterwards to ſend a freſh colony to re-people that waſted country [d] (T).

War with the Romans; depopulate Libya.

ON

[c] Eccl. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 2. [d] GANTZ TZEMACH DAVID, p. 104. SOLOMON, filius virgæ tribus Jud. p. 64.

Origen quotes it; and could not be wrote before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, becauſe it makes particular mention of it, and of the writings of the evangeliſts. And thus much ſhall ſuffice for the writers of this century.

(T) *Euſebius* in the laſt quoted place mentions this rebellion at the beginning of *Trajan*'s reign, but in his Chronicle one year ſooner: but the former, being the more exact, ought to be preferred. The *Jews* pretend, that this rebellion was cauſed by ſome of their refugees from *Jeruſalem* to *Alexandria*, who had built a temple there, and wanted to domineer over the reſt. Upon which, ſuch a fierce conteſt aroſe, that the weakeſt ſide was forced to call *Trajan* to their aſſiſtance, who killed about 500,000 of them. But what they ſay of the building of a temple there, is a mere fable; there being no other built in *Egypt* but that of *Onias*, of which

In the next year those of *Mesopotamia* appeared in arms, and in such a manner as made the whole country tremble, which obliged the emperor to send the famed *Lucius Quietus*, the greatest general in the whole empire, who slew such vast numbers of them as quelled them for the present; but, for fear they should rise up again after he was gone, *Trajan* appointed him governor of *Palestine*, and ordered him to stay there to keep them in awe [e].

Massacre of the Cypriots.

This did not hinder those that were settled in *Cyprus*, an island formerly described †, from making a much more dreadful insurrection, in which their own authors make no scruple to increase the number of the massacred, instead of lessening it; though others, both Pagans and Christians [f] make it to have amounted to two hundred and forty thousand inhabitants (U).

However, this obliged *Trajan* to send his head general *Adrian* against them, who, with some difficulty, subdued them; after which an edict was published, expressly forbidding

[e] Euseb. in Chronic. Jud. Hist. l. iv. c. 2, & seq. Xiphil. ex Dion. lib. lxviii. Orosius, & alib. † See Anc. Hist. vol. viii. p. 236, & seq. [f] Dio, Euseb. ub. sup.

which we have spoken in our Ancient History †. Some of the talmudists absurdly place this massacre under *Adrian*; and add, that he destroyed more *Jews* by half at this time in *Egypt*, than ever came out of it under *Moses*; which, according to the calculation we have formerly made of these (*), must have amounted to several millions: but this is a *Jewish* exaggeration not worth confuting.

(U) They tell us, that the report they heard of other insurrections in different parts of the empire, encouraged those of *Gophri*, so they call that island (29), to fall upon the *Cypriots* with such fury, that they did not leave one of them alive. Some authors have imagined, that *Egypt*, and not *Cyprus*, was the scene of this horrid massacre, by supposing an error in the *Hebrew*. בנ׳פרי instead of בנ׳פדי occasioned by the likeness of the ר and ד, the *r* and *d*. But, without giving way to such improbable conjectures, we have proofs enough in the Acts of the apostles of the *Jews* being very powerful and rich in that island, which was the native place of St. *Barnabas*; which is also confirmed by Heathen, as well as Christian, writers; particularly *Dio*, who tells us, that having appointed one *Artemion* their general, they slew 240,000 inhabitants: on which account they were forbid ever to come

(†) *See Ancient Hist. vol. x. p. 317, &* (M). (*) *Ibid vol. iii. p. 392, sub note 443, & seq. & alib.* (29) *Ganz, ub sup. p. 102. Zacchut. in Juchasin. &c.*

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ding the *Jews* to ſet foot in that iſland, under the ſevereſt penalties. Which edict was ſo ſeverely kept, as we obſerved in the laſt note, that it was a very long while before we meet with any ſettled there.

3. THE next inſurrection was raiſed under their falſe meſſiah *Caziba*, or, as he ſtiled himſelf, *Barchocheba*; who, taking the advantage of the heart-burnings which then reigned among the *Jews*, on account of *Adrian*'s having ſent a colony to rebuild *Jeruſalem*, which he deſigned to adorn after the *Roman* ſtyle, and to call by his name *Ælia* (to which the *Jewiſh* writers add another, and much greater cauſe of diſcontent; *viz.* his having forbid the *Jews* to circumciſe their children), ſet himſelf up as head of their nation, and proclaimed himſelf their long-expected meſſiah (W). He was one of thoſe banditti that infeſted *Judea*, and committed all kinds of violence againſt the *Romans*, and was become ſo powerful by this time, that he was choſen king of the *Jews*, or, according to their own writers, ſucceeded his father and grandfather in that dignity (X), and was by them acknowleged

The falſe Meſſiah Barchochab.

His origin.

into that iſland; and that they even killed all thoſe who were driven thither by bad weather. *Euſebius* (30) is no leſs particular about it, and only confines the maſſacre to the capital of that iſland; tho' 'tis hard to gueſs how *Salamis* ſhould have been able to contain ſuch a number of people (31); and it is more likely to have extended to all the *Cypriots* in general (32).

(W) We avoid for brevity's ſake mentioning ſeveral other impoſtors that had appeared before him; ſome under the title of Meſſiah, others only his forerunner. *Gamaliel* mentions two who had come to an untimely end a little before his time (33). *Origen* ranks *Simon Magus* and *Doſitheus* among that number. They were both *Samaritans*; and the latter is ſaid to have been maſter to the former. It doth not indeed appear from St. *Luke* that *Simon* took on him the direct character of the Meſſiah, but only of a man endowed with ſome ſupernatural power from God (34). However, theſe and ſeveral others we paſs by, were ſignal impoſtors, of which theſe two centuries were very pregnant; moſt of whom, being diſciples of *Judah*, the *Gaulonite* ſpoken of in a former part (†), did ſtill inſpirit the *Jews* with hopes that the deliverer would ſoon appear, and ſo ſtirred them up to freſh rebellions.

(X) Theſe pretend, that *Coziba* I. and grandfather to this we are upon, was raiſed by the *Jews* to that title fifty-two years after the ruin of the temple, and died at *Bither*, a city near *Jeruſalem*, and the then

(30) *Chron. & Hiſt. lib.* iv. (31) *De hac vide Anc. Hiſt. vol.* viii. *p.* 244, *& ſeq.* (32) *See Bajnag. Hiſt. des Juifs. l.* vii. *c.* 11. §. 24. (33) *Acts* v. 36, *& ſeq.* (34) *Ibid.* viii. 9. (†) *Anc. Hiſt. vol.* x. *p.* 467 (G). 477, *&* 529 (V).

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leged their messiah. However, to facilitate the success of this bold enterprise, he changed his name into that of *Barchochab*, or *Barchocheba*; alluding to the star foretold by *Balaam* [g]. 2. He pretended to be a star sent from heaven, to restore his nation to its antient liberty and glory (Y). *Precursor.* And, 3. Chose for his precursor the famed *Akiba*, of whom we have spoke at the beginning of this chapter †; who, being then in high repute among the *Jews*, as chief of their *Sanhedrim*, declared him to be the star that was to arise out of *Jacob*. The persecution which they had suffered under *Adrian* had so far paved the way for these two impostors, that they quickly raised an army, out of their own nation, of 200,000 men, of prodigious strength and courage, and made *Bither* the place of their retreat, and the capital of this new kingdom (Z).

Makes Bither his residence.

Declares war against Adrian, A. C. 134.

HERE *Barchochab* was anointed king, and caused some money to be coined with his name, by which he proclaimed himself the messiah and prince of the *Jewish* nation; but deferred declaring war against the *Romans*, till *Adrian* had quitted *Egypt*; so that it did not break out till the 17th year of that emperor's reign, as a late author hath plainly shewn [h]. *Adrian* seems at first to have neglected this new revolt; and as the *Jews* had been so effectually humbled by his prede-

[g] Numb. xxiv. 17. † P. 127, sub not. [h] Vid. BASNAG. ub. sup. & Auct. ab eo ætat.

capital of his kingdom. He was succeeded by his son *Rob* or *Rov*; and afterwards by his grandson *Romulus*, surnamed *Coziba*, who, according to them, was afterwards put to death by his own men, because he was wanting in one main characteristic of the Messiah; *viz.* the discerning a guilty person by the smell (35). These make the reigns of the three *Coziba's* to have lasted twenty-one years, or even beyond; whereas the ancient chronicle makes no mention of the two former, and allows but two years and half's reign to the latter; and is, in all probability, the most to be depended upon (36).

(Y) For proof of which, he was wont to vomit fire and smoke out of his mouth when he spoke, to amuse the populace.

(Z) We have already spoken of this city, and its numerous academy. St. *Jerom* calls it *Bethoron*; and both he and *Eusebius* place it in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*. However there were two towns of that name; *viz.* this about twelve miles, and another about fifty-two, from that metropolis (*).

(35) *Seder Olam, cap.* 31. *vid. & Gemar. tract. Sanhedr. c.* 11. *R. Abr. Cabbala. Hist. Gamtz. ub. sup. ad an.* 388. *p.* 102. (36) *See Basnage, ub. sup. l. vii. c.* 12. §. 11. (*) *Euseb. & Jerom. loc. Hebraic. See also Anc. Hist. vol. x.* 277 (B), *& c.* 304.

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ceſſor, he would hardly imagine they could be ſo ſoon in a condition to make head againſt him. But when he found what ſhoals of banditti, and other ſtraggling *Jews* flocked to *Barchochab*, he thought fit to ſend *Tinnius Rufus*, with a ſtrong reinforcement, againſt them; though they did not prove ſufficient to prevent the impoſtor's gaining great advantages over him, and maſſacring all the converted *Jews*, as well as *Romans* and Chriſtians, that came in his way. At length *Julius Severus*, who was then in *England*, and was one of the greateſt generals of his age, was ſent againſt them; who, not thinking it ſafe to engage ſo vaſt and powerful an army, contented himſelf with defeating them by parties, by which means he did at length ſo incloſe them as to cut off all ſupply of proviſions, and went and laid ſiege to *Bither*. The beſieged made a ſtout defence, and *Triphon*, a famed rabbi, was put to death for having propoſed to ſurrender the place; but it was at length forced to it by the death of *Barchochab*, who had been killed in it; after which followed a moſt dreadful ſlaughter of the *Jews*, inſomuch that their writers affirm, that a far greater number of them periſhed than at firſt came out of *Egypt*; and the ſcholars, who had defended it ſo gallantly, though with no other weapons than their writing pencils, were flung by thouſands into the flames, with their books tied about them (A). As for *Akiba*, after a very ſevere impriſonment, he was condemned to a cruel death; and

Bither *beſieged and taken.*

Its dreadful fate.

(A) The *Jews* add, that when the head of the impoſtor was brought to *Adrian*, he expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing his body; but that, when they came to take it up, they found a ſerpent twined about the neck; which ſo ſcared them, that the emperor, being told of it, declared, that God alone was able to kill ſuch a man. But that did not hinder his cheat from being found out at laſt; upon which account they changed his name into that of *Barchozab*, or the ſon of impoſtor or lie.

They add, that the maſſacre was ſo dreadful and univerſal, that they found upon one ſingle ſtone the ſculls of above 300 children, which had been daſhed againſt it: the brooks were ſo ſwelled with the blood of the ſlain, that they carried large ſtones quite into the ſea, though at four miles diſtance from it; and the ground round about was ſo inriched with the carcaſes of the ſlain, that it wanted no manuring for ſeven years. In memory of this, the *Jews* appointed a kind of mournful hymn to be uſed on the 18th day of the mooth *Ab*, anſwering to our *July* and *Auguſt*, in which they ſtyled *Adrian* a ſecond *Nebuchadnezzar*, and pray to God to remember that tyrant, who deſtroyed 480 ſynagogues (37).

(37) *Vid. Lent. de Judeor. Pſeudo-Meſſ. p.* 17, *& ſeq. Baſnag. ub. ſup.*

with

with him, the *Jews* tell us, died the glory of the *Jewish* law (B).

Number of slain, &c. THE *Romans*, on the other hand, lost a vast number of their own troops; and, if we may believe their own authors, it was one of the bloodiest wars they ever waged. Five hundred and eighty thousand were killed on the *Jews* side, besides vast multitudes of others which perished by famine, fire, and other calamities [1]; which could not be done without great losses on the enemy's side; the former being ever known to fight most desperately, and selling their lives at a dear rate. Besides, at the taking of the city of *Bither*, they had still fifty strong castles well garrisoned. However, upon the death of their chiefs the rest made but faint efforts; and the war came soon to an end.

Jerusalem *rebuilt*, A.C. 137. *ADRIAN* took the advantage of this peaceful interval for finishing his design of rebuilding *Jerusalem*. We have formerly taken notice of the difference between this new city and the old one, with respect to its cincture †, though, in the main, the old foundations were still made use of for it. This design was carried on, not in favour of the *Jews*, who might the rather have been induced to new revolts, had they been allowed to settle in it. It was designed, on the contrary, to mortify and humble them, by rearing so many heathenish structures, as should make them abhor coming into it (C); besides a severe edict of that prince, which expressly

[1] Dio in Adrian. p. 263. HEDRON, Chr. p. 168. † See Anc. Hist. vol. ii. p. 473.

(B) He had his flesh torn off with iron combs (38). *Lightfoot* mentions him as the only considerable person that suffered in this massacre (39), though a good number of others, no less celebrated, were likewise put to cruel deaths; particularly *Judah* the son of *Bava*, who, notwithstanding the emperor's orders against filling up the vacant places of the sanhedrin, did appoint five doctors into that body, and, among them, the famed *R. Meir*; who, tho' all the rest deserted the place, yet stood firm till he had received some hundreds of wounds in his body (40).

(C) Accordingly we find, that he ordered the ancient monuments to be demolished, and a theatre and other public buildings to be built of the materials. Some of the stately stones of the temple were likewise put to the same profane use; and, in their room, statues of the heathen gods and goddesses were set up in that holy place, and

(38) *Mishn. in Sota.* (39) *Chronic. Temp.* v. & vi. *tom.* xi. *p.* 144. (40) *De his vid. Mish. ub. sup. Gemar. tract. Sanhedr. Bartoloc. tom.* ii. *Wagens. in Sota. Basnag. & al.*

in

preſly forbid them all farther acceſs to it. And the more effectually to clear it of its *Jewiſh* inhabitants, he cauſed a prodigious number of them to be ſold at two different fairs (D), at the common price of horſes; and ordered the remainder to be tranſported into *Egypt*. After this the ſtate of the *Jews* became one of the moſt melancholy that can be imagined; and being thus doubly excluded the entrance into the holy city, they were forced to content themſelves with

The Jews *forbid to come to it.*

Vaſt numbers of them ſold.

in ſeveral others which were become venerable to the Chriſtians. But the greateſt indignity to the *Jews* was his ordering a hog to be carved, and ſet up over the gate that led to *Bethlehem*; not ſo much in token of their ſlavery to the *Romans*, as an ancient father imagined (41), as becauſe that creature was forbid by the *Moſaic* law, and abhorred by all the *Jews*.

(D) One of theſe fairs was annually kept on the plain of *Mamre*, ſacred for having been the place where *Abraham* had often pitched his tent, and where he received the three heavenly gueſts (42). It was called the fair of *Therebinthus*, from the famous oak which grew there, and which the vulgar tranſlates by that name, though the *Hebrew* word *Elah* rather ſignifies an oak, elm, or large tree. However that be, St. *Jerom* tells us, that it was ſtill ſtanding in his time, and much reſorted and reverenced by Chriſtians and *Jews*; and *Hegeſippus* tells us, that it had ſtood ever-ſince the creation, and been famed for being a place of great reſort by merchants of all the neighbouring nations. This oak, or *Terebinth*, *Joſephus* and *Euſebius* place about ſix miles from *Hebron* (43). St. *Jerom* only two miles from it, and *Sozemen* about fifteen ſtades (44). St. *Jerom* adds, that this fair was ſtill kept in his time, but that the *Jews* were aſhamed to come to it, on account of ſo great a number of their nation having been expoſed to ſale at it (45). Thoſe that could not be ſold here were ſent to *Gaza*, where was another celebrated fair; and the reſt were ſold into *Egypt*, where they ſoon grew numerous.

In memory of this ſignal overthrow of the *Jews*, the emperor ordered a medal to be ſtruck, with the figure of a woman holding two naked boys, and ſacrificing upon an altar, with this legend;

Adventus Aug. Judææ; or, The arrival of the emperor in *Judea*.

There is likewiſe another of the ſame emperor, on which *Judea* is repreſented like a woman kneeling, and holding a hand up to him, with three children, one of them naked, and all in a ſuppliant poſture; and repreſenting thereby the ſubjection and miſery of the *Jewiſh* nation (46).

(41) *Hieronim Chronol. in an.* 137. (42) *Vid. Geneſis* xviii. 1, *& ſeq.* (43) *Bell. Jud. l.* iv. *c.* 7 *Euſ. loc. Hebr.* (44) *Hiſtor. l.* ii. *c.* 4. (45) *In Sophon. p.* 396. (45) *De his vid. Triſtan. com. hiſt. Adrian. Fruber. de numiſmat. cenſu, Baſnag. ab. ſup. c.* 12. §. 34.

beholding

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beholding it, though with floods of tears, from some of the neighbouring hills; neither could they obtain this liberty from the *Roman* soldiers, but by dint of money. The *Mount of Olives*, in particular, was often seen covered with men and women, with their clothes rent, bewailing the ruin of that once famed metropolis.

A hard tax laid on them.

SOME other impoſts we find laid on them for the liberty of their religion; particularly for that of reading the ſacred books, circumciſing their children, *&c.* Concerning which, authors, both *Jews* and Chriſtians, vary; but which are not worth dwelling longer upon. As for the *Jews* of the eaſt, they ſeem to have fared much better; for, though *Trajan* had carried on a war againſt them as far as *Meſopotamia*, yet *Adrian*, upon his coming to the empire, having conſented that the *Euphrates* ſhould be the boundary of the *Roman* empire on that ſide; thoſe beyond the river had no other ſhare in the war we have been ſpeaking of, except that many of them came over to aſſiſt their brethren, and ſerved only to increaſe the number of the ſlain and conquered on this ſide (E).

Judah Hakkadoſh *compiles the* Miſhnah.

THE laſt remarkable thing in this century is, the compiling of the *Miſhnah* by *Judah Hakkadoſh*: He was the ſon of *Simeon* ſurnamed *The Juſt*, and the third *Patriarch* of the *Jews*. He ſucceeded him in that dignity, and was born in the city of *Tzipori*, or *Sephoris* (F), and flouriſhed during the reigns

(E) This laſt ſuppoſition is founded on what *Dio* inſinuates, that the *Jews* did every-where riſe up againſt the *Romans*, and that the world was in an univerſal uproar. From which, we may conclude, that many of thoſe on the other ſide of the *Euphrates* came over, either to help their brethren on this ſide, or in hopes of plunder, and hatred to the tyrannous *Romans*. And indeed, conſidering how waſted *Paleſtine* had been in *Trajan*'s reign, it is ſcarce credible they could be ſo numerous and powerful in that of *Adrian*, under whom the number of thoſe that were deſtroyed amounted to above ſix hundred thouſand, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that a great part of them were come from the eaſt to them.

(F) A city ſituate on one of the mountains of *Galilee*. Its name, which ſignifies a little bird, implies its being but a little place; yet the *Jewiſh* rabbies cry it up as ſuch a conſiderable one, that it had one hundred and fourſcore thouſand confectioners. They pretend, that he was born on the day on which *Akiba* died, to fulfil *Solomon*'s prophecy, that one ſun ſets and another riſes (47). We lately took notice of the former being put to death at the taking of *Bi-*

(47) *Eccleſ.* i. 9. *vid. Gantz Tzemach*, p. 107.

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reigns of three emperors, who were great enemies to the Chriſtians, but very favourable to the *Jews*; viz. *Antoninus Pius*, *M. Aurelius*, and *Commodus*; the firſt of whom came to the crown, *A. C.* 138; and the latter died *An.* 194. So that he quietly enjoyed his patriarchate 45 years [k]. He became very conſiderable on account of his ſanctity, and much more for his great learning, and preſided over the great academy of *Tiberias*, lately mentioned, with an uncontrouled authority. During which time he had had frequent occaſion to decide controverſies of the higheſt nature, and gained a very great reputation by it. But he was eſteemed above all for his celebrated book called the *Miſhnah*, or repetition of the law, and ſtiled by the *Greeks Deuteronomy*, or ſecond law; a ſhort account of which the reader may ſee in the margin (G). This work was ſo much the more neceſſary at that

An account of that work;

[k] Vid. GANTZ & al. ſup. citat.

ther, ſo that, according to them, the latter muſt have been born *A. C.* 135. We omit a great deal of miraculous ſtuff which they tell of his birth and life, for which he obtained the title of *Hakkadoſh*, or *the Saint*, or even of *the Saint of Saints*. Neither do we think worth mentioning ſome abſurd anachroniſms relating to him, particularly the prolonging his life down to the reign of *Dioclefian*, and mentioning a number of learned men as his cotemporaries, who did not flouriſh till a long time after. Theſe are uſual things among thoſe writers; and we have given already ſome inſtances of them at the beginning of this chapter, to ſerve as a ſpecimen to the reſt (48).

(G) We ſhall need ſay the leſs of this famed treatiſe, becauſe it hath been ſince tranſlated into *Latin* by *Surenhuſius*, with the notes of the learned *Maimon*, *Barthenera*, and *Guiſius*, in ſix vol. fol. *an.* 1702. It is divided into ſix parts; the firſt is intituled, סדר זרעים, *Seder Zerahim*, *ordo ſeminum*, and treats about ſeeds in the field, of trees, fruits, plants, &c. The ſecond, סדר מועדים, *Seder Mohadim*, *ordo feſtorum*, and treats of the right obſervance of the *Jewiſh* feaſts. The third, סדר נשים, *Seder Naſhim*, *ordo mulierum*, treats of women, and all matrimonial cauſes. The fourth, סדר נזיקים *Seder Nezikim*, *ordo damnorum*, treats of loſſes, damages, trade, &c. the law-ſuits ariſing from them, and the manner of proceeding in them. The fifth, סדר קדשים, *Seder Kedoſhim*, *ordo ſanctorum*, and treats of ſacrifices, oblations, and all other holy or ſacrificed things. The ſixth, סדר טהורות, *ordo purificationum*, treats of all kinds of expiations, and all things relating to purification. The au-

(48) *Page* 130, *& ſeq. ſub note* (C).

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that time, because the nation, having been forced to undergo such frequent dispersions and vicissitudes, had, in a great measure, and would have still more, forgot the oral traditions about the rites, laws, and customs, of the ancient *Jews*, which were become very numerous by this time, unless they were committed to writing, and digested into one body or system. And this he did with such success, that all the *Jewish* academies have since followed him without any deviation. The time of his writing this book is variously conjectured. The most probable opinion is, that he finished it about the year of Christ 180, or about the 44th year of his life, when he was in the flower of his age; and had, by long experience, been enabled, himself, to decide the most arduous questions of the law.

when wrote.

Judah's character.

THE great reputation and authority which his learning and works had gained, did, however, even according to the *Jewish* writers, swell him up into such a height of pride, as little

thor hath likewise added to the fourth part, or *ordo damnorum*, a chapter intituled, עבודה זרה, *Abodah Zarah*, or *cuteus extraneus*; such they call idolatry, and the penalties annexed to it. Each of these books contained several tracts amounting in the whole to sixty-three.

This code or body of oral traditions is founded upon a fivefold authority; *viz.* 1st, Upon the writings of *Moses*, whose expositions are contained in the pentateuch, and are either decisive of themselves, or by consequences fairly drawn from them. 2d, Upon the ordinances of that lawgiver delivered to him on the mount, or as they are commonly styled the oral law spoken of in a former part (†); and which are looked upon to be of the same authority with the written; tho', as was there observed, no good proof can be given of any such oral law having been given to that lawgiver. 3d, Upon the different decisions of the ancient doctors, concerning which a man is at liberty to take which side he pleases, whether, for instance, those of *Hillel* or *Shammai*. 4th, On the maxims and sayings of the prophets and wisemen, which are on that account styled the hedges or fences of the law; but from which the rabbies do often swerve, though in the main they hold them in great esteem. 5th, On the ancient rites and customs, which have since gained the sanction of a law, and are made by it equally obligatory. This is the sum of that so much boasted treatise, which is therefore styled a body of civil and ecclesiastical rights of the *Jews*, and as a collection of their oral laws, rules, *&c.* However it is likely this book was not published, or, at least, received immediately, since we find mention in *Hegesippus* of such oral traditions being still appealed to and canvassed towards the latter

(†) *See Anc. Hist. vol.* iii. *p.* 5 (B).

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little anſwered his title of ſaint (H). He even indulged it to his dying hour, by the diſpoſal of all the places and titles under him; and among them, that of *Kacham*, or wiſe man, to one of his ſons named *Simeon*; that of chief of the ſynagogue to *Chanina*; and that of prince, or chief, to his eldeſt ſon *Gamaliel* III (I). He likewiſe ordered his own funeral to be performed in the moſt ſumptuous manner, and that his body ſhould be carried about through the moſt conſiderable cities, and there bewailed after the *Jewiſh* manner. A great concourſe, we are told, accompanied the funeral pomp from all the adjacent parts [1]. What they farther relate of it, the reader may ſee in the margin (K). *Exceſſive pride.*

[1] Vid. Oth. Hiſt. doctor Miſhnic. & auct. ab eo citat. p. 161.

end of this ſecond century. Thoſe who want a fuller account of it may conſult the *Latin* verſion above-mentioned, and the authors quoted in the margin (49). All that we ſhall ſay farther about it is, that it muſt not be confounded with the talmud, which was not compiled till a long time after; and of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place.

(H) He was the firſt that ſet up his own authority above that of the ſanhedrin, and its deciſions, which, till then, thoſe chiefs were ſubject to; inſomuch that one of that council, named the ſon of *Lachi*, having ventured to diſpute it, and to affirm, that a chief ought to be whipt if he tranſgreſſed, *Judah* immediately ſent officers to apprehend and bring him to a ſevere puniſhment; which he found no way to eſcape but by a ſpeedy flight. How can it therefore be ſuppoſed, that a man of ſuch proud and ungovernable ſpirit ſhould ever own the authority of the chiefs of *Babylon* to be ſuperior to his, as the *Babyloniſh* rabbies, mentioned in a former note, pretend that he did?

(I) Theſe were the three chief dignities of the *Jewiſh* church. The prince, or as we have choſe to ſtyle him the patriarch, was the higheſt. The chief was the next, and preſided in his abſence in the council; and the kacham held the third rank. This laſt was to be learned above all the reſt, becauſe he was the perſon conſulted in all doubtful caſes, and ſat on the left, as the chief did on the right, of the prince.

(K) They tell us, that, tho' the people flocked to the ſolemnity far and near, yet the day was ſo far prolonged, that they had all time enough to get home, and light a candle againſt the next day, which was the *Sabbath*; and the *Bath kol* was heard to declare them all ſaved that had aſſiſted at it; one only excepted, who thereupon, falling into deſpair, put an end to his own life (50).

(49) *Bartoloc. Bibliot. Rab. tom.* iii. *Baſnage's Hiſt. Jud. lib.* iii. *c.* 3. *Calmet. ſub voc. miſhna, Prid. Connect. part* i. *lib.* 5. (50) *Vid. Gantz, & al. ſup. citat. ap. Othm. & Baſnag. ub. ſup.*

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Gamaliel *succeeds him.*

He was succeeded by his son *Gamaliel*, who is said to have confirmed his father's *Mishnah*, and to have died *An.* 229. His son *Judah* did nothing worth our notice (L), except that he left his dignity to his son the famed *Hillel* II. a person of great merit and learning; who is the first that began, as we hinted at the beginning of this chapter †, to compute the years from the creation; but whether he, or, which is more probable, the gemarrists, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, did wilfully curtail that æra, in order to make it appear that Christ did not come into the world at the end of the fourth millenary, and at the time expressly signified by the prophets, we will not determine. Another improvement he was the author of, *viz.* the cycle of 19 years, to conciliate the course of the sun with that of the moon, by the help of seven intercalations. We have taken notice of some such thing having been done before, under *Simon* the *Maccabee*, above 170 years before our Saviour *.

Hillel *rectifies the calendar;*

and others after him.

Some others have since put a helping hand to this emendation, particularly *Rabbi Samuel*, nicknamed *Jarkin*, or lunatic, who was chief of an academy at *Nahardea*, about the year 240, and was esteemed a great astronomer; but as his calculation was found still defective, one of his successors, *viz. R. Ada*, greatly improved it, as *Hipparchus* had formerly done that of *Calippus*; upon which all these *Jewish* emendations were founded. However, *Hillel*, as prince of the captivity in the west, introduced it by his authority, and thereby made way for the other two; though it is not improbable that they, as a conquered people, were forced, in this, as in other cases, to submit to the laws of the conquerors, and to adopt the reformation made by *Julius Cæsar*. *Hillel* made, however, some farther ones to the *Techuphath Hashana*, or revolution of the year; such as changing the equinoxes and solstices; by bringing them back 13 days from where he found them; as for instance, the vernal equinox from the 7th of *April* to the 25th of *March* [m].

† See before, p. 13. * See vol. x. p. 302 (Y). [m] Vid. Scalig. Canon Isag. l. iii. p. 279.

(L) The *Jewish* writers pretend that he lived to the end of the third century, in order to make him cotemporary with the two famous rabbies *Amaus* and *Azæus*, who flourished, according to them, *A. M.* 4060, or of Christ 300. But this is but one of those anachronisms that run through all their works.

But

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BUT that which moſt endeared him to the Chriſtians was his converſion and baptiſm a little before he died (M), when he ſent for the biſhop of *Tiberias*, under pretence of conſulting him as a phyſician about his diſtemper; but in reality to own himſelf a Chriſtian, and to be baptized by him. The ceremony was accordingly performed, but in the privateſt manner; the ſervants, who were ordered to bring in the water being ordered to leave the chamber; and the matter was concealed for ſome time, leſt his friends or domeſtics ſhould do him any prejudice on that account. Though it is ſurpriſing ſo edifying a converſion ſhould be kept ſo ſecret, eſpecially as *Conſtantine the Great* being then upon the throne, the Chriſtians did not want for power to have ſheltered him from any inſult from the *Jews*; though the edict of that prince againſt ſuch outrages did not perhaps come out till ſome years after (N), that is, in the patriarchate of *Hillel*'s ſon and ſucceſſor, on account of whoſe guardian it ſeems chiefly to have been made, as we are going to ſhew. *Hillel's converſion at the point of death.*

HILLEL left his only ſon *Judah*, a minor, under the guardianſhip of *Joſeph*, an intimate friend, mentioned in a late note, and one of his apoſtles. But the *Jews*, upon ſome jealouſy that *Joſeph* was ſuch another diſſembler as *Hillel*, perſe- *Succeeded by* Judah, *a minor.*

(M) This fact is not owned by any of the *Jewiſh* writers, who were too jealous of his glory, as well as of that of their nation, to take any notice of it. But we have it upon the authority of *Epiphanius*, who tells us, that, being gone with *Euſebius Vercellenſis* to *Scythopolis* to ſee one *Joſeph*, an intimate of the deceaſed *Hillel*, and guardian to his ſon, as well as one of his apoſtles, they had the whole ſtory from his own mouth.

(N) It is not eaſy to fix the year in which this converſion happened, ſeeing the *Jews* pretend that he lived beyond the year 360; by which they confound him with another of the ſame name, who lived in *Julian* the apoſtate's time. *Bartolocci* places his death about *A. C.* 320; but that ſeems too late by eight or ten years: 1ſt, Becauſe it gives him too long a reign; and, 2dly, This converſion ought to have preceded *Conſtantine*'s edict above-mentioned, publiſhed *ann.* 315, to ſuppreſs the violent outrages to which the proſelytes from *Judaiſm* were expoſed from the zealots of their own nation. If *Scaliger* had conſidered this circumſtance, he would not have ſuppoſed him to have been reforming the *Jewiſh* calendar about the year 344, as he hath done (1). Upon the whole then, it is moſt probable that *Hillel* died about the year 308 or 310.

(1) *Idem ibid. vide & Gemar. tit. ſanhedr. c.* ii.

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Joseph, *his tutor, persecuted.*

cuted him with such bitterness and violence (O), that he was forced to apply to the Emperor, by whom he was graciously received; and not only protected from all future insults, but permitted to erect several sumptuous churches for the use of the *Christians*, in places where they were still wanting, by which he grew exceeding rich, and built some stately houses in *Scythopolis*; and here it was that he gave *Eusebius* and *Epiphanius* the account of *Hillel*'s conversion above-mentioned.

His account of Hillel's *conversion.*

As for *Judah*, his pupil, he succeeded his father in the patriarchal dignity, and enjoyed it still in the year 356; when *Joseph*, who was then in the 70th year of his age, related the transaction to those two bishops. He seems to have outlived him but a few years, since *Julian*, in a letter to the *Jews*, dated *an.* 363, mentions another patriarch then in the chair, whom he names *Julius*; which is only that of his son and successor *Hillel* III, græcified, who govern'd the *Jewish* church till the year 385.

Gamaliel IV. *the last patriarch.*

He was succeeded by his son *Gamaliel*, IVth of that name, and last of the patriarchal race and dignity. St. *Jerom* speaks of him as of a learned man who had had several disputes with *Hesychius*, before *A. C.* 392; and it was not till *an.* 415, that we find him stript of part of his authority by an edict of the Emperor *Theodosius*; but whether that pontif had abused the patriarchal power, or by some other way disobliged him, or whether the male line was extinct, that dignity was quite abolished about 14 years after; *i. e. an.* 429, after having continued in the same family thro' thirteen generations; or about the space of 350 years (P).

That dignity abolished.

The

(O) They had only a bare suspicion of his being a *Christian* in his heart; for he had as yet made no public profession of it; however, that was sufficient to provoke some of them to break abruptly into his house, where they found him reading the gospel. They first snatch'd the book out of his hands, and fell a beating him most unmercifully, and then dragged him to the synagogue, where he was cruelly whipped, and at length threw him head-long into the *Cydnus*, where he was borne off by the stream, far enough for them to think him drowned. But, Providence having preserved his life, he immediately made open profession of *Christianity*, received baptism, and with it the several marks of the emperor's favours above-mentioned. And it is supposed that it was on account of the violent excesses which the *Jews* committed on these occasions, that the edict lately mentioned was issued out.

(P) We have seen in the late list of these patriarchs, or, as the *Jews* since called them, *Princes*, that some of their chronologers, particularly D. *Gantz*,

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The next dignity that ſucceeded the patriarchate, was that of the primates, which being inferior in honour and authority, as well as in point of time, will be ſpoken of in another place. It is time now that we go back to the remaining part of the 2d century, from which this liſt of the patriarchs and ſucceſſors of *Judah Hakkadoſh* had carried us.

We obſerved a little higher from the *Jewiſh* writers, that they enjoyed great peace and liberty under the reigns of *Adrian*'s three ſucceſſors, *Antoninus Pius*, *M. Aurelius*, and *Commodus*. The former of theſe they not only make a great friend and patron of their nation, but alſo one of their religion, and a diſciple of *Judah* the ſaint; tho' outwardly a heathen, and much addicted to ſuperſtition (Q). However, as the edict of *Adrian* againſt their circumciſing their children was ſtill in force againſt them, they grew now ſo impatient under it, as to appear in arms, and oblige him thereby to recal it, and reſtore them to the free uſe of their religion. *Antoninus* ſoon ſuppreſſed the revolt, but uſed ſuch moderation towards them, as to grant them the liberty for which they took up arms; which, tho' it extended to all the *Jews*, did yet exclude the *Samaritans* from it; and, 2dly, forbad the former to make any proſelytes to their religion (R).

Jews *revolt under* Antoninus.

We

Gantz, ſhorten the duration of that dignity by three generations and ends it at *Judah* II. But it is plain from what we have ſaid above of the *Theodoſian* edict, that it reached down to the time there mentioned.

(Q) Among other fabulous legends of this emperor's affection for that *Jewiſh* chief, they tell us that he had cauſed a ſubterranean way to be made between his own palace and his houſe, by which he uſed to go and converſe with him (2).

(R) Some add a prohibition likewiſe of making eunuchs. It is not eaſy to ſay when this revolt happened; and *Capitolinus*, who hath ſummed it up, and the defeat of the *Jews*, in five or ſix lines, hath inclined ſome to ſuppoſe it to have broke out about the beginning of *Antoninus*'s reign (3); others think the *Jews* could hardly be ſo ſoon ready for it, conſidering how diſperſed and how low they had been reduced by *Adrian*, and that it muſt have required ſome years to put themſelves in a proper condition to attack ſo powerful a prince. (4). And ſo it would indeed, had this been ſuch a regular war as ſome of thoſe they waged before. But by the ſhort account and the few particulars given us of it, it ſeems rather to have been a tumultuous inſurrection at which

(2) *Juſt. Mart. apol.* xi. (3) *Baron. & al. ſup. citat.* (4) *Baſnag. lib.* viii. *c.* i. §. v.

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WE shall pass by two famous disputes which happened under the reign of *Antoninus*; the former between *Jason*, a converted *Jew*, and *Papiscus*, one of the synagogue; in which the former proves Christ to have been the Messiah, and the latter used very bitter imprecations against him. The few fragments we have left of that conference give us no great cause of regretting the loss of the rest. The other was between *Justin Martyr*, and the learned *Tryphon*, at *Ephesus*, whither the latter had been forced to flee, on account of the war which that prince then waged against the *Jews*, and where *Justin* met and had this conference with him, which is supposed upon good grounds to have happened about *A. C.* 155, or after the Emperor had restored the liberty of circumcision to the *Jews*. For before that time it is not probable *Tryphon* would so readily have acknowleged his religion from the very beginning of the conference (S).

Justin's dialogue with Tryphon.

THE reader may see by what we observ'd in the last note, that the *Jews* were so far from enjoying any degree of tranquility even under that prince, that they fared still worse under his successor, *M. Aurelius*, who had such an ill opinion of them, that, going thro' *Judea* into *Egypt*, he cried out, he had found there a people as wicked as the *Sarmatians* and *Marcomans* †. What increased his resentment, was their

The Jews ill treated by M. Aurelius.

† Pap. stat. Sylvar. l. iii.

the *Jews* were ever quick and ready; and their defeat might be no other than obliging them to lay down their arms, upon promise that they should have the grant they contended for, as they actually had.

(S) The *Jewish* writers mention a learned rabbi, named *Tarphon*, who flourished about this time, and whom *Lightfoot* supposes to be the person (5). If so, he doth not appear to have been a man of extraordinary learning, by his answers to his antagonist. However, we do not pretend to pass a judgment on either, which would be going out of our province. But what is more worth observing to our readers is what that father objects against the *Jews*, *viz.* that their cities were burnt and laid waste, and their country inhabited by strangers; that they were forbid still to come to *Jerusalem*, and could not with any safety abide in *Judea*. Notwithstanding all which, and the present misery they laboured under, they made no scruple to curse in their synagogues all that believed in *Jesus*, and, by their imprecations, to send them to hell as atheists and apostates (6).

(5) *Chron. temp. tom.* ii. *sect.* 5. *Vid. & Bartolc Bib. Rabb. tom.* i. *p.* 863.
(6) *Dialog. p.* 234. 257, *& seq.*

joining

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joining to *Vologeſes* King of the *Parthians*, againſt the *Romans*; and afterwards, with *Caſſius*, his general, who had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Emperor at the inſtigation of *Fauſtina*, *Aurelius*'s Empreſs [a]. For, tho' he forgave *Caſſius*'s friends, as will be ſeen in the ſequel, yet he renewed *Adrian*'s ſevere edicts againſt the *Jews*, and cauſed them to be put in execution againſt them (T).

THE laſt thing worth taking notice of under this century, is the riſe of ſome new ſects among the *Jews*, beſides thoſe which we have taken notice of as predominant in our Saviour's time [b], and mention'd by *Hegeſyppus* as ſtill rife in his, particularly the *Phariſees*, *Sadducees*, *Eſſenians*, and *Gaulonites*; which laſt preſerved ſtill their ſeditious ſpirit againſt all foreign government. The new ones, according to him, were the *Emerobaptiſts*, famed chiefly for their often waſhing in a day; and the *Maſbotheans*, who denied the Divine Providence, and attributed all events to chance (V): and *New ſects ſtart up among the* Jews.

[a] VULCATII CASSIUS, p. 40. [b] See before, vol. x. p. 241, & ſeq.

(T) This muſt be only underſtood of the nearer provinces; for as for thoſe more remote, eſpecially towards the eaſt, the edict was not ſo ſeverely executed; for there they diſplayed a more inveterate hatred againſt the Chriſtians; particularly at *Smyrna*, where they had a great hand in the martyrdom of biſhop *Polycarp*, and ſolicited the heathen judge not to deliver his dead body to the Chriſtians, leſt they ſhould worſhip him; upon which account it was ordered to be burnt to aſhes. The learned are divided about the time of this martyrdom; ſome placing it in *an.* 147, under *Antoninus* (7); and others with more probability, under *Aurelius*, about *an.* 166, on the 22d of *February*, which was an high ſabbath with them (8); but it is plain the *Jews* were every-where very inveterate againſt the Chriſtians; more eſpecially againſt thoſe who turn'd from *Judaiſm* to them; but we have no room to multiply inſtances of it (9).

(V) So that they ſeem rather to be the ſpawn of the Phariſees and Sadducees, tho' not known to the evangeliſts by theſe names. To theſe *Juſtin Martyr* adds three others, which he calls the *Geniſts*, *Meriſts*, and *Helleniſts*. The two former are inconſiderable; the former, according to him, laying a great merit in being deſcended from *Abraham*, the father of the faithful; and the latter differing from the reſt in their canon of ſcripture, out of which they excluded ſome of the prophets. The laſt therefore is the only one worth the reader's notice here.

(7) *Pearſon vid. & Dodwel Diſſert. ad Op. poſth. Pearſon, c.* 15. (8) *Norris Diſſert. in Epoch. Syro Maced. p.* 30. *Nicephor. &c.* (9) *Vid. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. v. c.* 16.

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some others, which the reader may see in the last note. But
That of the Helle-nists. the most considerable of all was that of the *Hellenists*, which began soon after the version of the *Septuagint*, of which an account hath been given in a former part *, and who had been so long dispersed among the *Greeks*, as to have adopted their language, and forgot the *Hebrew*. We observed there how these rejoiced at the first publication of the sacred books in that language, and from that time made use of no other; and on that account were despised by the rest of their brethren, who made use of the original (W). This open rupture is variously canvassed by the learned, some of whom pretend, that neither the *Septuagint*, nor any other version, was read in the synagogues [c]; others join the *Hellenists* and *Jews* in one and the same synagogue [d]; a third sort extol that, not only above all other versions, but even above the original [e]; and as such, justly preserved by the *Hellénists*, for its exactness and perspicuity. However that be, it were madness to deny that the *Greek Jews* were not allowed the use of it in their synagogues (X), as it was then the tongue most universally understood, and, perhaps, the only one which those *Hellenists* knew.

BUT

* Ancient Hist. vol. x. p. 239, & seq. [c] Vid. SALMAS. & Auct. ab eo citat. [d] OROS. Obser. in N. Test. p. 238, ap. BASNAG. ub. sup. [e] MORIN. Exercit. Bibl. p. 238. Voss. de LXX Interp.

(W) These upbraided them with reading the sacred scriptures after the *Egyptian* manner, or backwards; that is, from the left to the right, which they affirmed was contrary to the course of the sun, and as absurd as making that planet rise in the west and set in the east: in so much that they gave them the vilest language, and sometimes came to blows with them (10). However, it doth not appear that this hatred had displayed itself so soon as our Saviour's time; on the contrary, we find by the book of Acts that the *Hellenists* had a good number of synagogues, where they performed their service in *Greek*, and made use of the *Septuagint* version. Neither doth *Josephus*, or even *Philo*, who was a *Hellenist Jew*, mention any thing of their being then looked upon by the rest as a different sect from them, much less abased and persecuted for it; tho' their high regard for the original *Hebrew* did really inspire them with a contempt for those who could only read it in a foreign heathenish language.

(X) Even *Lightfoot* is obliged to acknowledge thus much, he pretends that they were deposited there merely to confute

(10) *Vid. Scal. Not. in Euseb.*

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BUT that which cauſed it to be afterwards ſo much cried down by the *Jews*, was the uſe which *Juſtin*, and other primitive Chriſtians, made of it againſt them, in which they ran into the oppoſite extreme, and condemned it as dangerous and pernicious, and this produced a fourfold effect. 1ſt, It rendered the *Helleniſts*, who ſtood up for it, odious to the reſt, who were from that time look'd upon as ſectaries and ſchiſmatics. 2dly, It gave riſe to the new verſions of *Aquila*, *Theodotion*, and *Symmachus*, formerly mentioned [f]; a farther account of which may be ſeen in the margin (Y). 3dly, The *Gemarriſts*, not being able to aboliſh the uſe of the *Greek* verſion, confined it to the *Pentateuch*; becauſe it had fewer of thoſe prophecies which were urged by the Chriſtians againſt them. And, 4thly, It put the *Helleniſts* upon invent-

Septuagint, *why cried down.*

New ones made.

[f] See Ancient Hiſt. vol. x. p. 243, & ſeq. & (N).

the objections which that heathen raiſed againſt the *Jewiſh* religion out of thoſe books. But that is ſaid without either proof or probability; and *Simon* the ſon of *Gamaliel*, who lived in *Titus*'s time, makes no ſcruple to declare that the law might be wrote and read in *Greek*; and another rabbi affirms, that he who reads it in any language he underſtands, is doing his duty.

(Y) The chief deſign of them was to deprive the Chriſtians of thoſe advantages which the *Septuagint* afforded them, and became in great vogue among all the diſperſed *Jews*. *Aquila*'s was the firſt, and was uſed by the greateſt part of the *Helleniſts*; tho' the *Thalmudiſts* failed not to find ſome great faults in it, in order to bring the people back to the original *Hebrew*; and ſome Chriſtians condemn'd it as done with an ill deſign; tho' they, and even St. *Jerom*, did afterwards make uſe of it, as more exact than the old one.

Theodotion, a heathen converted to Chriſtianity, undertook a ſecond; but, being afterwards brought over to *Judaiſm*, rather choſe to copy the *Septuagint* than to attempt a new one from the *Hebrew*; and hath followed it ſo cloſe, that *Origen* made uſe of it to fill up the chaſms which were found in his copy of the *Septuagint*; and the *Ebionites* and *Nazarites* among the Chriſtians preferred it to the others.

Symmachus made a third, which was eſteemed more clear and uſeful than any other; that author having a greater regard to the ſenſe than to the literal ſignification. But, as theſe three were calculated againſt the Chriſtians, and had ſuppreſſed ſome pregnant prophecies, particularly that of *Iſaiah*, *A virgin ſhall conceive*, &c. (11), the *Septuagint*, where it is ſtill found, was preferred above them †.

(11) *Iſai.* vii. 14. † *See Ancient Hiſt. vol.* x. *p.* 243, *& ſeq.*

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ing several miracles to raise the credit of their own (Z), whilst the *Jews*, to render it the more odious, trumped up a double fast, kept up in memory of it; of which, however, the *Talmud* makes no mention. This sect, therefore, as it is called by the latter, took its rise soon after the time of *Justin Martyr*, and not before. And thus much for the first and second century.

Jews *faithful to* Severus;

We read nothing worth notice concerning them till the revolt of *Pescennius Niger*, who, being proclaimed Emperor in *Syria*, in the beginningof *Severus*'s reign †, and having tried in vain to bring them over to his interest, proved a bitter enemy to them during his short-liv'd reign. Their firmness to the Emperor did not however meet with a suitable return from him; for we are told that he made war against them and the *Samaritans*, at his return from the *Parthian* war ‡; and that the senate, confounding what the father had done in *Syria*, and the son in *Judea*, order'd him a triumph over

† See Ancient Hist. vol. xv. p. 299, & seq.

‡ Euseb. Chron. sub an. 198.

(Z) Thus we are told by *Philo*, who was one of them, *(in Vit. Mos.)* that the 70 elders, who were employed in this version had been confined all the time, each in a separate apartment, and, that when the work was finished, and brought to the king seated on his throne, and examined before him, there was found such exact conformity between each other, as well as with the original, even to a letter, or point, that both he and the assembly were convinced that the Holy Ghost must have inspired them; and some ancient fathers have been so fully persuaded of it, particularly St. *Austin*, *Hillary*, and others, that where it differs, as it doth often, from the *Hebrew*, they have rather chosen to think both divinely inspired, and both in the right; tho' there be no visible way of reconciling them (12).

On the other hand, the *Hebraizing Jews* affirm (13), that the day on which that version was made, proved more fatal to their nation than that on which *Jeroboam* set up the golden calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*; and that the sky was covered with darkness three whole days, in memory of which they appointed a fast-day on the 8th of the month *Thebet*, answering to our *December*, to shew their abhorrence against those who had presumed to translate the sacred oracles into a strange and impure language,

(12) De his, vid. Clem. Alexand. stromat. l. i. *Just. Mart. exhort. ad Gent. & Dial. cont. Tryph. Iren. Epiphan. Chrysost. Homil.* iv. *August. de Doctr. Christ. l.* ii. *c.* 15. *& alib. Hil. in Psal.* cxxxi. *not.* 24. *& al.*

(13) Vid. Sepher. Taanith in Mens. Thebet & Scalig. Not. in Chron. Euseb. sub an. 133. *See also vol.* x. *p.* 240, *& seq. sub not.*

the

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the latter [h] (A). He likewiſe kept up the laws againſt their making proſelytes and going to *Jeruſalem*, tho' he allowed them the liberty of circumciſing their children during the firſt years of his reign [i]; but, at length, he grew more mild towards them, when he was appriſed of their fidelity to him; or, which perhaps was a more prevailing motive, as he was beyond meaſure covetous, when he come to know that they had many rich and conſiderable perſons among them who would be glad to buy his favour and protection upon his own terms. Accordingly we find them not only protected by him, but ſeveral of them raiſed to ſome high poſts; tho' he did not fail making them pay dear for the preference he ſhewed to them above the Chriſtians, whom he grievouſly perſecuted, by the heavy impoſts he laid on them [k]. There was one clauſe however very much in their favour, in that Emperor's decree, *viz.* the liberty of refuſing ſuch places and offices as were rather burthenſome than honourable, tho' they enjoyed by it all the privileges of *Roman* citizens; and this ſo puffed them up with pride and inſolence, eſpecially againſt the perſecuted Chriſtians, that *Tertullian*, who was then writing his *Apologetic*, loudly complains of it [l] (B).

and favour'd by him;

raiſed to high poſts

[h] SPARTIAN in Sever.
[i] Vid. TERTUL. Apologet. cap. 21.
[k] ULPIAN. in Sever.
[l] Apolog. ad Scapul.

(A) We are indeed told by *Abulpharage*, that on the very firſt year of *Severus*'s reign, the *Jews* waged a grievous war againſt the *Samaritans*, in which great numbers of both were ſlain (14). But, as no other author hath mentioned it, it is more likely that he only miſtook ſome ſkirmiſhes, which *Claudius*, a captain of *Jewiſh* banditti had had with thoſe *Samaritans*; for he was grown ſo bold as to ſurpriſe the emperor, and to ſalute him at the head of his own free booters, as if he had been one of the tribunes of his army; and then fled away with them ſo far that he could not be found. And this might be, very likely, what gave occaſion to that triumph, ſeeing they had ſtood ſo firm for him againſt his competitor.

(B) He mentions, among other things, a *Jew* going along the ſtreets of *Carthage*, and carrying the picture of a man in a long robe with aſs's ears, and a book in his hand with this inſcription, the *God of the Chriſtians*; which we chiefly mention, becauſe it ſhews that the *Jews* had by that time ſpread themſelves from *Egypt* into thoſe farther parts of *Afric*, and how inſolent they were grown under the favour of that emperor.

(14) *Abulpharag. Dynaſt. p.* 79.

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under Caracalla.

It is very probable that they enjoyed the ſame privileges under his ſon *Caracalla*; at leaſt we do not find any thing to the contrary; and as that Emperor, bad as he proved afterwards, had been brought up with one of them, for whom he expreſſed an uncommon affection (C), it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that he ſtill retained ſo much kindneſs for them, as to leave them in poſſeſſion of thoſe franchiſes which his father had granted to them; and, that they made uſe of that quiet interval, in making their collection of traditions both *Jewiſh* and *Helleniſt*, which were by this time grown very numerous, and the teachers and writers of both not a few. Among the latter were the *Pſeudo-Eſdras*, the author of the additions to the book of *Daniel*; thoſe of the hiſtories of *Tobith* and *Judith*, of the book of *Enoch*, the aſſumption of *Moſes*, and ſome others of the ſame apocryphal kind, concerning which, and the moſt probable time of their being wrote, the reader may conſult the authors mentioned in the margin [m].

Apocryphal books wrote about this time.

Jochanan compiles the Thalmud.

In this century flouriſhed the famed *R. Jochanan*, the great diſciple of *Judah Hakkadoſh*, chief of the *Amoraijm*, or commentators on the *Miſhnah*, and compiler of the *Jeruſalem Thalmud*. The time is variouſly conjectured by the learned; the moſt probable ſuppoſition is, that he was born about the latter end of the 2d century, or *A. C.* 184, or 185. Some writers pretend that he was choſen chief of the academy of *Tiberias* in the 15th year of his age [n]; which is improbable, and contrary to the practice of the *Jews*; becauſe his maſter was ſtill alive, and *R. Chanina*, whom he appointed his ſucceſſor, is affirmed by the *Jewiſh* chronologiſts to have enjoyed that dignity about ten years more: ſo that the ſooneſt that he can be ſuppoſed to have mounted the chair, is about *an.* 225, and about the 40th of his age; by which time he had ſpace and opportunity ſufficient to finiſh his ſtudies under thoſe two maſters, in order to

[m] Fabric. Apocr. V. Teſt. Bartoloc. Dodwel. de Cycl. Diſſert. ix. Prid. Calmet. Basnag. & al. [n] Vid. Bartoloc. ub. ſup.

(C) This *Jewiſh* boy, who had been brought up at court, and was *Caracalla*'s play-fellow, who was then about ſeven years of age, having been ordered by the emperor to be whipt for ſome miſdemeanor, that young prince, we are told, not only ſhed tears over him, but was ſo concerned for him that he could not ſee his father for ſeveral days (15).

(15) *Spartian. in Caracal.*

fit

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fit himſelf for his great work; in which he was aſſiſted by two other learned rabbies, *viz.* *R. Samuel*, and *Rab* or *Rau*, who had likewiſe been diſciples of his two maſters, *Judah the Saint*, and *R. Chanina*. This famed piece, commonly known by the name of the *Hieroſolymitan Thalmud*, together with the occaſion of its being written, and other particulars relating to it, the reader will find an account of in the margin (D).

R. JO-

(D) The word *Thalmud*, ſignifies *Doctrine*, and is emphatically given to this work, as being a compleat ſyſtem or body of it, or of the religion and morals of the *Jews*. They have two of that name and import, *viz.* this of *Jeruſalem*, which is the ſhorteſt and more obſcure of the two; as likewiſe the more ancient by near one century; and that of *Babylon*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. It is properly a comment upon the *Miſhnah* of *Judah Hakkadoſh*; and the occaſion of its writing was as follows:

Judah had ſcarce finiſhed his own work, before he had the mortification to ſee a collection of traditions quite different from his, publiſhed under his noſe by one Rabbi *Chua*, with the *Chaldee* title of *Bara-Zijethoth*, or *Extravagants*, which was afterwards inſerted in the *Miſhnah*, in order to make that piece more compleat. It had, indeed, two conſiderable defects, *viz.* 1ſt, It only collected the various traditions and ſentiments of the *Jewiſh* doctors, without enquiring which of them was moſt to be preferred; which confirm the conjecture, that *Judah* had only collected what he found ready written to his hand. And, 2dly, It was ſo conciſe as to be in ſome meaſure uſeleſs, becauſe it reached but to few doubtful caſes, in compariſon of the many queſtions that began by this time to be in vogue among the *Jews*. To remedy theſe defects it was that thoſe three great men wrote this comment upon it, which being compiled in *Judea*, and for the *Jews* that lived in thoſe parts, as well as in the *Hebrew* then in uſe, was ſtiled the *Gemarrah*, or *Perfection*; and this and the *Miſhnah* together made that which is called the *Thalmud* of *Jeruſalem*.

Neither *Jews* nor Chriſtians are agreed about the time of its being finiſhed; ſome placing it about 150, others about 200, and *Buxtorf* 230 years after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* (16); that is, about the 300th year of Chriſt. Its mentioning the emperor *Dioclefian*, ſhews that it muſt have been compiled in or after the reign of that emperor; but *Morinus* is of opinion, from ſeveral barbarous terms he has obſerved in it, which are of *Vandalic* or *Gothic* extract, that it did not appear till the 5th century (17). Thus much for the *Jeruſalem*

(16) *Recenſio Op. Thalmud. p.* 200.

(17) *Exercit. Bibl. l.* ii. *Exercit*, 6.

Thalmud;

R. R. Aſe, and Ame, disciples of Jochanan, A.C. 279.

R. JOCHANAN is ſaid by the *Jewiſh* writers to have lived 95 years, and left two famed diſciples, *viz. R. Aſe*, mentioned in the laſt note, and the compiler of the *Babyloniſh Thalmud*, and *R. Ame*, who boaſted to have written 400 books;

Thalmud; which, being ſtill found not only too ſuccinct, on account of the ſmall number of caſes and quotations from the *Jewiſh* doctors, as well as too obſcure, by reaſon of the barbarous terms it had borrowed from other nations, gave birth to the *Babyloniſh* one, of which we are now going to ſpeak.

This laſt was compiled by Rabbi *Aſe*, a very learned diſciple of the great *Jochanan*, but who left the academy of *Tiberias*, and went to preſide at that of *Sora*, near *Babylon*, where he continued in that dignity about 40 years, during which he compiled his *Gemarrah*, or comment upon the *Miſhnah* of *Judah* the ſaint; and from the place where he wrote it, it came to be ſtiled the *Babyloniſh Thalmud*, or, more probably perhaps, becauſe it was done for the uſe of the *Babyloniſh*, or the *Jews* on the other ſide of the *Euphrates*. *Aſe* did not live to finiſh it; but this was done by his ſons; and ſome of his diſciples gave the concluding hand to it; ſo that it became a vaſt body or collection of traditions, concerning the canon laws of the *Jews*, and of all the queſtions relating to the *Jewiſh* law, wherein the *Miſhnah* is the text, and the *Gemarrah* the comment upon it.

The *Jews* in general prefer this *Babyloniſh Thalmud*, on account of its clearneſs and fulneſs, much above that of *Jeruſalem*; and tho' it is ſtuffed with ridiculous fables and ſtories, yet they will not ſuffer any one to call it in queſtion without the cenſure of hereſy. Inſomuch that they even give this book the preference to the ſacred ones; for theſe they compare to water, the *Miſhnah* to wine, and the *Gemarrah* to the choiceſt wine †. They own all three to be equally of divine authority; but the laſt to be preferable in point of clearneſs, and without the help of which the former is but as a dead letter. We ſhall diſpenſe with giving a farther account of that voluminous work, and only obſerve that the learned *Maimonides* hath given us an excellent abridgement of it, in which he hath thrown out all that was puerile and ridiculous, and confined himſelf to the collection of the moſt material caſes and deciſions that are contained in it. This epitome, which he ſtiles *Yad Khazacbah*, or *Stronghand*, is therefore much preferable to the *Thalmud* itſelf, as being one of the moſt compleat bodies of the *Jewiſh* laws that ever was wrote; not ſo much on account of the dignity and importance of the ſubject, as of the clearneſs of

† See *Ancient Hiſt. vol.* iii. *p.* 5. *ſub fin.*

the

400 books; by which is not meant that he either was the author,

the ſtyle, and the beautiful order in which he hath ranged them. As to the *Babyloniſh Thalmud*, there is as much difference of opinions about the time in which it was finiſhed, as about that of *Jeruſalem*. The *Jews* have greatly antedated it, as they do moſt of their own books; and the Chriſtians were ſo little acquainted with it before St. *Jerom*'s time, that we can come at nó certainty from either. *Morinus* hath given it the lateſt date of any writer, and offered ſeveral very probable reaſons for his opinion, that it was not finiſhed till the year 700 (18). But as it would be, doubtleſs, out of our province, as well as ſwell this note to too great a bulk, were we to enter into a farther detail of this matter, we ſhall content ourſelves with referring ſuch of our readers as are curious about that point, to the authors quoted in the margin for a farther account of it (19).

No leſs is the difference of opinions concerning the book itſelf. We have ſeen what eſteem the *Jews* have for it; ſome Chriſtians come very little ſhort of them, who, not content to look upon it as an inexhauſtible mine of divine treaſures, (from the ſearch of which, nothing but the moſt carnal indolence, or too worldly pride and ſelf-ſufficiency, deters the learned) go even ſo far as to inſinuate, that there is nothing grand or ſublime in the ſayings of Chriſt or his apoſtles but what they fetched from that divine fountain; inſomuch that they will even affirm, that not only the fineſt parables and allegories of the goſpel, but even the Lord's prayer, are taken from the *Thalmud*. If you aſk them how they could have theſe from a book publiſhed ſo long after their time? they will anſwer, that they were conveyed by tradition from one doctor to another, and taught in their ſchools many years before, tho' not committed to writing till then †.

On the other hand, one meets with a quite different ſort of men, who, running into the oppoſite extreme, condemn the book as deteſtable and dangerous, fit only to be flung into the flames. But thoſe paſs the more equitable judgment, who, without exaggerating its authority, can yet make uſe of it in order to explain the ſacred writings, and the ancient rites and religious ceremonies of the *Jews*: and this is what we have endeavoured to do in ſeveral parts of this work, as far as we could find it of any ſervice; and, as we have reaſon to hope, to very

(18) *Exercit. Bibl. ub. ſup. cap.* 2, *& ſeq. Serrar. de Rabbin. l.* i. *c.* 9. *Bartoloc. ub. jup. tom.* i. *p.* 448. iii. 359. *Trigland. Diſſert. de Caraitiſ. p.* 17 *&* 35. *Hornbeck cont. Jud. lib.* i. *Baſnag. ub. ſup. l.* iii. *c.* 6. *Calmet. ſub voc Prid. Connect. part.* ii. *lib.* viii. (19) *Vid. int. al. Lightfoot in Matth.* xx. *Reland Annalect. Rabbin. ultra Traject. an.* 1702. *Seringham Præf. in Cod. joma Thalmud. Bezs. in Matth.* v. *c.* 9, *& ſeq. Morin. Prid. Calmet. & al. ſup. citat.* † *Vid. eoſd. ibid.*

good

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author, or even transcriber, of so many volumes; but only that

good purpose, and to the satisfaction of such of our readers who have not suffered themselves to be carried away into either extreme †. However, as we have taken upon us to observe, that it is fraught with many absurd and puerile notions we shall now close this note with a few instances of it to serve our readers as a specimen of the rest.

Nothing can be more absurd, and even impious, than what they tell us of the Deity's passing his time away before the creation, in making and annihilating of a number of worlds, by way of essay, till he had found out the way of making one to his mind, which is that we live in: his creating of the two monsters of *Henoc* and *Leviathan* on the fifth day, the former of whom was sent to range on the earth, and hath the grass of a thousand mountains to supply him with food; and the other confined to the sea till the day of Judgment, when it is to be killed, to make a feast for all the elect: his creating the male and female *Behemoth*, and killing and salting the latter for the same banquet: *Adam* having being created an hermaphrodite, and trying in vain to assuage his lust with all the other animals, and fixing at length upon *Eve*. These, and many more of the like nature, which a modest *Jew* one would think must be ashamed of, are yet swallowed down by the vulgar; whilst some of the more sensible of them pretend that those stories are allegorical, and contain such sublime mysteries as none but their greatest saints can be able or fit to attain.

What can be more childish, as well as prophane, than the story of the sly rabbi, who is there reported to have cheated God and the devil, by praying to the latter to carry him up to the gate of heaven, when, having once beheld the glory of the place, and happiness of the saints, he might die more easy and quiet; and having obtained his request, and found it luckily opened, gave himself a spring, and jumped into it, and swore by its great God, that he would never come out of it; where by God was obliged to let him stay there rather than make him forswear himself.

Many of the rabbinic decisions are also found there no less ludicrous and absurd; as when it introduces two women disputing in the synagogues, about the use which a husband may lawfully make of them; and the rabbies answer positively that he may safely use them as he pleases; and for this reason, that as a man that buys a fish may eat either the fore or hind part, as he likes best, so, *&c.* They are sometimes contradictory to each other; as when, instead of endeavouring to reconcile or remove the manifest opposition, they make a voice from heaven do it, by pronouncing both decisions

† *Vid. int. al. vol.* iii. *p.* 12 & 13. *sub. not.*

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that he copied ſome ſentences out of each: for we are told, that even the tranſcribing of a ſentence out of *Deuteronomy*, v. 9. doth entitle one to the title of having wrote that book °. Both thoſe diſciples received the impoſition of hands from their maſter, and both were chiefs of the academy of *Tiberias*, to the great mortification of one of their ſchool-fellows, named *Sceman Bar-Abba*, who almoſt broke his heart for not being raiſed to that dignity.

° Bartoloc. tom. iii. p. 673.

right. We ſhall paſs by ſome of thoſe which are chiefly levelled againſt Chriſtians, which not only oblige the *Jews* to curſe them in their prayers, morning and night, but encourage the greateſt inhumanities againſt them. It is indeed to be hoped that thoſe who are living under the protection of our mild government, will look upon themſelves as leſs bound to ſuch uncharitable precepts, and we may ſay, in ſome meaſure, ſo contrary to the *Moſaic* law; but how much the authority of the *Thalmud* is to be preferred to that, may appear from the following ſtory taken out of it, and with which we ſhall cloſe this note. It is as follows:

A certain heatheniſh king, named *Pirgandicus*, having invited eleven of the moſt celebrated *Jewiſh* doctors to ſup with him, and received them with a ſuitable magnificence, put it to their choice whether they would feed upon ſome ſwine's fleſh, or have carnal converſation with pagan women, or to drink wine that had been offered to idols; after mature deliberation, they choſe the laſt, as being only forbidden by their doctors; whereas the two former were ſo by the law. Accordingly the king obliged them with ſome excellent wine, conſecrated to the gods, of which they drank very freely. The table, which ſtood upon a hinge, being turned about, and covered with ſwine's fleſh, they fell to it without further enquiry; and, after a full meal, being alſo well heated with wine, they were conducted to bed, where they found ſuch handſome women as they were not proof againſt; and it was not till after a ſound ſleep that they became ſenſible of their gradual violation of the law, in that threefold manner. As a puniſhment for it they died all within the year, and of a ſudden death, for having tranſgreſſed the precepts of their doctors; thinking that they might more ſafely do it than break the written law. And accordingly the *Miſhnah* pronounces them more guilty who tranſgreſs the words of their wiſe men, than thoſe who tranſgreſs the words of the written law (20). And *R. Eleazer*, being queſtioned by his diſciples upon his death bed about the ſureſt way to life, anſwered,

(20) *Tract. Sanhedr. c. x. n. 3. tom. iv. p. 25.*

Turn

Jews in danger under Heliogabalus;

HITHERTO the *Jews* had lived in peace and happiness, but were like to have suffered a most dreadful persecution in the reign of *Heliogabalus*. That whimsical prince, it seems, caused himself to be circumcised, and abstained from swines flesh, out of devotion to his gods; and this he had probably learned from some *Jews*, in whose neighbourhood he had been brought up, and with whom his family, particularly his aunt *Mammea*, was very intimate. All this, however, could not have saved them from his fury, had he not been assassinated by his soldiers, before he could bring his mad project about, of making his god *Heliogabalus*, as *Lampridius* tells us he designed to have done, the only object of men's worship all over his Empire; for the *Jews* would have suffered the severest persecutions rather than have joined in it. But this danger was soon over, and they began again to feel the effects of peace under the empire of his successor.

In high favour with Alexander Severus.

THE mild disposition of *Alexander Severus*, joined to the prejudices he had imbibed in his youth, in favour of that nation and of their religion (E), made him shew so much favour towards them, that the then wits used to give him the title of *Archisynagogue* of *Syria*. He was no less an admirer of the Christians, and imitated the method of both, of

Turn away your children from the study of the written law, and let them listen to the words of the wise men; that is, to the *Thalmud*. The reason they give is no less singular; for, say they, the prophets and inspired writers were obliged to prove their doctrine by miracles; whereas the wise men have no need of such proofs, God having enjoined his people (*Deut.* xvii. v. 10. *et seq.*) to do according to that which they shall shew them, and to act acccording to all they shall injoin them, *&c.* and for this reason it is another maxim of the *Thalmud*, that there can be no peace of conscience for those who forsake the study of it, for that of the sacred writings. And thus much shall suffice to give our *English* readers a notion of the nature of the two *Thalmuds*, and of their authority among the *Jews*.

(E) That prince had received such a strong tincture of *Judaism* from his mother *Mammea*, that tho' he never forsook the worship of the heathen gods, yet he had adopted into their number *Abraham*, the father of the faithful and patriarch of the *Jews*, and would have done the same by Jesus Christ. This, indeed, was a strange medley of religion, and seems to have been a kind of refinement on *Heliogabalus*'s wild project, only with this difference, that *Severus* forbore all kind of violence, and strove to promote it by mild and gentle means. As to the title of *Syrian Archi-synagogue*, it was given him as being a native of that province, and on account of his singular favour to the *Jews* *.

* *See Ancient Hist. vol.* XV. *p.* 358, & (N).

proclaiming,

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proclaiming the names of thoſe officers whom he ſet over his provinces, as thoſe did by their chiefs and biſhops, to the end that thoſe under them might have it in their power to accuſe them, when their behaviour deſerved it. He was no leſs fond of the negative maxim common to Chriſtians and *Jews*, which he often repeated, of not doing that to others which we would not have done to ourſelves: but he ſeems to have been ignorant of that poſitive and more excellent one, peculiar to Chriſt and his diſciples, *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye alſo unto them*, or elſe it is not to be doubted but he would have given it the preference.

Peaceable under his ſucceſſors.

His ſucceſſors ſuffered the *Jews* to live in peace and full liberty, particularly *Philip*, who, being born in *Arabia*, had been converſant with, and was a great favourer of them, as well as of the Chriſtians, and, in whoſe time the famed St. *Cyprian* wrote his treatiſe of Teſtimonies, in which he mentions a vaſt number of prophecies which were fulfilled in *Jeſus Chriſt*. Among the *Jews* flouriſhed the famed *R. Sceſciah*, who, tho' blind, became famed for his learning, and held ſeveral diſputes againſt the Chriſtians, and particularly oppoſed their praying towards the Eaſt. They attribute two works to him; one a cabaliſtical expoſition of the *Sephiroth*, the manuſcript of which was kept in the library of *Heidelberg*; and the other a *Targum*, or paraphraſe on the ſacred books [P]. As *Decius* raiſed a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, out of ſpleen to *Philip* who had protected them, ſome have thought that the *Jews* bore a ſhare in it; but, as the difference between the Chriſtians and the *Jews* was better known by this time than it had been formerly, it is more likely theſe eſcaped it. That which raged afterwards in *Valerian*'s reign againſt the Chriſtians, hath been thought by ſome to have been in a great meaſure owing to the *Jews*; and *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* tells us, that that prince was ſtirred up to it by the archiſynagogue of *Egypt*. But it is probable that our author hath given that title to the chief of the magicians, out of hatred to the *Jews*; for it was really an *Egyptian* magician that induced him to it, and it doth not appear that the *Jews* had any hand in it.

Learned rabbies in this century.

Eaſtern Jews, their ſtate.

We have now gone thro' the hiſtory of the weſtern *Jews* during the three firſt centuries, it is now time to paſs over the *Euphrates*, and give ſome account of the eaſtern ones; of their princes or chiefs; of their captivity; their aca-

[P] Saghi Nahor ap. Bartoloc. Bibl. Rabb.

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demies, and moſt celebrated doctors in them; and ſuch other tranſactions relating to them as we think worth our reader's notice. And this place is ſo much the more proper to begin their hiſtory in, becauſe it is in the third century, and not before, that theſe chiefs and doctors began to make a figure, and to found their moſt celebrated academies; we therefore think, for the reaſons hinted in the margin (F), that this new dignity did not introduce itſelf in

Chiefs of the captivity.

(F) We have already ſhewn ſhewn how fond the *Jewiſh* writers are of giving the preference to theſe *Babyloniſh* chiefs, above the patriarchs of *Tiberias*, on account of their being of the royal blood of *David*, and the perſons to whom the title to the *Jewiſh* ſcepter belonged. In conſequence of which, their leſſer chronicle, or *Seder Holam Zeathu*, hath given us a liſt, or ſeries of them from king *Jeconiah*, who was carried away captive into *Babylon* by *Nebuchadnezzar* †, and was afterwards releaſed out of his priſon by *Evil Merodach* his ſon, in the firſt year of his reign, and ſet above the reſt of the captive kings (21). To him that chronicle gives nine ſucceſſors, *viz.* 1. *Salathiel* his ſon, under *Bel Shazar*. 2. *Zorobabel* his ſon, who brought back that captivity under *Cyrus* *. 3. *Meſhullam* his ſon, under whom prophecy ceaſed, and who died in the time of *Alexander the Great*. 4 *Hananiah*, under the reign of *Salmon*, *Alaſcan*, and *Maparis*, kings of the *Greeks* (ſo they call *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Lagus*, *Seleucus*, and *Caſſander*). He died, according to them, *an.* 140 of the æra of the *Seleucidæ*. 5. His ſon *Barachiah*, under that *Ptolemy*, who cauſed the ſcriptures to be tranſlated into *Greek*, who died 170 of the ſame æra. 6. His ſon *Haſadia*, *an.* 175, when *Nicanor* was defeated by the *Jews*. 7. *Iſaiah* his ſon. 8. *Abdiah* his ſon, who died in *Herod*'s reign; and *Shamaja* his ſon, who makes up the 10th generation of the royal line ſince *David*. From this they give us a regular ſeries of 31 more, beginning at *Shechaniah* his ſon, who died *an.* 160, after the deſtruction of Temple, or 236 of Chriſt, down to *Azariah*, the brother of *Jacob Phineas*, the 41ſt and laſt of thoſe chiefs, who made up accordingly to that chronologiſt, the 80th generation. We ſhall not trouble our readers with a liſt of them, which is palpably faulty in many reſpects, and hath little elſe, except their bare names, and here and there ſome ſynchroniſm; of which we ſhall give an account in the ſequel; and now and then one of thoſe new chiefs who choſe to be buried in *Judea*.

But were this liſt ever ſo authentic, with relation to the regular ſucceſſion of thoſe families, yet, with reſpect to their power, dignity, or figure, the *Jews* don't pretend to it, know-

† *See Anc. Hiſt. vol.* iv. *p.* 185, *& ſeq.* (21) 2 *King. c. ult. v.* 27, *& ſeq.*
* *See Anc. Hiſt. vol.* x. *p.* 178, *& ſeq. & not.* (C).

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in *Babylon* till the time of *Huna*, the son of *Nathan*, there mentioned,

ing well enough that many of those to whom they gave the pompous titles of *Nassi*, *Prince*, *Rosh*, *Chief*, and others of the like nature, lived in the utmost indigence; especially during their slavish subjection to the *Parthians*, *Romans*, &c. and bore those titles more on account of their merit, either for learning and sanctity, than on that of their figure or authority.

But what farther confirms that this dignity did not begin till the epoch which we mentioned, is, that *Josephus*, who wrote under the emperor *Trajan*, hath never once spoken of it; and that *Justin Martyr*, who is still later, objects against his antagonist *Trypho*, that his nation had neither king nor chief. Is it probable the latter would have let him triumph over him thus if the case had been otherwise? and would he not have retorted to him this succession of chiefs, if he had known of any such being still preserved? We may add, that those chiefs above-mentioned are only known by their names, except *R. Nathan*, who is there said to have come from *Babylon* into *Judea* in the patriarchate of *Simon*, the father of *Judah* the saint, and became celebrated there, not only on account of his being chosen *Ab-Beth-Din*, at *Tiberias* (22), but likewise for some works he published there. But is it probable that he would have exchanged his dignity of chief, or prince of the captivity at *Babylon*, if he had been in possession of any such, for that of second in the *Jewish Sanhedrin*; and at a time when *Palestine* was ruin'd by the wars that had raged in it, and by the avarice of *Domitian*? Had his dignity and authority been so high at *Babylon*, is it likely he would have come so far to be chosen to one so inferior to it at *Tiberias*. But, by what appears, his father was chiefly distinguished in the former, for the immense, riches and credit, which he had acquired at the court of the *Parthian* kings; on which account the *Jews*, according to their constant custom, had given him some pompous title. *Nathan*, therefore, seems rather to have come to *Tiberias* in search of learning, and some honourable employment, which he had not before, to add new merit to his wealth; and, having stayed there a considerable time, upon his return to *Babylon*, he resolved to set up some dignity there also, answerable to the patriarchate of *Judea*. What confirms it is, that he lived very long, seeing he is numbered among the *Thalmudists*, or commentators on the *Mishnah*; which shews that he cannot be well supposed to have come to *Tiberias* till after the conclusion of the war, lately mentioned under the emperor *Adrian*, or about the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. However, after his return home, the wars between the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, under the

(22) *De hoc. vid. Anc. Hist. vol.* x. *p.* 245, *& seq.* (T). *Vid. Basnag. ub. sup. l.* viii. *c.* 3.

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mentioned, who was cotemporary with *Judah* the ſaint, and flouriſhed about the year 220, or, at the earlieſt, under his father, about the beginning of the third century; and then their authority could be but ſmall, conſidering the ſlavery under which the *Jews* groaned from the *Parthians*, *Romans*, and other tyrants, whatever titles they might beſtow on them to raiſe the credit of their nation.

When firſt begun. WE need not repeat what hath been ſaid in other parts of this hiſtory concerning theſe wars, and the triumph of *Severus* over *Artaxerxes*, the famed reſtorer of the *Perſian* monarchy †. This laſt died about *an.* 244, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Sapor*, from whom that new ſucceſſion took their name *. Both of them became great favourers of the *Jews*, and ſhewed an extraordinary eſteem for their rabbies; and it is under them that we find the celebrated *Samuel Jarchi*, or the Lunatic (G), not only honoured with the title of *Naſſi* or Prince, but likewiſe with the names of thoſe two monarchs, being firſt ſirnamed *Ariochus*, or *Artaxerxes*, and, after his death, *Sapor*, the name of his ſon, to ſhew the high degree of authority they had gained at that new court. This great man, as we formerly hinted, came from *Judea* hither; and, among his other dignities, had that of Counſellor of *Huna*, the chief of the Captivity P. He is ſaid to have died *an.* 250, and to have been ſucceeded by *R. Ada*, who perfected the reformation which he had left defective. The other doctors that flouriſhed in this

Favoured by the Perſians.

Learned men there.

† See Anc. Hiſt. vol. xi. p. 363, & ſeq. * Ibid. p 403, & ſeq. vol. xv. p. 70, & ſeq. P. GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 113. BARTOLOC. ub. ſup. tom. iv. p. 388. Vid. BASNAG. ub. ſup.

emperors *M. Aurelius* and *Severus*, having reduced that country to the greateſt extremity, towards the cloſe of the ſecond century, it is not likely that this new dignity could be introduced there till matters had taken a more favourable turn, that is, under *Hunah* his ſon, who is therefore ſuppoſed the firſt chief of the captivity (23).

(G) So called from his great ſkill in aſtronomy; ſome tables of which he is ſaid to have calculated, which are ſtill preſerved in the *Vatican* library (†). He was moreover well verſed in the *Jewiſh* laws, and was preſident of the famed academy of *Nahardea*, where he became famous for his aſtronomical and other lectures; and particularly, as we have lately hinted, for the improvements he made of *Hillel*'s reformation of the calender.

(23) *Vid. Bartoloc. Baſnag.* (†) *Id. ibid. lib.* viii. *c.* 3.

century,

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century, and raiſed the fame of that univerſity under *Huna*, the reader may ſee in the margin (H).

But their felicity ſoon proved the prelude of a violent perſecution under *Sapor*, the ſecond *Perſian* monarch of this race. That prince, who loved to converſe and often diſpute with them, having one day queſtioned them about their cuſtom of burying the dead, and inſiſted upon their producing ſome expreſs and deciſive text in their law for it, received ſuch an illuſory anſwer, that, from a favourer, he

(H) *Rabbi Jehudah*, the ſon of *Eliezer*, raiſed himſelf by his great learning; inſomuch that we find ſeveral of his deciſions in the *Babyloniſh Thalmud*; tho', in moſt of them, he betrays his averſion to the heathen and ſtrangers. Some have miſplaced him in the univerſity of *Pundebita*, which was as yet unfounded. He had a ſucceſſor named *Nachman*, who filled the chair with no leſs reputation; and, in general, the profeſſors of *Nahardea* are ſaid to have excelled thoſe of *Sora*, its rival; only theſe latter were more in favour with the prince of the captivity.

Among theſe we may, however, put in the firſt rank the famed *R. Abba Aricka*, who was emphatically ſtiled רב *Rab*, or *Rau*, or *the Great*, and is chiefly known and quoted by that title. Both he and *Samuel Jarchi* had ſpent ſome time in *Judea*, and ſtudied under *Judah* the ſaint; but, after the death of their maſter, they both returned and ſettled, the former at *Sora*, and the latter at *Nahardea*. *Rab* was ſo well beloved by one of the *Babyloniſh* princes, named *Adarchan*, that he uſed to aſſiſt at his lectures, and at length cauſed himſelf to be circumciſed about *A. C.* 243. He wrote, they ſay, a comment on the book of *Ruth*, and ſome other pieces, and was of opinion that the *Romans* would be maſters of the whole world nine months before the coming of the Meſſiah.

He was ſucceeded in the chair of *Sora* by *Huna*, a relation of the prince of that name, and was ſo proud of his affinity to him, that he is the firſt who took upon him the title of *Prince of the Academy*, or ראש ישובה *Roſh Jeſhubah*. He had 160 volumes of the law; one of which was found פסול *paſſul*, or *illegal*, merely becauſe it was as broad as long; which we chiefly mention to give our readers a taſte of the doctors, and learning of thoſe times.

We ſhall only add one more learned, *viz. R. Cohanah*, of the prieſtly order, as his name imports, and of the family of *Eli*, the high-prieſt; tho' that is by ſome called in queſtion. He had likewiſe ſtudied at *Tiberias* under *R. Jochanan* and the patriarch *Samuel*; and indeed it was then a common cuſtom ſo to do; inſomuch that a man was not eſteemed learned, unleſs he had ſtudied ſome time in that academy. All this is a proof that the *Jews* not only lived peaceably, but were in high favour with the then *Perſian* monarch.

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became a furious perſecutor of them (I). But how far the evidence on which this fact is founded is to be relied on, the reader may judge from what we have ſaid in the laſt note. However, it is plain from the famed inſcription ingraved on *Gordian*'s tomb, which *Capitolinus* tells us was written in the *Perſic* and *Hebrew* characters, that it might be read by all the world [q], that there were ſtill great numbers of the *Jews* in *Perſia*, and conſiderable enough to be thought worthy of reading that Emperor's praiſes in their own language. *Sapor* is ſaid to have reigned from *A. C.* 241 to 272: and how unſucceſsful he was in his wars, not only againſt the *Romans*, but eſpecially againſt the great *Odenatus*, and his celebrated queen *Zenobia*, hath been ſeen in a former part [r]; and it was under that glorious princeſs that the *Jews*

Ab A. C. 260, ad an 272.

[q] In GORDIAN. p. 165, & ſeq. & ſeq. Vol. xv. p. 441, & ſeq.

[r] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. xi. p. 71,

(I) They tell us that one of the doctors not being able to produce a command for it, another more ſubtile than he pleaded cuſtom and example; to which *Sapor* retorted that of *Moſes*, who was not buried: to this they replied, that the *Iſraelites* mourned for him (24), which did not ſatisfy him. But, if we may believe a certain chronicle, ſaid to have been tranſmitted from *Perſia* into *Spain* (25), he was forced to this violence by his ſubjects, who could not brook the eſteem he ſhewed to the *Jews*, and were ready to mutiny againſt him. So that he was obliged to impriſon three of their principals, whom he tried in vain, by dint of ſcourging, to force into an abjuration of their religion. Provoked at their conſtancy, he cauſed all the princes of that nation to be impriſoned, and ſo ill treated and macerated, that they had nothing left but ſkin and bones. From that time the *Perſians* became ſo unfortunate in all their wars, eſpecially with the *Arabs*, who ſubdued and led them away captive, that they acknowledged at length that their cruelty to the *Jews* brought all theſe evils upon them as a juſt puniſhment; on which account they granted them full liberty of conſcience, whilſt the *Arabian* princes, who looked upon that perſecution as cruel and unjuſt, had courted great numbers of them into their dominions, where they were protected and careſſed.

The chronicle above named, which alone mentions all theſe particulars, is much called in queſtion by the learned; tho', if by the *Arabians* there mentioned, we underſtand their neighbours the *Palmyrenians* and the *Saracens*, under the famed *Odenatus*, it is plain that they reduced the *Perſians* to great extremities, at the ſame time that they highly favoured the *Jews*.

(24) *Deut. c. ult. v. 8.* (25) *Ex Gemar. tract. Sanhedr. Solom. Ben. virg. & ſ...*

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made the moſt conſiderable figure all the time of her reign, and in every part of her dominions, which, as we there obſerved, were of very great extent.

She had been brought up in their religion, and was a zealous profeſſor of it. Both ſhe and her huſband were become ſo ſucceſsful and powerful over thoſe eaſtern tracts, they carried all before them; ſo that there is no room to doubt of the *Jews* making the moſt of the favour and protection of two ſuch powerful friends. She, in particular, is recorded to have built them a great number of ſtately ſynagogues, and to have raiſed them to the higheſt dignities. Her ſad fate, however, ſoon put an end to all her glory and their happineſs, unleſs we will ſuppoſe, that her ſon *Vaballat*, who ſucceeded her in ſome part of her old dominions, was of the ſame religion with her, and ſhewed the ſame favour and encouragement to them; tho' even in this caſe, which is not altogether certain, all he could do for them muſt come vaſtly ſhort of what his mother had done. After the fall of that great heroine, the *Jews* retired from her conquered dominions into ſeveral cities of *Perſia*, where they were likely to live more quietly, and where there ſtill flouriſhed ſeveral of their learned men, ſome of them chiefly famed for the moſt puerile actions; ſuch as that of the celebrated *Chija*, who flung himſelf into a ſmoaking oven or furnace to ſubdue his luſt, after he had tried in vain variety of other means. The noble academy of *Nahardea* having undergone the ſame fate with that city, that of *Sora* became the moſt populous and famed for its great men (K).

It was during the time of proſperity and glory abovementioned, that we find the *Jewiſh* doctors began to take variety of pompous titles; ſuch as thoſe of *Abba* Father, *Baal* Lord, *Rom* High, *Rab* Maſter, *Mor* Teacher, *Roſh* Chief or Head, and the like. Among them was a famed doctor named *Jeremiah*, who ſtiled himſelf *the Maſter of Queſtions*; and, to

(K) Among them was the learned *R. Zira*, ſirnamed *Katana* (both which ſignify *little*), who had gone to ſtudy at that of *Tiberias*, but had been invited to *Sora* by *Huna*, the then chief of the captivity, who raiſed him to the profeſſorſhip, which he enjoyed til *an.* 300; when, having conceived a deſire of being interred in *Judea*, he choſe to go thither in his life-time, rather than have his body tranſported thither after his death (26).

(26) *Genz. ub. ſup. Ben. virgæ, & al. ub. ſup.*

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mortify the *Babyloniſh* doctors, made his wife hold frequent diſputes againſt them [s]. They flouriſhed about the year 290; but the moſt famed among them was *Manes*, a perſon of great learning, but who could by no means be reconciled to the religion, or even God, of the *Jews*; nor to what the ſacred hiſtorians record, of his ordering that nation to deſtroy and exterminate ſuch great number of kingdoms and people, and preferred that of the Chriſtians, who commended nothing ſo much as univerſal love and benignity. He is ſaid to have held frequent conferences with the *Jewiſh* doctors of *Perſia*, in order to inſpire them, as he pretended, with more worthy ideas of the Godhead. Our modern rabbies do not acknowlege any ſuch conferences between their anceſtors and him, whom they have noted in their calendar as the head of that new ſect, which ſtill bears his name, and which they abſurdly place towards the cloſe of *Conſtantine*'s reign, tho' he lived about the end of this third century. The perſecution which was raiſed againſt the Chriſtians about the ſame time, under *Diocleſian*, did not much affect the *Jewiſh* nation either in the eaſt or weſt; at leaſt, neither *Jewiſh* or any other authors mention any thing of it: only the former pretend, that he deſigned to have made them feel the ſevereſt marks of his reſentment for ſome ſcandalous reflexions which the diſciples of *Judah* the ſaint had caſt on him; but that they found means to appeaſe him and prevent it (L). But it is now time to paſs on to the 4th century, and ſee how they fared under the Chriſtian emperors.

Jews in the 4th century.

WE have had occaſion already to mention ſome ſevere laws which *Conſtantine* was forced to enact, to ſuppreſs the inſolence of the *Jews* againſt the Chriſtians; and to forbid them making of proſelytes, and abuſing thoſe who embraced Chriſtianity. But ſome hiſtorians have gone farther, and made that prince a very ſevere perſecutor of them; inſomuch that one of the *Greek* fathers tells us, that, being ſhocked at their aſſem-

[s] BARTOLOC. ub. ſup. tom. iii.

(L) They upbraided him, it ſeems, with having been a ſwine-herd, but appeaſed his reſentment with telling him, that tho' they deſpiſed the ſwine-herd, they reverenced the emperor. This ſtory ſeems founded on the prediction which had been made to that prince, that he ſhould aſcend the throne when he had killed *Aper* (the boar); meaning *Aper* the *Præfectus Prætorii*, whoſe death opened to him the way to the empire, as hath been ſhewn in that part of the *Roman* hiſtory (†).

(†) *See Anc. Hiſt. vol.* xv. *p.* 484, *& ſeq.*

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bling themſelves in order to rebuild the city of *Jeruſalem*, he condemned them to have their ears cut off, and to be diſperſed like vile ſlaves through all the parts of the empire [t]. And another writer adds, that he obliged them to be baptized, and to eat ſwine's fleſh on *Eaſter-day* [u]. All this however is wholly rejected by the generality of the moderns, and not without good reaſons; which the reader may ſee in the margin (M). His deſign was neither to perſecute them, nor to force them to turn Chriſtians, but to prevent that liberty which was granted to them from being abuſed, to the detriment or diſgrace of Chriſtianity. In conſequence of which, he enacted a law ſix months before his death, declaring all thoſe ſlaves free which had by any means been circumciſed by their *Jewiſh* maſters (N). He farther ordered, that they ſhould be obliged to ſerve all public offices like all the other ſubjects of the empire; which was but right they ſhould; but yet exempted their patriarchs, prieſts, and others, that officiated at their ſynagogues, ſchools, *&c.* from them, that

whether perſecuted by Conſtantine.

Laws againſt them.

[t] CHRYSOST. Orat. in Jud. iii. [u] EUTYCH. An. tom i. p. 466.

(M) The *Jews* themſelves all own, that it was *Adrian*, and not *Conſtantine*, who ordered their ears to be cut off; and this is alſo confirmed by the *Arabic* hiſtorian (27). Beſides, we have elſewhere ſeen, that *Jeruſalem* was already rebuilt in *Conſtantine*'s time; inſomuch, that the biſhop of it had aſſiſted at the *Nicene* councils; and *Conſtantine* had adorned that city with ſuch magnificent edifices, that *Euſebius* compliments him on it as the builder of the *New Jeruſalem* foretold by the prophets (28). How then could the *Jews* aſſemble themſelves in a riotous manner to rebuild that city, which was already done in ſo ſtately a manner? We may add further, that, among all the edicts of that prince againſt the *Jews*, as are preſerved in the *Theodoſian* code, there is not a word about their being condemned to have their ears cut off, to eat ſwine's fleſh, *&c.* Though ſome of them accuſe the *Jews* of ſtoning and burning thoſe of their nation, whom they found inclined to embrace Chriſtianity, and of having forced their Chriſtian and heathen ſlaves to be circumciſed, which was the reaſon of his reſentment againſt them.

(N) *Euſebius*, who could not but be well acquainted with that law, ſays, it extended even to a prohibition of their having any Chriſtian ſlaves, and gives this reaſon for it, that it was unjuſt that thoſe, who were redeemed by the blood of Chriſt, ſhould be in ſubjection to his murderers (29).

(27) *Abulpha l. dynaſt.* vii. *p.* 77. (28) *In vit. Conſt. l.* iii. *c.* 33. (29) *Ibid. lib.* iv. *c.* 27.

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they might not be thereby diverted from those neceſſary employments [w]. But the council of *Elvira* in *Spain*, which is commonly placed under this reign, made two decrees which were more ſevere againſt them; by the firſt of which, they were excluded from eating with Chriſtians, as they had commonly done till then; and, though the penalty fell only on the Chriſtians, who were excommunicated by it for eating with a *Jew*, yet it put the latter to very great inconveniences, and made them liable to inſults and contempt. By the other, all poſſeſſors of lands were forbidden, under the ſame penalty, to ſuffer the fruits of the earth to be bleſſed by *Jews*, becauſe their bleſſing rendered that of the Chriſtians abortive. This cuſtom of bleſſing the fruits of the earth at certain ſeaſons was common to Pagans and *Jews*, as well as Chriſtians; but who would have imagined, that the latter ſhould have made uſe of either of the former, if this decree had not informed us of it. However, both this and the other decree plainly ſhew, that the *Jews* had lived very peaceably in *Spain*, and in good harmony with the Chriſtians, till then, whatever they may have done ſince.

Decree of the Elviran *council.*

THEY enjoyed no leſs a benign ſunſhine in the eaſt; and their academies went on in a flouriſhing manner, if we except the perſecution which was raiſed againſt one of their greateſt doctors, the famed *Ravena* or *Rabba Nachmanides*, chief of the academy of *Sora*, and a perſon in ſuch eſteem, that he had no leſs than twelve thouſand diſciples under him [x] (O).

Famous rabbies of the eaſt.

([w]) Cod. THEODOS. lib. xvi. tom. viii. cap. ii. [x] GANTZ TZEMACH, et al. ub. ſup. Lib. Cabal. p. 61. b.

(O) There were two famed rabbies of that name; the one diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Hakadmon*, or the Elder, who flouriſhed about, *A. C.* 322, and the *Acharon*, or Younger, who lived about, *an.* 474. We are now ſpeaking of the elder, who was a man of ſuch profound learning, and ſo dexterous at removing the greateſt difficulties, that they gave him the title of עֹקֵר הָרִים, *Hoker Harim*, the remover of mountains. His chief work is the *Bereſhith Rabbah*, which is a learned comment on *Geneſis*, giving an account of the creation, and a deſcription of the *Holy Land*, together with the literal and myſtical ſenſe of that ſacred book (30), and hath been often quoted in this work, eſpecially in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory. There is another treatiſe of the ſame name, which muſt not therefore be confounded with it, and which is a comment on the *Miſhna*, written by *R. Hoſhiaughia*, a diſciple of *Judah Hakkodeſh*, but leſs eſteemed than the former.

(30) *Vid. Bartoloc. ub. ſup. Wolf. Bibl. Hæbr. ſub Rab. Ben. Nachman. & Rabotb. ibid. & Lib. Cabbal. p.* 61. b.

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This perſon, after having taught a conſiderable time at that city, was at length accuſed of ſome very high crime to the king of *Perſia*; for which he thought fit, to avoid further proſecution, to abſcond; and either died in his retreat, as ſome affirm, or was baniſhed by that monarch, according to others, and died in exile (P). What this crime was we are not told; but it was not attended with any ill conſequence towards the nation, nor even to his family, ſince we find him ſucceeded in the ſame academy by his own nephew of the ſame name, whom he had adopted into it (Q). This laſt had made ſuch progreſs under him, that he was choſen chief of the academy of *Pundebita*, ſo early as *an.* 324; and had continued in it till *an.* 329, when he married, and had a ſon known by the name of *Rab-bibi*. The univerſity of *Sora* had another famed profeſſor, namely, *Joſeph*, ſurnamed *the Blind*, for ſo he was; yet he had ſo great a ſhare of inward light, that he was ſtyled, *Saghi Nahor*, or *Great Light*. They gave him likewiſe that of *Sinai*, becauſe he was a perfect maſter of all the traditions given to *Moſes* on that holy mountain. He is commonly ſuppoſed to be the author of the *Chaldee* paraphraſes upon ſome of the *Hagiographa*, ſuch as the Pſalms, Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, *Ruth*, and *Eſther*, which are held in great eſteem among the *Jews* and Chriſtians; at leaſt one would think ſo by the number of editions which that book has had, though too much fraught with fables and ſubtleties.

Joſeph the Blind *his works.*

THE laſt thing worth mentioning, relating to the *Jews*, under the reign of *Conſtantine* (R), is the bloody perſecution they

Jews *raiſe a perſecution a-*

(P) Some tell us, that *Sapor* had actually condemned him to death, but that his mother got him reprieved, by ſending him the ſame meſſage which *Pilate*'s wife had formerly done to that judge; viz. *Have nothing to do with that righteous man, for I have ſuffered many things in a dream by reaſon of him* (31). Whether the Thalmudiſts have ſtolen this ſtory from the goſpel, or have invented it out of their own heads, we will not determine (32). But if there be any truth in it, the meſſage of the empreſs dowager had a different effect on the *Perſian* king, who contented himſelf with baniſhing him for life.

(Q) And therefore tell us, that he gave him the name of אבי, *Abji*; Firſt, Becauſe he had taken him as an orphan out of charity into his houſe. And, 2dly, Becauſe he ſhould not be confounded hereafter with him, that is, the diſciple with his maſter.

(R) It may not be perhaps altogether impertinent to this hiſtory of the *Jews* under this

(31) *Matt.* xxvii. 19. (32) *Vid. Lightfoot, Hor. thalmud. in Matt.* xxvii.

reign,

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gainſt the Chriſtians in Perſia.

they raiſed in *Perſia*, where their intereſt was very great at that court againſt the eaſtern Chriſtians, to be revenged, as was pretended, for thoſe which they had ſuffered in the *Roman* empire. Chriſtianity had paſſed from *Armenia* into *Perſia*, and other parts of the eaſt, where a great number of churches and biſhopricks had been erected without any moleſtation. But when the *Jews* found, that *Uſtazades*, one of *Sapor*'s chief eunuchs, was going to be converted to it, they loſt all patience; and, by the help of the *Magi*, perſuaded that prince to perſecute them with the utmoſt ſeverity. *Simeon*, the worthy biſhop of *Cteziphon*, whom they had accuſed of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with *Conſtantine*, was one of their firſt martyrs, and *Uſtazades* another. The perſecution was long and bloody; all the churches were demoliſhed, and the traces of Chriſtianity almoſt obliterated.

Circa A. C. 341.

THEY went not long unpuniſhed for it; and *Conſtans*, who ſucceeded *Conſtantine*, obſerving to what height of inſolence they were grown in divers parts of the empire, eſpecially in *Egypt*, where they committed the vileſt inſults againſt the Chriſtians (S), found himſelf obliged to uſe them with greater ſeverity

reign, to mention the diſcovery of the holy croſs, which is, by one of the oldeſt writers on that ſubject, attributed to a *Jew* named *Judas*, who became ſoon after a convert to Chriſtianity, and took the name of *Cyriacus* (33). The generality of writers of the church of *Rome* give the honour of it to the empreſs *Helena*, the mother of *Conſtantine*, on the authority of *Sulpitius Severus*, who hath added a great number of miracles to this tranſaction (34); and a letter of *Cyril*, biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, the authenticity of which is juſtly called in queſtion. It is out of our province to enter into that controverſy (*); we ſhall only obſerve, that *Euſebius*'s ſilence on ſo remarkable a diſcovery ſeems quite to diſcountenance the pretences of the latter; for who can imagine, that ſuch a man as he ſhould have omitted it, if the diſcovery had been really made by that empreſs, and been confirmed by ſo many miracles, at a place ſo near his biſhopric, and uſual reſidence. But the wonder will ceaſe if it was made by an obſcure *Jew*, and without any miracle or extraordinary thing attending it.

(S) They not only plundered their churches, burnt their ſacred books, and other church utenſils, but defiled their fonts, or baptiſteries, in ſuch a filthy manner, as St. *Athanaſius* was aſhamed to mention (35); they carried their inſolence ſo far, as to force young virgins to abjure Chriſtianity, after having ſtripped and abuſed them (36); in

(33) *Greg. Turon. lib.* i. *c.* 36. (34) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 48. (*) *See Anc. Hiſt. vol.* xv. *p.* 589. (35) *Epiſt. ad orthodox.* (36) *Idem ibid. vide & Soxom, lib.* ii. *c.* 9, *& alib.*

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ſeverity than his father. But what incenſed him moſt againſt them was the treachery of the *Jews* of *Diocæſarea* in *Paleſtine* (T), who took the advantage of *Magnentius*'s revolt in *Hungary*, and of that prince's abſence whilſt he was gone to quell that rebel, to raiſe an inſurrection in *Judea*, whilſt the *Perſians* were attacking the empire on their ſide, and were laying ſiege to *Niſibis*. He was therefore obliged to ſend *Gallus* againſt them, whom he had created *Cæſar*; and who took *Judea* in his way to *Perſia*, defeated the rebellious *Jews*, and raſed *Diocæſarea*. After this, *Conſtans*, who, beſides his juſt reſentment againſt them, was a very zealous Chriſtian, not only revived all the old laws of *Adrian* and *Conſtantine*, but made ſome more ſevere ones againſt them; among which, one condemned any *Jew* to death that married a Chriſtian, circumciſed a ſlave, or kept any that were Chriſtians. They were moreover forbid to enter into *Jeruſalem*; and thoſe who were deſirous to ſee it at a diſtance, muſt buy that liberty at a vaſt price. He likewiſe loaded them with very heavy taxes; and was projecting ſome freſh ones againſt them to keep them ſtill more under, but was prevented by death [y]. It was under his reign, that young *Epiphanius* was converted from *Judaiſm* to Chriſtianity, not without ſome miracles attending it, with which we ſhall not

Commit great outrages at Alexandria.

A.C. 353.

Laws renewed againſt them.

St. Epiphanius *converted.*

[y] Sozomen, lib. ii. cap. 9. Hilar. in Pſ. lviii, p. 731—734 Pſ. cxxxi, & cxlvi. Sozom. lib. iii. c. 17.

all which indignities, they were countenanced, if not privately ſet on work, by *Gregory*, the *Arian* biſhop, who was then in high favour at court; ſo that they went on in them with the utmoſt boldneſs and impunity.

(T) This city was the ancient *Sephoris*, and was ſituate in *Paleſtina Secunda*. The *Jews*, who were retired thither, and at *Tiberias*, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, had ſuffered much from the heathens, who had revolted againſt *Adrian*; but being at length freed from their inſults by that emperor, both places expreſſed their gratitude to him; the latter, by erecting a temple to him, which they called *Adrianon*; and the former, by changing its name of *Sephoris* into that of *Diocæſarea Adriana*, to diſtinguiſh it from three others of that name; one in *Phrygia*, the ſecond in *Cappadocia*, and the third in *Iſauria*, whoſe biſhop aſſiſted at the council of *Chalcedon* (37). St. *Jerom* places that of *Paleſtine* within a mile and half of *Gath*; and, though it underwent ſo ſevere a fate as being the ſeat of the *Jewiſh* revolt, it was not long before it raiſed itſelf out of its ruins, and became again an habitation of the *Jews*.

(37) *Act. concil. Chalced.* iii.

trouble

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trouble our readers with, since they were hardly powerful enough to keep him from running into the wild notions of the *Gnosticks*, whom he met with in *Egypt* [z].

Julian's great favours to the Jews.

We come now to the reign of *Julian* the apostate, to whom the *Jews* made some of their first addresses, with a complaint, that they were unjustly debarred from entering into *Jerusalem*, which had been the glorious residence of their ancestors for so long a series of ages. They not only met with a kind reception, and the most sensible marks of his favour, such as the exemption from those heavy taxes with which his predecessors had loaded them, and the free exercise of their religion, but he likewise permitted them to rebuild their temple, and to revive their ancient worship in it; and even furnished them with money and materials for the work. He condescended so far as to write a letter to them, in which, the more to mortify the Christians, he gives their patriarch the title of brother (U). All these signal favours could not fail of raising that nation to the highest pitch of insolence against the Christians, which they could not but see was the most effectual means of ingratiating themselves with him. Accordingly they assembled themselves in several cities of *Judea* and *Syria*, where they began to demolish the churches, and committed other outrages, especially at *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Berythus*, and *Damascus*, whilst those of *Egypt* did the same at *Alexandria*, and other places; and a third sort set themselves

[z] Joan. in vit. Epiph. num. i. & seq. p. 33, & seq.

(U) It were absurd, considering the character of that emperor, to suppose, that he heaped all these favours on the *Jews* with any other view than to spite and weaken the Christians, by encouraging and increasing the number of their enemies, that his favourite Paganism might the more easily triumph over them. In other respects, the *Jews* must have been equally hateful to him with the Christians, since both equally condemned and abhorred the superstitions of the heathen. But what might still render the former more obnoxious to him, was the notion, which, St. *Jerom* tells us, was then rife among them, that about 430 years after their dispersion, they were in their turn to become lords over the *Romans*, and sell them to the *Sabeans*; after which, not only *Jerusalem*, and all the cities of *Judea*, but even those of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, were to be rebuilt. So that, when *Julian* gave them an invitation to rebuild the temple, they all looked upon it as the forerunner of the completion of that pretended prophecy, or rather interpretation of the words of the Psalmist and other prophets, that *the Lord would revenge his people, and rebuild the cities of* Judah.

about

about rebuilding the temple at *Jeruſalem*. In the carrying on of which work, we are told, men, women, and children, were zealous to put an helping hand; and ſome of them were ſo ſanguine in it, that they made themſelves tools of gold and ſilver to rear up this new edifice with; till the Divine Providence was pleaſed to put an effectual ſtop to it, by ſuch a ſeries of prodigies as quite deterred them from purſuing it, and made them ſenſible of the infallibility of Chriſt's predictions againſt that place (W). Soon after which, *Julian* himſelf, mortally wounded in a ſurpriſing manner at the *Perſian* war, was forced, by his dying words, to acknowlege his ſuperior power, as we have already ſhewn in the *Roman* hiſtory †. A.C. 363.

JOVIAN, who ſucceeded him, would not have failed to have ſuppreſſed the inſolence of the *Jews*, had not death prevented him before he had reigned full eight months: ſo that they quickly began to breathe again under his two next ſucceſſors, *Valentinian* and *Valens*, who not only gave them full liberty of conſcience, but reſtored their patriarchs to the enjoyment of their privileges. Only the latter deprived them of one of the moſt valuable ones, by annulling the edicts which exempted them from public offices. The tenor of *under* Valentinian. A.C. 387.

† See Anc. Hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 266, & ſeq.

(W) This wonderful event, which conſiſted in dreadful earthquakes, balls of fire breaking forth from the places where they were digging up the foundations, and other ſuch prodigious phænomena, is variouſly related by the eccleſiaſtical writers (38); and by ſome adorned with many other circumſtances equally miraculous, which however we ſhall not trouble our readers with, ſince they all agree in the main thing, that it cauſed a total ſuppreſſion of the work, and the fact is acknowledged by unqueſtionable teſtimony; ſuch as is that well-known one of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a heathen writer, who relates it much after the ſame manner we have done (††). But more eſpecially, that of two famous *Jewiſh* chronologiſts, the firſt of whom (39) attributes the ceſſation of the work to the death of that emperor; and the other, who ſays, that the temple being actually built at a vaſt charge, fell down; and that, on the following day, a great fire which fell from Heaven melted all the iron-work of it, and killed a vaſt multitude of the *Jews* (40). Which laſt teſtimony is ſo much the more conſiderable, as thoſe writers are the leaſt liable to copy the books of the Chriſtians, and much leſs ſo to confirm what they write againſt their own nation.

(38) *Confer. Socrat. lib.* iii. *c.* 20. *Sozom. lib.* v. *c.* 22. *Theodoret. lib.* iii. *c.* 20. (††) *Lib.* xxiv. *c.* 4. (39) *Gantz Tzemach David.* (40) *Gedaliah Shalgſheleth Hakabala.*

this

Edict against them.

this last decree being somewhat remarkable, we shall give it to our reader in the margin (X). It continued in force against them under the reign of *Gratian Theodosius* and *Arcadius*. Though, in other respects, they lived peaceably under them: only we hear of one of their synagogues being burnt at *Rome*, which the rebel *Maximus*, who was desirous to have them in his interest, ordered to be rebuilt. He was soon after defeated, and beheaded at *Aquilea*; and St. *Ambrose*, bishop of *Milan*, who was highly offended at him, looked upon his unfortunate end as a just judgment for his favouring the *Jews* [a]; and prevailed on *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, who came soon after to that city, to revoke all the privileges which he had granted to them.

St. Ambrose's untimely zeal against them.

THAT father was indeed very inveterate against them, as one may see by some of his expressions in his letter to *Theodosius*; and strenuously opposed the rebuilding another synagogue, which the Christians had set on fire at *Calinichus*, and which that emperor had ordered to be rebuilt at their charge. But as to what *Zonaras*, a *Greek* monk, and some other writers of later date, say of his preaching before him, and taking him to task in an unhandsome manner for suffering the *Jews* to enjoy the privilege of their synagogues in his capital, whose prayers were so many curses and execrations before God, it is all false and absurd. He did not preach but write to him; and, as his letter is still preserved, it is a more faithful witness than the writings of the *Greek* monk; and the most that can be said is, that he carried his censures too far against them, in telling that emperor, that they were so far from thinking themselves obliged to observe the *Roman* laws, that they thought it a crime to submit to them [b]. The contrary to this appears by all that we have said hitherto of the edicts made for and against them, and much more by

Theodosius's laws for and against them.

[a] AMBR. Epist. xxix. [b] Ibid. lib. v. c. 29.

(X) "The edict by which "the *Jews* flatter themselves "of an exemption from public "offices, &c. is by these pre- "sents revoked and disannul- "led. For the clergy are not "permitted to consecrate them- "selves to the service of God, "till they have previously paid "that which they owe to their "country; and whosoever de- "signs to give himself wholly "to God, ought to furnish a "proper person to supply his "place in all public offices (41)." This plainly shews, that the privileges of the clergy in those days were not quite so large as some are apt to imagine.

(41) *Valens, ad Hypat.*

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the new one, which that prince publiſhed in the laſt year of his life, againſt *the untimely zeal of ſome Chriſtians, who, under pretence of Religion, plundered and demoliſhed their ſynagogues contrary to the laws, which allowed them liberty of conſcience, and for puniſhing ſuch offenders for the future* [c]. He even granted them a particular juriſdiction on account of the frequent law-ſuits which they had either among themſelves, or with Chriſtians (Y); by which they were not only free from the trouble and charge of ſeeking for juſtice from ſtrange tribunals, but were likely to obtain it more eaſily from judges that were maintained by themſelves. All which privileges would

[c] Cod. Theodos. tom. viii. lib. 16.

(Y) Whether it was *Theodoſius* that obliged them to live out of his capital, and aſſigned them a quarter in the *Stanor*, or ſpace between that and the ſea, we cannot be ſure; but there they built themſelves a kind of city, which ſtill ſubſiſted in the time of the *Cruſade*, and was both rich and populous; and is ſo even to this day. That emperor further ordered, that they ſhould not be ſummoned before any judge but the pretor of the *Stanor*; which privilege they enjoyed till the reign of *Emanuel Comnenus* (42).

There is another law made by *Arcadius, an.* 393, which confirms their obedience to the *Roman* laws; it is to the following effect, that the *Jews*, who lived according to the *Roman* and common right, ſhould be obliged to bring their law-ſuits before the common judges, in all caſes that did not regard their ſuperſtition, and to ſuch proper courts as are appoined for them. This decree is intitled, *De foro Judæorum*, and concludes with a remarkable clauſe; *viz.* that, if the contending parties ſhall compromiſe the matter before the patriarch, ſuch compromiſe ſhall be valid, and deemed of as full force as a ſentence from a judge (43). And as religious affairs are there excepted, they had (beſides the pretor of their quarter, mentioned above, who was appointed by the emperor), their own magiſtrates and officers choſen from among themſelves; who, St. *Chryſoſtom* tells us, were choſen in *September*, and preſided over eccleſiaſtical matters, and religious diſputes; and could inflict puniſhments, or even excommunicate, according to the nature of the offence. It is therefore likely, that St. *Ambroſe*'s zeal might tranſport him too far; ſoured perhaps by the too great liberty they enjoyed, and the ill uſe they made of it, they being at all times very apt to grow bold and inſolent againſt the Chriſtians upon the leaſt encouragement, though, in other reſpects, they might conform to the laws, and pay all due obedience to civil authority.

(42) *Balſam. in Nom. canon. tit. de fid. c.* 11. (43) *Cod. Theodoſ. lib.* xvi. *tom.* viii. *p.* 227. *Vid. Baſnage, ubi ſupra, l.* viii, *c.* 5. §. 22, *& ſeq.*

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have hardly been granted to them, if, as St. *Ambroſe* pretends, they had looked upon it as a crime to ſubmit to the laws of the empire.

St. Jerom's eſteem for them. A.C. 390, & ſeq.

HOWEVER that be, St. *Jerom* was ſo far from imitating his zeal againſt them, that he aſſociated himſelf to ſome of their moſt learned rabbies, and, with extraordinary pains and application, learned the *Hebrew* tongue from them; made uſe of their aſſiſtance in his verſions of the Old Teſtament; and doth not ſcruple giving thoſe doctors the greateſt encomiums, whom he had procured from ſome of their moſt celebrated academies, ſuch as *Tiberias*, *Lydda*, &c.; among them was the famed *Rabbi Barrabanus*, who, to avoid giving offence to his brethren, was wont to come to him in the night (Z). The credit which that father gained by his learning and uſeful works cauſed him to be looked upon as a prodigy. And indeed, if we conſider with what difficulty the knowlege of thoſe eaſtern tongues was acquired, at a time when there were neither grammars, lexicons, concordances, nor any of thoſe helps we have ſince enjoyed, we ſhall not need to wonder at the great eſteem which he gained in the Church, nor indeed at that high opinion he ſeems to have of himſelf on that account; eſpecially conſidering that he was the firſt that had attempted it, and the only one at that time who had made any progreſs in it, whilſt moſt of the biſhops and clergy hardly knew more than their own mother tongue; ſince even the great St. *Auſtin*, who was no lover of him, could not forbear looking upon him as a prodigy of learning.

Aſſiſted by them.

His credit in the church.

A.C. 401, & ſeq.

Theodoſius *ſuppreſſes their inſolence.*

WE are now inſenſibly got into the fifth century, in which we ſhall find the *Jews* grown to ſuch a height of inſolence by the long ſeries of peace and liberty allowed them, and particularly under *Theodoſius* II. as to oblige that mild, generous,

(Z) The great encomiums which that father took pleaſure to beſtow on his maſters, and more particularly on this, made *Ruſinus*, who thought that the ſeptuagint verſion ought to be preferred to that of an unknown rabbi, expoſe them both, by punning upon his name, and calling him *Barrabas*. I ſee, ſaid he, on one ſide, Jeſus Chriſt, and, on the other, *Barrabas*. *You may cry as loud as you will for the latter, whilſt I do the ſame for the former.* *Euſebius* made much the ſame complaint at one time, that they ſtill preferred *Barrabas* to Chriſt, becauſe they joined with the Infidels againſt the Chriſtians, and yet he was glad to make uſe of their help in compiling his comment on *Iſaiah* (44).

(44) *In Iſaiah* v.

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and equitable prince to ſuppreſs it by the puniſhment of the guilty, but without uſing any ſeverity to thoſe who behaved peaceably and ſubmiſſively to the laws. The firſt juſt occaſion of complaint which they gave, was on one of their feſtivals in which they celebrated what they call the feaſt of *Haman* (A); and on which, inſtead of hanging that enemy of theirs on a high gibbet, as had been their conſtant cuſtom on that ſolemnity, they preſumed on this year to faſten him to a croſs, which failed not to be interpreted by the Chriſtians, and not without reaſon, as an indignity offered to Chriſt. This did not hinder them from taking both down, and burning them with the uſual execrations; which however was attended with no other conſequence (except ſome blows exchanged on both ſides) than with an edict, forbidding for the future the erecting and burning ſuch gibbets, under the penalty of forfeiting all their privileges. The *Jews* obeyed in moſt parts of the empire; nevertheleſs thoſe of *Macedon*, *Dacia*, and ſome other parts, ſtill continued affronting the Chriſtians with ſuch kinds of inſults; and were as often retaliated by having their ſynagogues and houſes burned, and ſome of their leaders even put to death by the magiſtrates. This produced a new edict from that good prince, expreſly forbidding the Chriſtians to proſecute them on account of their religion, and theſe to offer any contemptuous inſults to the eſtabliſhed church. This ſuſpended their inſolence for two or three years; but, at length, thoſe of *Inneſtar*, a city in *Chalcis*, being heated with the wine and zeal uſual at that feaſt, took it into their heads to tie a young Chriſtian to one of thoſe gibbets, and to whip him ſo ſeverely that he loſt his life by it; which ſo exaſperated the Chriſtians that they took up arms againſt them. The *Jews* being very numerous there, a bloody fight enſued, in which many were killed on both ſides. At length, the go-

A.C. 408, *a new edict.*

A.C. 412, *inſults to the Chriſtians puniſhed.*

(A) This feſtival, which was kept in memory of the victory which the *Jewiſh* nation got over *Haman* (45), was uſually kept with great alacrity and good cheer; and even, during the reading of the book of *Eſther* in their ſynagogues or houſes, men, women, and children, made a moſt horrid noiſe with their feet, hands, and even with ſtones and mallets againſt the walls and benches, as often as the name of *Haman* was repeated. Their devotions were no ſooner ended than they gave themſelves up to feaſting; which they indulged to ſuch a height, that it frequently hurried them into a kind of zealous phrenſy, in which they were very liberal of their inſults againſt the Chriſtians, and as often occaſioned blows on both ſides.

(45) *Vid. Eſther, paſſ. & c. ult.*

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vernor of the province having informed the emperor of it, was ordered to punish the guilty; by which means an effectual end was put to the tumult [d] (B).

Christian reprisals against them.

THIS did not prevent the one from frequently renewing of their hostilities, nor the other from burning and plundering their synagogues, particularly at *Antioch*, where the *Jews* were very numerous and rich, the plunder being commonly given to the church. These skirmishes became so common and scandalous, that complaints were made of them to the emperor, and backed by the præfectus prætorio; so that the clergy were condemned by a new edict, which obliged them to restore the plunder, and to assign the *Jews* a place where they might erect a new synagogue. He was however obliged not only to repeal it, at the instigation of the famed saint (and martyr in the air, as he is stiled) *Simon*, surnamed *Stylites* (C), who had taken upon him to condemn it, and even to turn the prefect out of his office for having obtained it in favour of the *Jews*. It was not long however before he was forced to publish a fresh explication of his former edicts, in order to suppress the excesses which the revocation of his late one had encouraged the hot-headed zealots to commit against the *Jews*, not only at *Antioch*, but in many provinces of the empire; and to forbid the burning of their synagouges, or persecuting them on account of their religion.

A.C. 423, *both forbidden.*

A.C. 425.

[d] Cod. THEODOS. lib. xvi. xviii. & xxi.

(B) The celebrated lawyer *Godfroy* pretends, that it was on account of the murder of that young Christian that the emperor published those two edicts (46); whereas there is a manifest difference of time, place, and occasion: the first of them being published, *an.* 408, and extended over the whole eastern empire; and as such was directed to *Anthemius*, the then prefect over it; and the other not till four years after, and extending only to *Eastern Illyricum*, *Dacia*, and *Macedon*, and was therefore directed to *Philip*, the then governor of those provinces.

(C) So called from living on the top of a pillar. This fanatic devoto was then in such esteem with all the clergy, that the emperor was obliged, to avoid his and their censure, to recall his orders about making restitution to the *Jews*. Mr. *Valois* even pretends that he wrote a civil letter to him, wherein he stiles him, The most holy martyr in the air. But whether those were the words of the emperor, or of *Evagrius*, who was a great admirer of that airy monk, is hardly worth enquiring; that title carrying, to all appearance, more pleasantry than veneration.

(46) *In Cod. Theodos. lib* xvi, xviii, *an.* 408, & xxi, *an.* 412. *Vid. & Socr. lib.* vii.

A

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A STRANGE accident which happened in the iſle of *Candia*, where the *Jews* were very rich and numerous, occaſioned great numbers of them to embrace Chriſtianity, not only there, but in other provinces of the empire; and the ſhame of having been ſeduced by a falſe meſſiah (D), and having placed ſuch ſtrong and ſurpriſing confidence in him, opened their eyes to find out the real and only one in the church. Another event, related by the ſame eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian [e], brought a freſh number of proſelytes into it, to the no ſmall mortification of the reſt, on whom the miraculous cure performed on an old paralytic, could not make the ſame ſalutary impreſſion (E). As we are writing the hiſtory of the *Jews*, and not that of the church, we ſhall paſs over a number of thoſe A.C. 432, *converted in* Candia, &c.

[e] See the following note.

(D) This impoſtor, who had taken upon him the name and office of their great lawgiver and deliverer, had ſo far infatuated them, as to make them expect as great a deliverance under him, as they had under the former, *viz.* of opening to them a miraculous way through the ſea into their own land. We are even told, that he himſelf was ſo perſuaded of it, that he had in one year run through every town and village of that iſland, and perſuaded the *Jews* in it to follow him (47), and to be ready for him on the day and place appointed by him.

Their deluſion proved ſo ſtrong and univerſal, that they neglected their lands, houſes, and all other concerns, and took only ſo much with them as they could conveniently carry; and, on the day appointed, the *Pſeudo Moſes*, having led them to the top of a rock, men, women, and children, threw themſelves headlong down into the ſea, without the leaſt heſitation or reluctance; till ſo great a number of them were drowned, and ſome others ſaved by fiſhermen, as opened the eyes of the reſt, and made them ſenſible of the cheat. They then began to look out for their pretended leader, but found he had diſappeared; inſomuch that they began to think themſelves miſled by a devil inſtead of a man; upon which the far greater part renounced *Judaiſm*, and were baptized.

(E) This was an old *Conſtantinopolitan Jew*, who had been afflicted with the dead palſey, and had in vain exhauſted the phyſicians art, and, in a great meaſure, his own ſubſtance. He was at length prepoſſeſſed with the hopes that baptiſm would obtain him a cure; and, having received it of *Atticus*, the then patriarch of that metropolis, recovered the uſe of his limbs immediately upon his having received that ſacrament. This miraculous cure made ſo great an impreſſion upon the *Jews* and heathens, that great numbers became converts, though the far greater part of the former ſtill continued in their unbelief (48).

(47) *Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſioſt. lib.* vii. *c.* 38. (48) *Id. ibid. lib.* iv. *p.* 341, *c.* 37. *p.* 354.

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miraculous converſions with which this century abounded, and only obſerve, that the Chriſtians having then accuſtomed themſelves to make ſome conſiderable preſents to thoſe new converts, induced many cheats, not only to become Chriſtians with that view alone, but even to run privately from one ſect into another of them, and be baptized in them all, for the ſake of gaining freſh tokens of their liberality.

Several cheats among them.

A REMARKABLE inſtance of this our author gives us of a *Jew*, who went through all the ſects then at *Conſtantinople*, but was at length diſcovered in a miraculous manner by the *Novatian* biſhop there, and owned, that he had been baptized by every one but that [f]. Theſe cheats could not but render the *Jews* obnoxious to the Chriſtians; but there was ſtill another thing that made them more ſo, *viz.* the ſeveral arch-heretics, ſuch as the *Novatians*, *Neſtorians*, *&c.* who, by borrowing ſome of the *Jewiſh* tenets, were ſtiled *Judaizers* and *Jews*. But it is time to ſee how they behaved and fared in other countries.

Jews raiſe a tumult at Alexandria.

THOSE of *Alexandria*, who are computed to have amounted to about 100,000 at the time that they raiſed a bloody uproar againſt the Chriſtians, had had many ſkirmiſhes againſt them before, which ſeldom ended without bloodſhed (F).

[f] Cod. THEOPOS. l. xxi. c. v. p. 342.

(F) The *Jews*, it ſeems, were by this time grown not only ſo bold, but diſſolute, that, inſtead of aſſiſting at the duties of their ſynagogues on the ſabbath, they choſe rather to be preſent at the public diverſions and ſhews, which were commonly exhibited on that day; which ſeldom failed of producing thoſe bloody ſkirmiſhes we mentioned above, and which the magiſtrates were ſeldom able to ſuppreſs. This put the prefect upon making ſome wholſome regulations againſt thoſe diſorders. But, whilſt he was one day at one of them, and was giving ſome orders for the more peaceably exhibiting thoſe ſhews, he found himſelf ſurrounded with a croud of the patriarch's creatures, who are ſuppoſed to have been ſent for no other end, but to exaſperate him againſt the *Jews*; one in particular, named *Hierax*, an admirer and great favourite of *Cyril*, behaved on that occaſion in ſuch a manner againſt them, that they loudly complained of him to the prefect; who thereupon, without any other ceremony, ordered him to be publicly whipt upon the ſtage. This was a ſenſible affront to the patriarch, who failed not to reſent it as ſuch: ſo that, inſtead of uniting their authority in promoting the public tranquillity of the city, they only ſtrove to thwart each other's meaſures to the manifeſt diſturbance of it (49).

(49) *Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib.* vii. *ch.* 13, *& ſeq.*

Cyril,

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Cyril, then biſhop of it, and ſince ſainted, was thought as much too zealous againſt them, as *Oreſtes*, the then prefect, was partial to them; and, at length, carried it ſo far as to infringe upon his office, and to threaten them with eccleſi- A.C. 415. aſtical execution. This however they deſpiſed, knowing the governor to be on their ſide; and grew to ſuch an height of inſolence as to reſolve to fall foul upon them in the middle of the night. To this end, they hired ſome of their own people to run about the ſtreet of the city, crying out, that the great church was all in flames; which immediately brought all the Chriſtians out unarmed, to go and ſave that noble building; whilſt the *Jews*, who had taken care to diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſome peculiar mark, fell upon, and killed great numbers of them. *Cyril*, as ſoon as he was appriſed of it, ſtaid not to be righted by the civil power, but, putting himſelf at the head of a ſufficient number of Chriſtians, entered their ſynagogues, and ſeiſed on them to the uſe of the church. He then abandoned their houſes to be plundered, and obliged them to march out of the city almoſt naked. This failed not to exaſperate the prefect, who could not brook ſuch an infringement on his authority, and the city to be ſtript of ſo vaſt a number of its inhabitants, without making the ſevereſt complaints againſt the biſhop, who, on his part, ſent ſeveral bitter accuſations to court againſt him. Here the people, having declared for the prefect againſt the patriarch, would have obliged the latter to ſubmit to the former, but he abſolutely refuſed to do it.

Biſhop Cyril arms againſt them.

INSTEAD of that, he went to him with the Goſpel in his hand, and threatening in his words and looks, tried to frighten him into a reconciliation. But, finding him inflexible, he ordered a regiment of his monks, to the number of fifteen hundred, to come down from the mountains, and to aſſault him in his chariot with volleys of ſtones, which wounded him in the head, and covered him with blood; ſo that he muſt have been killed inevitably (his guards having been forced to abandon him) had not the people come to his aſſiſtance, and reſcued him out of their hands. The tumult being appeaſed, *Oreſtes* cauſed one of the ringleaders of thoſe monks, named *Ammonius*, to be executed, and ſent an account of the whole affair to court. The patriarch did the ſame; and not only juſtified the proceedings of his monks, but, in his next ſermon, declared *Ammonius* a martyr. This behaviour produced a new tumult ſoon after; in which, among many others that loſt their lives, was the deſervedly celebrated *Hypatia*, a young heathen lady, of great ſenſe, learning, and virtue, who was hurried by the biſhop's mob before one of their

Odd behaviour to the prefect.

Aſſaults & wounds him.

Hypatia *murdered at a new tumult.*

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churches, and there cruelly butchered. The untimely zeal and presumption of the *Alexandrian* patriarch, which is so visible in all these transactions, hath been justly blamed by all impartial persons; even *Socrates* himself observes [g], that the death of the amiable *Hypatia* reflected no small dishonour on him and his clergy. And it is plain, that the *Alexandrians* were highly offended at his proceedings, since they all along sided with the prefect against him. Though it must be owned, that he betrayed such a spirit of opposition against him, and such a partiality for the *Jews*, as was as inconsistent with the character of a Christian prefect, as his was with that of a Christian bishop.

Jewish *patriarchs suppressed.* A.C. 429.

THE *Jewish* nation received a more universal blow in this century, in the total suppression of their patriarchs. We have formerly shewn, that they lived upon certain levies, which they made on those of their nation, and which used to be collected by their officers, or, as they affected to call them, apostles. These became at length to grow so exorbitant, that the people, weary of them, applied to the civil power, from which however they received no other redress than the mortification of seeing that tribute converted to the emperor's use, and their patriarch deprived of it. *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* were the two monarchs who appropriated that income to their own treasury, by which means the patriarchal dignity was more effectually suppressed, than any edict could have done it; and, for want of a proper income to support it, was forced to dwindle away. *Photius* pretends, that the primates which succeeded the patriarchs, were charged with it, and answerable for it, and obliged to see it conveyed into the emperor's coffers (G).

Western Jews, *under* Honorius, A.C. 412.

LET us now pass over to those of the west, where we shall find them enjoying indeed the full exercise of their religion, under *Honorius*, who had enacted a law, much to his honour, importing, that the glory of a prince consists in allowing all his subjects the full and peaceable enjoyment of all their privi-

[g] SOCRATES, ub. sup. lib. vii. c. 13, & seq.

(G) Some will have it indeed, that *Theodosius* did expressly abolish it; and others think, that the people, weary of paying it, and maintaining so high an office at so vast an expence, let it drop of their own accord. The last however is not quite so credible, seeing that high dignity, expensive as it was, did not a little contribute to the ease and credit of the *Jewish* nation, as it kept up, as it were, a center of unity among them through the whole *Roman* empire.

leges,

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leges, even when their religion is not ſuch as he can approve [b]. Purſuant to which, he expreſsly forbad the pulling down, or appropriation of their ſynagogues, or even to oblige them to violate their Sabbath, on account of the public ſervice, for which, he ſaid, the other ſix days are ſufficient. On the other hand, to prevent their abuſing their liberty, he forbad them to build new ſynagogues, and making proſelytes, and ſtripped them of ſome poſts and offices which they had enjoyed before (H); particularly that of furniſhing the army with proviſions. He cauſed alſo a ſevere edict to be publiſhed againſt an upſtart ſect in *Afric*, called *Cælicolæ*, or worſhippers of Heaven; at the end of which is a clauſe forbidding the *Jews* to make proſelytes; upon which account the *Cælicolæ* have been thought by many to have been a *Jewiſh* ſect, tho' without any foundation, as the reader may ſee by what we have ſubjoined in the margin (I).

Cælicolæ *not* Jews.

[b] Cod THEODOS. tom. xvi. lib. xx.

(H) Theſe chiefly related to the militia and agency. Theſe agents had a threefold employment; *viz.* 1ſt. Levying of impoſts in the provinces; 2dly, the providing and tranſporting of corn and other proviſions for the uſe of the army; and 3dly, the ſerving as couriers and ſpies in all the provinces of the empire, and to ſend a faithful account of all that paſſed. And on this laſt account they had the care of the public carriages (50).

(I) The famed lawyer *Godfredius* had long ago diſtinguiſhed between that part of the edict which related to the *Cælicolæ*, and that which related to the *Jews*, notwithſtanding they have been abſurdly confounded, and the former ſuppoſed to have taken that ſpecious name, to conceal that of *Jews*, which was more odious (1): ſome have taken it to have meant the *Samaritans*, who had a temple at *Naplouſe*, opened on the top like an amphitheatre; others, the *Eſſenians*, a very ſtrict and contemplative ſect among the *Jews*, ſpoken of in a former volume ‡, and long ſince aboliſhed: both which ſuppoſitions are abſurd, ſeeing thoſe two ſects were of very old date, and ſufficiently known, and could not therefore be called, as in the edict above-mentioned, a new and upſtart ſect. And the clauſe which obliges them to return into the boſom of the Church, plainly ſhews that they muſt have been a ſect of Chriſtians, or, as is commonly believed, a ſpawn of the Donatiſts, whoſe tenets tallied with theirs (2).

(50) *De his vid. Salmaſ in Spartian. p.* 21, *& ſeq.* (1) *Juvenal ſatyr* xiv. *verſ.* 97, *Petron in Catalect.* ‡ *Anc. Hiſt. vol.* ii. *p.* 434. *vol.* x. *p.* 478. *& ſeq.* (2) *Vid. int. al. Petit var. lect. lib.* ii. *c.* 12. *Cunæus Rep. Hebr. l.* i. *c.* 6. *Buſnag Helmſtad. Hiſt. Cælicol. Buſnag. lib.* viii. *ch.* 7. §. 4, *& ſeq.*

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Minorcan Jews *converted*, A.C. 428.

In this century happened likewise the much celebrated, tho' no less questioned, miraculous conversion of the *Minorcan Jews*. That island had then two considerable towns, the one the episcopal residence, and interdicted to the *Jews*, who were commonly punished with some sudden and miraculous death, if they ventured to set foot into it. The other, called *Porto Mahone*, was chiefly inhabited by *Jews*, who there enjoyed very considerable titles and posts, tho' subject to *Honorius*; insomuch that *Theodosius*, the chief of their synagogue, and a doctor of the law, was the chief man in the whole island. *Severus* being become bishop of it, was easily persuaded by *Orosius*, (lately returned from *Jerusalem*, loaded with miraculous relics, which he was carrying into *Spain*) to undertake the conversion of the *Jews*. They began with private conferences, and proceeded to public ones; the last of which was held in their synagogue, where finding that some *Jewish* women had armed themselves with stones to pelt them, they provided for their own defence. The consequence was, that the synagogue was pulled down, and nothing saved out of it but the books and plate: but the bishop plied them with such numbers of miracles, that their greatest men began to relent, and in about eight days time, the greatest part of them were converted, and the synagogue turned into a church. Many, however, who remained obdurate, went and hid themselves in caverns, till hunger forced them out; and others leaving all they had behind them, went and sought an asylum in foreign countries; all which shews that there was some violence used against them by the bishop and his clergy; and *Baronius* seems to own as much, and adds, that his example would have been followed in many other places, had not the crowned heads put a stop to it.

under the Vandals.

Upon the irruption of the *Vandals* into the empire, one would have thought that the *Jews* would have met with the worst of treatment from that fierce nation; but yet we do not read that they fared worse than the rest, or were deprived of any of their privileges under them. They only shared in the common misfortunes, which are the usual concomitants of such great revolutions; but, in other respects, were still allowed the free exercise both of religion and commerce, only they were obliged to pay a tribute for it, and were moreover denied the enjoyment of titular dignities, and high posts, either civil or military[i]; which is no more than what they were under the *Roman* emperors. *Theodoric* in particular protected

[i] Vid. Altercat. Eccles. & Synagog. ap. Augustin. in Appen. ad tom. viii.

them

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them againſt the zealots among the Chriſtians, and would not ſuffer any violent means to be uſed for converting them; and ſharply reproved the ſenate, for having ſuffered one of their ſynagogues to be burnt at *Rome*; and the clergy of *Milan*, for going to ſeize upon another. The ſame he did at *Genoa*, where the citizens were going to deprive them of their privileges, which they had a long time enjoyed among them. They had recourſe to that prince, who permitted them to rebuild their ſynagogues, and reſtored them to the free uſe of their religion and rights, upon condition they ſhould not build them larger than they had been, and avoided adorning of them. Thus ended the 5th century with them in the *Roman* empire *. A.C. 500.

LET us now take a view of thoſe in *Perſia*, during that interval, where we find their academies in a flouriſhing condition, under their famed chief *R. Aſce*, the compiler of the *Babyloniſh* thalmud, lately mentioned. *Sora* was the place of his birth, and the moſt celebrated academy of all the eaſt, of which he was choſen chief in the 14th year of his age, and continued in that dignity ſixty years, that is, till the year 427, in which he died (K). It was during that time that he pub- Jews *in* Perſia *under* R. Aſe.

* De hoc vid. TESOR del Regn. D'Ital. ſub THEODORIC.

(K) The *Jews* tell us, that it was on account of his extraordinary merit and learning that he was raiſed ſo early to that dignity; and add, that in him met the law, devotion, humility, and magnificence; four things which no man but he was ever maſter of.

His method of teaching was entirely new and peculiar: for inſtead of keeping his diſciples, which amounted to two thouſand four hundred, continually with him, he only taught them two months in the year; *viz.* in *February* and *Auguſt*; during which he gave them proper ſubjects to ſtudy and exerciſe themſelves in during the other five months, after which they were ſent to their own homes. At their return they were examined by, and held diſputations before him, and he explained their difficulties and doubts, by the deciſions of thoſe doctors which had preceded him. Whilſt theſe exerciſes were performing, twelve perſons ſat over againſt him, ſeven of which were ſtyled the princes of the crowns, whoſe chief buſineſs was to recapitulate and explain what he had ſaid to them, and to give proper encomiums, rewards, *&c.* to thoſe that had deſerved them. The preſident was obliged to collect all the matters that had been debated and decided; and it was from this collection that the *Babyloniſh* thalmud was compiled: and when the month was near expired, he dictated to them the ſubjects which they were to ſtudy during the next five months (3).

(3) *Sepher Juchaſin, p.* 124. *vid. & Gantz Tzemach David, ſub A. M.* 4113. *c.* 353. *R. Abr. Benddior in lib. Cabbal. p.* 68, *Bartolic. ub. ſup. tom.* i. *p.* 486. *Wolf Bib. Hebr. ſub* רב אשי, *in thalmudo,*

liſhed

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lished a collection of his decisions, which he divided into four parts, the first of which contained the rules and maxims of the *Mishnah*, with the doubts and solutions relating to them. The second was chiefly about various questions of their doctors, with the sentiments of the *Thanaim* and *Gemarrists*. The third contained the decisions and maxims published since *Judah* the saint; and the last contained the texts of scripture relating to law-suits, together with the comments of their learned upon them. This was the first division of the *Babylonish* thalmud; but as *Asce* did not live to compleat it, his disciples, who put the finishing hand to it afterwards, altered his method, and made several additions, which have rendered the work rather more obscure[k].

R. Thobiomi. A.C. 455. He was succeeded, according to some, by *R. Marimor*, or *Amimor*; but soon after, according to others, by his own son *Huna*, whose feet hastened to the chair, and he by his son *Thobiomi*, *an.* 455, who reigned, according to the pompous *Jewish* style, thirteen years, and in whose reign the *Jewish* nation enjoyed such profound tranquility, that they gave him the title of The doctor of daily prosperity. We have had occasion to take notice of the small extent of their power and income, notwithstanding their using the words reign, throne, *&c.* as if they had been in full possession of the regal authority. And so obscure were they, during this 5th century, that tho' we find a succession of the presidents of *Sora* and *Pundebita*, or at least their names, and here and there a remarkable action of some of them, yet we have hardly any thing said of those chiefs or princes, except of *R. Asce* above-mentioned; tho' one would have imagined their dignity to have received some additional splendor by the suppression of the patriarchate in the west.

A violent persecution. *ASCE* had left, besides his son *Huna* above-mentioned, two famed disciples, *viz. Amimor* and *Mor*, who were to have put the finishing hand to the *Babylonish* thalmud; but they were diverted from it by a violent persecution, which was raised against the *Jewish* nation, which, they tell us, lasted 73 years; during which the synagogues were shut up, the observation of the Sabbath suppressed, and their schools and chapels given to the *Magi*. *Huna*, the then chief, and his two disciples abovenamed, were imprisoned, and soon after suffered death, with surprising constancy: but the *Jewish* youth, more addicted to A.C. 474. the pleasures of life, were soon determined to forsake their

[k] Vid. Gantz Tzemach David, sub. A. M. 4113. Sepher Juchasin, p. 124. A. Benddior Cabbala, p. 68. Bartoloc. tom. i. p. 486. Wolf Bibl. Hebr. p. 224.

religion,

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religion, which was followed by a general defection in *Iſrael* towards the end of this century [1]. Notwithſtanding which, ſome of their learned reſumed the work of the thalmud ſoon after; or, if you will believe the *Jewiſh* writers, even before the perſecution ceaſed, (which it did not but with the *Perſian* monarchy, which the *Saracens* made themſelves maſters of) and finiſhed it, according to them, about the cloſe of this century, or the beginning of the next, after which it was diſperſed throughout all the eaſt, and it was univerſally agreed that nothing ſhould be added to or taken from it (L).

THE only thing more, worth taking notice of, under this epocha, was the riſe of the ſect called *Sebureans*, or *Scepticks*, at the head of which was *R. Joſi*. Theſe doctors pretended to doubt of every thing, and ſeem to have ſtarted up to oppoſe the infallibility which the Talmudiſts attributed to their Talmud; but whether by openly queſtioning its authority, or the ſenſe of its deciſions, we cannot affirm. However, their pyrrhoniſm become ſo odious to the reſt of the *Jews*, that it proved but of ſhort duration, it having begun to appear only about the cloſe of this 5th century, and being driven out of the

The ſect of Sebureans, A.C.476.

[1] R. GANTZ TZEMACH, p 121.

(L) We have formerly taken notice of the impoſſibility of reconciling the anachroniſms and contradictions of the *Jewiſh* chronologers; and in the part we are now upon, the author, tho' one of the beſt of them, not only contradicts other hiſtorians, but himſelf alſo. For if rabbi *Aſce*, the firſt compiler of the work, died, as he affirms, *A. C.* 427, and his ſon *Huna* was choſen preſident of the academy of *Sora*, *an.* 455, and reigned 13 years, during which the *Jews* lived in great tranquility, and highly favoured by the king, till the time of the perſecution above-mentioned, and if that could not begin till the year 474, laſted 73 years, and the thalmud was not finiſhed till ſome time after that had ceaſed; then it is plain it could not be ſo till the year 547, even by his own account, and yet he affirms that work to have been compleated by the cloſe of the 5th century (4).

It would be ſtill more difficult to reconcile him to other hiſtorians, even to thoſe of his nation. The latter all agree that the perſecution which was raiſed by *Iſdegerd*, the laſt king of *Perſia*, laſted ſeventy-three years, that is, till the *Saracens* put an end to it by the conqueſt of that monarchy; they muſt therefore be miſtaken, either in the time of *Aſe*'s death, or elſe in the time of the completing the thalmud, and have antedated this laſt by near 50 years. But theſe are ſmall overſights among them, and ſuch as every one muſt overlook, that is converſant with their hiſtorians.

(4) *Gantz Tzemach, ub. ſup.*

world,

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succeeded by the Gaons.

world, before the middle of the next, by the *Gaonim*, or *Gaons*, a new set of doctors, who took that pompous title upon them, which signifies sublime or excellent, and became the idols of the academies, and of the people, as we shall see under the next century, unto which it is now time to hasten (M).

Jews *persecuted in* Persia, *under* Cavades.

THE 6th century began with a persecution of the *Jews* of the dispersion, as well as of the ten tribes in the east, under *Cavades*, a prince of a fierce and proud disposition, who wanted to force all his subjects, Christians as well as *Jews* and others, to embrace the *Persian* religion. A strange cause of this persecution is, by some authors, assigned, which the reader may see in the margin (N), and which proved so violent, that

(M) Some critics (5) have looked upon the *Nephthalites*, by whom, *Agathias* tells us (6), *Perozes* was defeated in the war which he waged against them, to have been the descendants of the tribe of *Nephthali*, carried away captive by *Tiglath Pileser* (7), to the frontiers of *Persia*, where they are affirmed to have been settled many ages before the war (8). But as *Procopius*, in the place above-quoted, calls them *Ephalites*, and says nothing of their being descended from that tribe, but from that of the *White Huns*, who lived on the frontiers of *Persia*, near the river *Oxus*, and *Agathias* himself, who hath miscalled them *Naphthalites*, acknowleges them to be of that, and not of *Jewish* extract, we shall say no more of them. As for the farther account of that war, and of *Perozes*'s treachery and punishment, the reader may see an account in a former volume ‡.

(N) We are told by two Christian writers (9), that *Cavades*, having besieged a castle, in which was a vast treasure depositeed, and kept by demons, he had found all his military efforts against it abortive; and being very eager to make himself master of it, sent for his magi, for the *Manichees*, *Jews* and Christians, to drive away those demons, and that those last were the only ones that could do it; upon which he stript the former of their privileges, and gave them to the Christians. But this account is conradicted by other historians, who affirm that he persecuted the Christians as well as the *Jews*.

The *Jews* tell us of a fatal quarrel which happened between the prince of the captivity and the chief of the academy, under the reign of *Cavades*, in which the former used the latter with so much insolence and barbarity, that his tears and prayers brought such a pestilence upon the prince's family, that they all died of it, except a child then in his mother's womb. *Chanina* (that was the

(5) *Vid. Skicard Taaric. p.* 130. *& auct. ab eo citat.* (6) *Lib.* iv. *c.* 11. (7) 2 *Kings*, xv. 29. xvi. *pass.* (8) *Vid. Procop. bell. Pers. l.* i. *c.* 4, *& seq. Menass. Ben. Israel. Esperanza de Israel, c.* 25. (9) *Theodor. lect. l.* ii. *p.* 564. *Cedren. annal. p.* 297.

academic

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that we read of no leſs than four of their princes of the captivity, who ſucceeded each other within the ſpace of nine years; but whether they were depoſed or put to death by that monarch, doth not appear. Theſe were *Huna*, to whom they give but two years reign; *Acha*, who reigned three; *Tettana*, who reigned four; and *Zeutra*, who having been miraculouſly preſerved, as we obſerved in the laſt note, reigned twenty years. In his time aroſe the famed *Meir*, a learned rabbi, and great miracle-monger, who having declared war againſt the *Perſian* king, with only 400 men, was very ſucceſsful againſt him, during ſeven years; after which his men having polluted themſelves with ſtrange fleſh (O), he was defeated, taken and put to death by the *Perſians*. Theſe went thence into the city, where *Zeutra* reſided, and plundered it, after which they took that prince, and the preſident of the council, and hanged them on a bridge. His family were forced to betake themſelves to flight, and his ſon and heir, *Zeutra* II. retired into *Judea*, where he became prince of the ſenate or ſanhedrin. This, the *Jewiſh* hiſtorians tell us, was the ſource of that ſeries of misfortunes which attended them in *Perſia*; inſomuch, that their great maſter *Habonai*, never dared ſhew

The chief of the captivity hanged, A.C. 522.

academic chief being reproved in a dream, for having deſtroyed the princely race, began to repent of it; and upon conſulting with ſome of the other *Jewiſh* doctors, whether there might not be ſome ſprout left of that family, was told that the prince's daughter was pregnant, and not far from her time; upon which he went immediately to her houſe, and never left her day nor night, hail or ſhine, hot or cold, till ſhe was delivered; and then took upon him to bring up the child, which proved a ſon, and was called *Zeutra*. In the mean time, the princely dignity being vacant, *Paphra*, who was allied to that houſe, bought it of the king, and enjoyed it, till *Zeutra*, the right heir, was fifteen years old, at which time he obtained it of that monarch, and *Paphra* was not only ſtripped of it, but puniſhed with ſudden death, for having obtained that dignity by money.

(O) The *Jews* do not tell us the occaſion of this war; nor is it eaſy to gueſs whether it gave riſe to the perſecution we are now ſpeaking of, or whether it was undertaken to ſuppreſs it. And as they are perſons that prefer dealing in miracles and prodigies, rather than in exact or regular hiſtory, they tell us that this *Meir* had obtained the ſame miraculous fiery pillar that had formerly guided the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs, gained frequent victories over the *Perſians*, and raiſed vaſt contributions, till his men ſuffered themſelves to be debauched by the *Perſian* women to commit ſeveral ſins againſt their law, after which they came to the untimely end we have mentioned above.

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his face, during the ſpace of thirty years, that is, during the whole time of *Cavades*'s reign [m].

Jews perſecuted under Choſroes;

THEY fared ſtill worſe under his ſucceſſor *Choſroes* the great; whoſe favour they had endeavoured to gain, by perſuading him to break off his negotiations about a peace with the emperor *Juſtinian*, which was then in great forwardneſs; by promiſing to him, that if he would go on with the war, they would furniſh him with fifty thouſand men, by whoſe help he might make himſelf maſter of *Jeruſalem*, one of the richeſt cities in the world. The king had ſo far given into that treacherous project, that he had broke off all the negotiations A.C. 589. with the emperor, and made ſeveral preparations towards putting it in execution, when word was brought to him, that thoſe perſons who had been employed in it had been ſeized and put to death, after having made a full diſcovery of the deſign. He purſued his war however, and with ſucceſs his frequent inroads into *Syria* and *Paleſtine* †: but that did not hinder him from making the *Jews* ſhare in the common calamities of the war with the reſt; nor from ſhutting up all their academies in the eaſt, which quite extinguiſhed their love of learning, whilſt their preſent prince, being forced to go into *Judea*, and to exerciſe a function vaſtly beneath him, the eaſtern *Jews* were quite deſtitute of chiefs [n].

reſtored by Hormiſdas, A.C. 589.

THEY did, however, recover their liberty before the year was at an end, under *Hormiſdas* III. (and the academy of *Pundebita* was again opened under the famed *R. Chanan Mehiſcha*, who became chief both of that and of the new ſet of doctors called *Gaons*, or excellent) and enjoyed it during the 12 years of his reign; when that prince was murdered by his ſon *Choſroes* II. as we have ſeen elſewhere *. This laſt did not, however, quietly enjoy the fruits of his parricide; his ſon *Varames* declared himſelf againſt him, as he had before done againſt his father, and ſoon after defeated, drove him out of *Perſia*, and obliged him to ſeek for ſuccour from the emperor *Mauricius*, who lent him ſome forces and generals. Theſe had many a bloody conteſt with *Varames*, who had got a ſtrong party in the kingdom, and the *Jews* likewiſe in his intereſt. Theſe laſt, whom the *Greek* hiſtorian ſtiles °, *a faithleſs, unquiet, imperious, turbulent, and implacable nation, being then powerful enough in* Perſia *to ſtir up the ſubjects againſt their princes, and virulent enough to ſtrengthen the*

Perſecuted by Choſroes II. A.C. 615.

[m] Seder Olam Zuta cum. not. Meieri, vid. & IMBON. Bibliot. Rabin. tom. v. p. 46. BASNAG. ub. ſup. l. viii. c. 9. † See Anc. Hiſt. vol. xi. p. 122. [n] THEOPHAN Chronogr. p. 152. * See Anc. Hiſt. ibid. p. 124, & ſeq. ° THEOPHYL. SIMOCAT. in Maur. lib. v. c. 7. Vid. BASNAG. ub. ſup. § 7.

rebels

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rebels againſt them. At length *Choſroes* having the upper hand over *Varames*, made them pay dear for their perfidy. Thoſe of *Antioch* were the firſt that felt the dire effects of his reſentment, when that city (P) was taken by *Mebodes* the *Roman* general, who immediately put vaſt numbers of them to the ſword, and many more to the moſt cruel deaths, reducing the reſt to the moſt deplorable ſlavery [p]. *Butchered at Antioch.*

CHOSROES, however, was no ſooner ſeated on the *Perſian* throne, but he was reconciled to them, and received ſome ſignal ſervices from them; eſpecially in the war which he waged againſt *Phocas*, the murderer of *Mauricius*, wherein he made a moſt dreadful havock of them both in *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, and took the city of *Jeruſalem* †. They ſeem even to have acted in concert with him, ſeeing he was no ſooner maſter of that metropolis, than he delivered up all the Chriſtians priſoners into their hands, though he could not but know that they only bought them with a deſign of ſatiating their implacable hatred againſt them, as they accordingly did, inſomuch, that no leſs than ninety thouſand of them were unmercifully butchered by them [q]. *Reconciled to Choſroes.* *90,000 Chriſtians butchered by them.*

THIS is farther confirmed by what *Elmakin*, and other *Arabian* authors add of the *Jews* attempt upon *Tyre*, at the time when *Choſroes* was beſieging *Conſtantinople*, and all the forces of *Syria* and *Judea* were drawn out to ſuccour that capital. They, taking the advantage of that juncture, had combined to murder all the *Tyrians*, on *Eaſter-day*, and to ſeize upon that important place, and were actually come to the walls of it, but were ſtoutly repulſed by the inhabitants, who had had timely notice of their deſign. Upon this diſappointment, the *Jews* diſperſed themſelves about the country, fell foul on the churches of the Chriſtians, and burnt a vaſt number of them; but were at length cut off by the *Tyrians*, who ſallied out againſt, and made a terrible ſlaughter of them [r]. This ſhews that they were doing the *Perſian* king's work, if they were not really hired by him to it. We have ſeen his ſad cataſtrophe in a former chapter [s]. *Attempt on the city of Tyre fruſtrated.*

WE are now come to the 7th century, the beginning of which was ſignalized not only by the tranſactions above-nam- Jews *under* Mo-

[p] Id. ibid. † See Anc. Hiſt. vol. xi. p. 138, & ſeq. [q] THEOPHAN. ub. ſup. p. 252. [r] ELMAK. p. 271. PATRICIDES. p. 236. HOTTING. Hiſt. Orient. lib. i. c. 3. [s] See Anc. Hiſt. ibid. p. 139, & ſeq.

(P) Not the metropolis of *Syria*, but a new city of that name; and ſo exactly built after its model, by *Choſroes* I. that the inhabitants brought away from the old one could hardly believe but it was the ſame.

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hammed *in the 7th century.*

ed, but much more by the appearance of *Mohammed* on the ſtage of the world. We have given the life and actions of that grand impoſtor in a preceding volume *, and ſhall only examine here, what ſhare the *Jews* are ſaid to have had in it; who, *Theophanes* tells us, ſeeing him appear in ſo ſplendid a manner, began to look upon him as the Meſſiah; inſomuch, that many of them exchanged their religion for his; tho' they were ſoon after much offended at his eating of camels fleſh, which is forbid by the *Moſaic* law [t] (Q). However, the fear of appearing inconſtant, or rather their hopes of receiving ſome conſiderable advantages from him, and of having it more in their power to injure the Chriſtians, made them overlook that nicety, and continue in his intereſt, as we obſerved in the laſt note. What aſſiſtance they gave him in the forming of his new religion, we have already ſhewn in the volume

Turn to and aſſiſt him.

* Vol i. paſſ p. 30, & ſeq. [t] Vid. Levitic. xi. 4. Deut. xiv. 7. See before, vol. iii. p. 155, & ſeq. & (D).

(Q) It ſeems ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that they, who ſcrupled not to abandon their old law for this new one, ſhould be ſo ſqueamiſh at *Mohammed*'s tranſgreſſing in ſo inconſiderable a point; tho' it is no ſtrange thing to meet with ſuch contraſts in mankind, eſpecially among the *Jews*. But, as the ſame author tells us, that they dared not renounce this new religion, it is likely that their converſion to it was rather political than real; for in ſticking ſtill cloſe to him, they not only ſided with the ſtrongeſt and moſt proſperous, but had thereby an opportunity to ſour and exaſperate that impoſtor againſt the Chriſtians, and bring freſh perſecutions againſt them: accordingly our author adds, that *they kept cloſe to him till he was murdered* (10).

This laſt expreſſion hath indeed ſhocked moſt readers; ſince it is well known that *Mohammed* did not die a violent death. Some have therefore ſuſpected it to be ſome error crept into the text of the hiſtorian; and if ſo, it muſt be of old date, ſince *Cedrenus* hath ſaid the very ſame thing after him. But whatever the miſtake is, moſt people think it to be meant of his flight, and not of his death. For it is not improbable, that they who had promiſed themſelves ſuch great advantages under him, might, when they ſaw him ſo reduced by the oppoſite faction, as to be forced to fly, be induced to abandon him. And accordingly, the *Arabian* authors boaſt that they did, on his firſt appearing, ſend him twelve of their doctors, to aſſiſt him in the compiling his *Alcoran* (11); which if true, doth plainly ſhew that they were far enough from believing him to be the Meſſiah, whatever they might outwardly pretend, and whatever helps they might afford him in the carrying on his deſign.

(10) *Theophyl. ſub. An. Ch.* 622. (11) *Vid. Inbenat. Bibl. Rab. ub. ſup.*

above

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above quoted: and ſhall only obſerve here, that it appears from his *Koran*, that he had read their books, and was not unverſed in their religion and cuſtoms; and as they were then very numerous and powerful in ſeveral parts of *Arabia* (R), and had there many ſtrong caſtles and fortreſſes, and maintained armies under their princes, when he began to lay the foundation of his new religion, it is more than probable that he took all proper means to engage them in his intereſt, whilſt they, always intent on their worldly advantage, were as eaſily induced by his careſſes and promiſes to aſſiſt him in all his views. But whatever cauſe they might afterwards give him to diſlike them, it is plain, from the tenor of his writings, that he hated and deſpiſed them; he calls them betrayers and murderers of the prophets, and a people juſtly curſed of God, for their violation of his ſabbaths and laws, and for their obſtinate unbelief both of the ancient prophets, and of himſelf; for which he hath curſed them in many places of his *Koran*, and did at length declare open war againſt them. *Hated by him.*

THIS war was at firſt began by one of the principal *Jews*, named *Cajab*, who oppoſed all his meaſures, for which reaſon *Mohammed* had given orders to ſome of his men to lay wait for, and kill him; upon which he appeared at the head of his nation. *Mohammed* began with beſieging them in the fortreſſes they held in *Hegiaſa*; and having obliged them to ſurrender at diſcretion, baniſhed them, and gave their wealth to his *Moſlems*. After this *Cajab* attacked him near *Kaibar*, a place about four days journey from *Medina*, in the third year after the *Hejra*, and was totally routed by him, and with great difficulty ſaved his life by flight, whilſt his troops were unmercifully butchered by the *Moſlems*. This did not hinder them from trying their fortune more than once againſt him; but they ſtill met with the ſame ill ſucceſs: ſo that they were forced at length to ſubmit to his ſuperior force, and to become tributary to him, in order to enjoy what they had. This yoke, however, proved ſo grating to the *Jewiſh* nation, that one of their women reſolved to rid them of it, by poiſoning him with a joint of mutton; but the prophet ſmelt the poiſon out, and eſcaped the ſnare. Many other hoſtilities, the *Makes war againſt them.*

(R) Particularly in that which was known by the name of *Hegiaſa*; which word ſignifies ſeparation, becauſe it was ſituated between *Arabia Deſerta* and *Arabia Felix*, without belonging to either. The *Greek* geographers, who have joined it to the latter, had neither rightly conſidered its ſituation nor barrenneſs; and it is to that canton the city of *Mecca* belongs.

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Arabian authors mention, between the *Jews* and *Moslems* [u], not worth mentioning; and the former, being convinced to their cost of the great success of that false prophet, as well as of the severity of his yoke, they have applied to him the vision of *Daniel*'s statue [w], whose feet were partly iron, and partly clay; whence they inferred that the Messiah was not to appear till after the foundation of that empire, since he is there prefigured by the stone cut out without hands, which was to destroy and put an end to it [x]. All which shews that there could be no such combination between the *Jews* and *Mohammed* and his disciples, as they have been charged with. Let us now see how they fared under his successors, during the rest of this 7th century.

Jews *under the Califs*,

AFTER the conquest of *Persia* by *Omar* II. Khalif after *Mohammed*, the *Jews* under that monarchy not only became subject to the *Saracens*, but very often changed their masters, both by the swift succession of those monarchs, and the rapidity of their conquests in the east, and yet we do not find that their condition was at all altered for the worse, except that they shared in the common misfortunes which those conquerors brought into every province they subdued. We even find them making great rejoicings upon *Omar*'s having overthrown *Isdegert*, and seized upon his dominions (S), as well as at every success which either he or his successors had against the Christians; especially as they found these new conquerors more mild and friendly towards their nation, so that they soon began to enjoy the full liberty not only of

[u] Set VATTIER. Hist. Mahometan. lib. i. p. 6, & seq. De Genera. Machumet lat. edit. ab HERMAN DALMATA. Suffrata. 49. p. 265. HOTTING. Hist. Orient. lib. ii. c. 2. [w] Daniel ii. 31, & seq. [x] Ibid vers. 34.

(S) And well they might, if that prince, the last of the *Persian* kings, had, as they pretend (12), either began or carried on such a bloody persecution against them, and had caused all their academies to be shut up, as we have lately hinted. But this was not the only occasion of their joy; the vast success of those princes, great enemies of the Christians, and the demolishing of their Churches, could not but flatter their hopes of seeing them in time reduced. They have been moreover accused of having instigated the *Moslems* against them (13), by which they so far ingratiated themselves to those new conquerors, as to recover all the privileges they had lost under the *Persians*.

(12) *Vid. Solomon Ben. Virg. p.* 5. *Beda in Luc.* 23. (13) *Paul Diacon. Hist. lib.* xxii. *p.* 312.

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their religion, but of opening their academies, and reſtoring them to their flouriſhing condition. They mention indeed ſome ſharp diſputes which they had with the Khalif *Ali*, about the many factions into which his ſect, tho' of ſo ſhort ſtanding, was already divided, which that Khalif retorted, by reminding them of their ſeveral idolatries, immediately after their miraculous paſſing of the *Red Sea*. However, this did not hinder that prince from protecting them, as they had taken care to ſecure his favour by the homage they paid to him (T). We are indeed told that the *Jews*, who pretended then to deal in aſtrology and magic, had promiſed *Yezid*, the ſon of *Haſan*, then on the throne, and a wicked prince, a forty years reign, if he would deſtroy all the images within his dominions; but that his accepting the condition raiſed ſuch a powerful party of ſaints in heaven, that they obtained a ſentence of death againſt him. Upon which his ſon was going to revenge the cheat, and his father's death, upon them, but that they retired betimes into the *Roman* territories, and ſo eſcaped his reſentment [y]. But there is a manifeſt anachroniſm in that ſtory, to ſay nothing worſe of it, ſince *Yezid* died *A. C.* 683; whereas, according to the author laſt-named, the edict againſt images did not come out till three years after, that is, *An.* 686. Beſides, it is ſo far from probable that the *Jewiſh* nation ſuffered under *Yezid*, or any of his immediate ſucceſſors, that, on the contrary, they lived in ſuch liberty and quiet under them, that their prince, or chief of the captivity, enjoyed as great an authority as if he had been their real king (U): and the

enjoy their old freedom of religion, &c.

[y] Bartoloc. ub. ſup. tom. iv. p. 464. Maimbourg. Hiſt. Iconoclaſt. lib. i.

(T) They tell us that *R. Iſaac*, one of their moſt famed *Gaons*, who went to pay his homage to him on his defeat of the *Perſian* king, was not only well received, but raiſed by him to ſome high dignity (14), and that the Khalif beſtowed one of the princeſſes of *Perſia*, his captives, on *Boſtenar*, the then chief of the captivity. But there ſeems to be a groſs miſtake in this; *viz.* that it was *Omar*, and not his ſucceſſor *Ali*, that defeated the *Perſian*; unleſs we will ſuppoſe that our author hath named the one for the other; for *Omar* was no leſs a favourer of the *Jews* than *Ali*, even by their own account, tho' he afterwards obliged thoſe that remained in *Arabia* to pay him a tribute (15), and upon their refuſal expelled them out of it.

(U) We took notice lately of their academies being again opened and flouriſhing; and we are farther told, that the con-

(14) *Gantz Tzemach. p.* 123. (15) *Vatt er Hiſt Mahom. lib. i.*

and likewise of Egypt.

the same may be said of those that dwelt in *Egypt* and *Syria*[z], which was then under the *Ommiades*, whose family was no less friendly to the *Jewish* nation.

But it is now time to turn our eyes to those in the west, under the *Roman* emperors, at *Constantinople*, *Africa*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, &c. during the 6th and 7th centuries, which we chuse to join together, to avoid breaking off the thread of their history. The first cause of complaint which the emperor *Justinian*, who affected to judge of most affairs relating to religion, gave them, was his edict which forbad them to celebrate their passover according to their own calculation, and enjoined them to keep it at the same time with the Christians [a]. This was no more than we are told he did to the latter, whom he obliged to follow his new calculation, which caused no less confusion amongst them [b]; but only the *Jews*, always tenacious of their old way, resented it at a higher rate (W). They

Justinian's edict against them.

[z] Vid. Basnag. ub. sup. lib. viii. c. 10. § 13. [a] Procop. Hist. Arc. c. 28. [b] Theophan. ad Just. an. 19.

course to them was such, that for want of masters, they had been obliged to raise a weaver, who had applied himself to the study of the law, to the dignity of professor at *Sora*; soon after which the *Gaons* began to restore learning to its ancient lustre. Several of them became famed for their skill in physic, as well as divinity; and *R. Aaron*, a priest of *Alexandria*, did then publish his *Pandects*, or *Treasure of Remedies*, which was soon after translated into *Arabic* by *Masserginsse*, another *Jewish* physician, in great repute at the Khalif's court.

Some make this last to have flourished in the reign of *Heraclius*, and the khalifate of *Merwan* I.; but absurdly; seeing those two princes were not cotemporary, and the latter reigned not till the 68th year of the *Hejra*, or flight of *Mohammed*, which answers to the year of *Christ* 684. However, what hath been said is sufficient to shew that the *Jews* were in a flourishing condition under the first Khalifs.

(W) A late critic, often quoted in this work, rightly observes some great mistake in the year and occasion of this edict, as mentioned by *Theophanes* and *Nicephoras*; and thinks that the emperor lengthened the *Lent* fast by one week, because *Easter* on that year fell on the same day with the Christians and *Jews*: so that according to him, he made that change in the former only, to prevent its coinciding with that of the latter: but as his conjecture not only contradicts the two authors above-mentioned, but likewise by *Procopius*'s account, we shall leave them as we find them.

There is still another difficulty in the account of that edict, the last-named author, and his annotator, *viz.* that it forbad the *Jews* eating of the paschal lamb

They had ſoon after a more ſevere edict againſt them, by which that emperor deprived them of ſeveral privileges; as firſt, of being admitted by the magiſtrates as evidence againſt the Chriſtians. Secondly, of making wills, and bequeathing legacies: to which ſome add, that of bringing up their children in their religion, who were, inſtead of that, to be catechiſed, and brought up Chriſtians; tho' this laſt is much to be queſtioned. He likewiſe deprived thoſe of *Afric* of the exerciſe of their religion, at the requeſt of the council of *Carthage*; and ſent orders to his *prefectus pretoris* there to turn all their ſynagogues into churches, and to reſtrain them from performing any religious duties in caverns [c] (X). *In* Afric *ſuppreſſed*, A.C. 530.

THESE

[c] PROCOP. de Ædif. lib. v. c. 2. p. 110, & ſeq.

lamb on that ſolemnity, under great penalties; for the *Jews* did never eat it out of *Jeruſalem* *. So that it ſeems to relate only to thoſe who lived in the neighbourhood of that city, or perhaps rather to the *Samaritans* ſeated about *Mount Garizim*, either of which might think they might privately eat it.

(X) This was more particularly put in execution in the city of *Borium*, ſeated at the foot of a ridge of mountains, which make the boundary of *Pentapolis* on the weſt. Its ſituation was ſtrong by nature, becauſe the acceſs to it was incloſed by the mountains above-mentioned, which had only a narrow paſſage to it. It was filled with *Jews*, who had now made it their retreat, and lived in it unmoleſted and tax-free. They had there a ſtately ſtructure which they ſtyled a temple, and pretended to be as old as *Solomon*, which ſhews that they muſt have been ſettled there a conſiderable time, and were very populous and wealthy, notwithſtanding their vicinity to the *Moors*. However, *Juſtinian*'s orders were ſo punctually executed, that the *Jews* were moſtly converted, and their ſynagogue turned into a church; after which the emperor cauſed the city to be fortified with ſtout walls (16).

This century is very fertile in miracles, which were wrought for the converſion of *Jews* and Heathens; ſome of which are of too puerile a nature to deſerve a place in a work like this, ſuch as thoſe wrought by one *Simon*, an ideot of the city of *Emeſſa*; which yet failed not to work their effect on thoſe unbelievers, if we may credit the authors that have recorded them (17). But we ſhall mention a very remarkable one which happened at *Conſtantinople*, becauſe it will give a light to ſome part of the hiſtory of thoſe times.

It was, it ſeems, the cuſtom then, after the communion was over at church, to call in the

* *De hoc vid. vol.* iii. *p.* 20, *& ſeq.* 382, *& ſeq. & notes.* (16) *Procop. ub. ſup.* (17) *Evagr. lib.* iv. *c.* 36. *ad an. Chr.* 552.

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THESE edicts, which were by the *Jews* looked upon as a kind of perſecution, failed not, as uſual, to produce a more than ordinary diſcontent; which by degrees ripened into revolts, as ſoon as a proper opportunity offered. The firſt of them was raiſed accordingly by one *Julian*, who ſet up for the Meſſiah, and drew after him many of the *Jews* of *Paleſtine*, who were in great hopes of him, from the title of conqueror which he took, and the great appearance he made; and who having armed all his followers, led them againſt the Chriſtians. Theſe, being fearleſs of any hoſtilities from the oppreſſed *Jews* at that time, were ſlaughtered by them in great numbers; till at length the emperor ſent his forces againſt, and ſuppreſſed them; they fighting rather like wild deſperadoes than like regular troops. Their leader being taken, was immediately put to death, which ſoon ended the revolt (Y) [d].

A falſe meſſiah in Paleſtine, A.C. 530.

MUCH

[d] PAUL DIACON. PROCOP. MALALA, &c. ub. ſup.

children to eat what remained of the conſecrated bread. A *Jewiſh* boy being one day among them, went in and took part with them; and being queſtioned by his father, about his not coming ſo ſoon as uſual, and having owned the true cauſe of it, that unnatural parent threw him into a burning oven, where he kept him three days ſhut up. At length the mournful mother, who had ſought for him far and near, happening to name his name, in a kind of lamenting tone, near the oven's mouth, the boy anſwered to it; and being taken out, told her that a fine lady, cloathed in purple, had ſaved him both from being burned and ſtarved. The emperor being informed of it, ſent for the mother and child, who were both baptiſed. The boy was brought up and became a clergyman, and the mother a deaconeſs; whilſt the obſtinate father, refuſing to follow their example, was crucified in one of the ſuburbs of that metropolis. Thus far our author (8), after whom *Beda* tells much the ſame ſtory, only he removes the ſcene from *Conſtantinople* to *Rome*, as well as the time from *Juſtinian* to that of *Theodoſius* the younger (19).

(Y) This ſtory is differently related by another chronologer (20), who tells us that the *Samaritans* having had ſome ſkirmiſhes with the Chriſtians at *Naplouſe* their capital, in which they had burnt ſome of their houſes, and *Juſtinian* having cauſed their governor to be put to death, for not having timely ſuppreſſed them, they grew ſo deſperate, as to chuſe one *Julian*, a captain of banditti, to be their king, and fell foul upon the Chriſtians, overthrew their churches in ſeveral parts of the province, maſſacred *Amo-*

(18) *Id. ibid. p.* 412, *&c ſeq.* (19) *Collect. ad Fin.* (20) *Malala Chron. Hiſt. Chronol. tom.* xi. *p.* 181. *apud Baſnag Hiſt. des Juifs, l.* ii. *c.* 8. § 1. *l.* viii. *c* 12. § 9 & 10.

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MUCH ſuch another happened at *Cæſarea*, about twenty-five years after; in which the *Samaritans* and *Jews*, though mortal enemies to each other, as we have had frequent occaſions to ſhew, did yet join forces againſt the Chriſtians, demoliſhed their churches, maſſacred great numbers of them, and particularly the governor in his own palace[e]. His lady, having happily eſcaped their fury, ſent word to *Juſtinian* of all that happened; who immediately ſent *Adamantius* thither to take full information of the facts; which being conveyed to court, with all their aggravations, the richer *Jews* had their goods confiſcated, great numbers of thoſe who had had a hand in the revolt were beheaded or baniſhed, and their execution performed with ſuch ſeverity as made the reſt of the *Jewiſh* nation tremble, and prevented for a time their taking up arms againſt the Chriſtians (Z). Jews *revolt at* Cæſarea, A.C. 555.

THEY did however join with the *Goths* in *Italy* againſt *Juſtinian*, and his general *Beliſarius*; eſpecially at the city of *Naples*, which the latter was then beſieging (A), and in which they *Help to defend* Naples,

[e] Id. ibid. P. VANFRED. Hiſt. in Bibliot. Max. patr. tom. xiii. p. 376. CEDREN. Annal. p. 316.

nas, biſhop of *Naplouſe*, cut his clergy into mince-meat, and fried it with their relics, and committed many other diſorders of the like kind, where-ever they came; inſomuch that people were afraid to travel, till the revolt was quelled by the emperor's troops.

Among the other exploits which *Julian* did at that capital, having entered it when they were performing their races and games, he ſet himſelf up as judge of the prizes; and *Nicias* having gained one, and applying to him for it, he aſked him what his religion was, and finding that he was a Chriſtian, immediately cut off his head, as unworthy of the crown; but being ſoon after defeated and taken his head was likewiſe taken off, and ſent to the emperor, together with the crown he had on. Twenty thouſand of his troops were ſlain upon the ſpot; the reſt retired to *Mounts Garizzim*, *Arparizim*, and other mountainous parts of *Trachonitis*; and about 20,000 of the young priſoners were ſold for ſlaves, and ſent into *Perſia* and *India*.

(Z) Some modern hiſtorians make this ſecond revolt againſt *Juſtinian* to have been ſoon after followed by a third; but as neither the *Greek* authors, who would hardly have omitted it, nor *Paul* the deacon, from whom they pretend to quote it, mention any thing of it; it is more likely that they had ſmarted too much in the ſecond, to have been ſo quickly drawn into a third.

(A) That general having quitted the *Vandals* in *Africk*, and recovered the ſacred *Jewiſh* veſſels, which *Titus* had carried from *Jeruſalem* to *Rome*, and *Genzeric* had ſeized on at the ſacking of

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they fought moſt deſperately againſt him, as being fully convinced that they muſt expect no mercy from him; for whilſt the citizens were deliberating about a ſurrender, and had dreſſed up the articles of capitulation, the friends of the *Goths* came to diſſuade them from it; and, to do it the more effectually, had brought with them a number of *Jewiſh* merchants, to aſſure them, that if they held out, they ſhould want neither proviſions nor ammunition of any kind: by which means the ſiege being prolonged, and that general being forced to loſe a great number of his men, was the more exaſperated againſt them. Other particulars of this ſiege being foreign to our preſent point, have been ſeen in a former part *. What farther relates to the *Jews*, is, that they defended that part of the town which is towards the ſea, even after the other part was ſurrendered to the beſiegers. They were however forced to do the ſame; and tho' we are told that *Beliſarius* tried all proper means to inſpire his ſoldiers with ſentiments of clemency, yet whether they did not believe him in earneſt, or were too much exaſperated to liſten to him, a horrid ſlaughter was made of the beſieged, in which the *Jews* were treated with greater cruelty than any of the reſt [f], and were horribly butchered, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or quality. This dreadful ſeverity quelled them for a time, and we hear of neither revolt nor perſecution during the two ſubſequent reigns. Perhaps alſo they bought their peace by dint of money, eſpecially from *Mauritius*, who was then engaged in a troubleſome war againſt the *Avari*. But under the traitor *Phocas* they made a moſt bloody inſurrection at *Antioch*, where they were very populous and wealthy; in which the Chriſtians, who proved too weak to withſtand them, ſuf-

cruelly butchered.

Cruelties at Antioch, A.C. 602.

* See Anc. Hiſt. vol. xix. p. 564, & (H). [f] Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. i. c. 8, & ſeq. p. 329, & ſeq.

of that metropolis, *Juſtinian* had ordered them to be conveyed to *Conſtantinople*, to adorn his general's triumph. The ſight of them, which could not but remind the *Jews* of that capital of the ſad cataſtrophe of their city and temple, made ſo lively an impreſſion on one of them, that he could not forbear crying out, as if he had been ſeized with a ſudden enthuſiaſm, that thoſe veſſels ought not to be laid up in any other place but that, for the uſe of which *Solomon* had conſecrated them; and added, that it was on their account that *Rome* had been taken by *Genzeric*, and *Genzeric* had been vanquiſhed by the *Romans*. This ſpeech was ſoon brought to the emperor, who looking on the *Jew* as divinely inſpired, immediately ordered them to be conveyed to *Jeruſalem* (21).

(21) *Procop. Bell. Vandal. lib.* ii. *c.* 9. *p.* 255.

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fered the moſt horrid cruelties; great numbers were burnt in their own houſes; others, where-ever they met them, were thrown into the flames; and the biſhop *Anaſtaſius*, not the firſt, as *Nicephoras* hath miſtaken him [g], but the ſecond of that name, and his immediate ſucceſſor, treated with the moſt barbarous indignities; for, not content to have him dragged along the ſtreets, they cut off his privities, and clapt them in his mouth; and, after having made a diſmal ſpectacle of him through the ſtreets of the place, flung him into the fire. They were however, with great difficulty, ſuppreſſed by count *Bonoſus*, whom *Phocas* ſent with a ſufficient force againſt them, and made to undergo a condign puniſhment [h]. And thoſe, that came off eaſieſt, were baniſhed, and ſent away mangled and maimed. By this time they were again grown very numerous in the iſland of *Cyprus*, notwithſtanding *Adrian*'s ſevere edict againſt their even ſetting foot in it, even as travellers. And it was about four years after the maſſacre at *Antioch*, that the good *Cyprian* biſhop *Leontius*, fearing perhaps the ſame fate from them, reſolved, if poſſible, to convert them to Chriſtianity; and ſucceeded ſo well in it, if we may depend upon his apology to be genuine, that the far greater part of them were baptized by him [i]. *Converted in* Cyprus, A.C. 606.

We find them very numerous and quiet in *Italy*, where pope *Gregory the Great*, who reigned about this time, exhorted his clergy and flock to uſe them with candour and tenderneſs, ſeeing, as he himſelf believed and alledged, they were all to be recalled, and become a conſiderable part of Chriſt's fold [k]; for which reaſon, ſaid he, they muſt be brought into the unity of the faith by gentle means, fair perſuaſions, and charitable advice, and not by force which is rather apt to diſguſt them. Accordingly, we read of ſeveral remarkable converſions wrought among them, and ſome of them attended with circumſtances not much ſhort of being miraculous, though we forbear repeating them here [l]. That pontif not only blamed the untimely zeal of ſome biſhops againſt them, but even of ſome of their new converts, particularly that of one of the latter, who went and planted a croſs and the virgin's image in their ſynagogue; and which he ordered to be taken away, alledging, that, ſince the laws do not permit them to build new ſynagogues, they ought to *Their quiet ſtate under* Gregory the Great. *Laws againſt them.*

[g] Hiſt. lib. xviii. c. 44. [h] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. xvii. p. 16, & ſeq. Zonar. Annal. tom. iii. Paul Diacon. hiſt. lib. xvii. [i] Leont. Epiſc. Neapol. Cypr. apol. cont. Jud. act. concil. Nic. ii. can. 4. [k] Greg. lib. iv. ind. 13. epiſt. 50. lib. vii. epiſt. 24. [l] Id. ibid. lib. i. epiſt. 34. dialog. lib. iii. c. 7.

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be allowed the free use of their old ones (B). He not only revived the old edicts against their having Christian slaves, which had been long since shamefully neglected, but ordained, that all the *Jewish* domestics, that should take refuge in the churches, and be baptized, should, *ipso facto*, become free (C).

Change under Heraclius, A.C. 628.

THEIR condition altered much for the worse soon after; that is, as soon as the emperor *Heraclius* had concluded a peace with *Persia*, by which the cross of Christ, formerly taken by them, had been restored to him, and sent to *Jerusalem*; of which we have spoken more fully in a former part *. It plainly appears, from his own words, that he hated the *Jewish* nation, because they were enemies of Christ and his religion. But what gave him the first handle against them, was his meeting with one at *Tiberias*, named *Benjamin*, so wealthy as to have alone furnished his army and court with provisions; and so elated on that account, that he had plagued the Christians with troublesome law-suits and malicious prosecutions. *Benjamin*, fearing his resentment, found no better expedient to avoid it, than turning Christian; but this did not lessen his aversion to the nation, whom he soon after caused to be banished out of *Jerusalem*, with a severe prohibition against any of them coming thenceforth within three miles of that city.

Reasons of his persecuting them.

BUT what more effectually exasperated him against them, was an answer given him by some of his soothsayers, whom he had consulted about the fate of the empire, that he would be undone by a circumcised nation; for when he came to consider how numerous and powerful they were in most parts

* Anc. Hist. vol. xi. p. 140. vol. xvii. p. 21, & seq.

(B) It appears by this, that the former edicts of the emperor *Theodosius* were still kept in force against them, notwithstanding that pontif's clemency towards them. He likewise inforced another, *viz.* against their having Christian slaves; alledging, that it would be a dishonour to Christianity to be subject to *Judaism*; and ordered, that those that had been sold for such, should be released without any farther ransom, such a traffic having been long since forbid by the imperial laws.

(C) Some of the prelates, particularly *Januarius*, then bishop of *Cagliari*, had, it seems, till then, followed a more laudable method and example, *viz.* either of sending such runaway slaves back to their master, as St. *Paul* had *Onesimus* to *Philemon*, or of buying their liberty with the church's money. But *Gregory* would not suffer the church's wealth to be employed to any such purpose, seeing their conversion made them free without any further consideration (22).

(22) *Greg. lib.* iii. *epist.* 8.

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of the empire, what frequent efforts they had made to recover their liberty, and what bloody revolts they had raiſed againſt the Chriſtians at divers times and places; he no longer doubted but they were the circumciſed meant by the ſouthſayers; and, conſequently, that the moſt effectual means of preventing its accompliſhment, was to perſecute and oblige them to abjure *Judaiſm*; little dreaming, that the *Saracens*, who are alſo circumciſed, and not the *Jews*, were the people who were to overthrow the empire.

Their ſad caſe in Spain and Gaul.

He did not think it ſufficient to perſecute them in his dominions, but endeavoured to have the ſame done in *Gaul*, *Spain*, and other kingdoms; and made it one of the principal conditions of the peace he made with *Sizibut*, king of *Spain*, that he ſhould oblige them either to abjure *Judaiſm* and be baptized, or to abandon the kingdom; and that monarch made no difficulty to conſent to it; and, without conſulting any of his biſhops, as *Marianna* words it, engaged in an action which was contrary to the Chriſtian religion; and, in ſpite of all their remonſtrances, cauſed the principal among them to be flung into priſon, where, having languiſhed a conſiderable time, one part of them turned Chriſtians, to avoid the grievous puniſhments to which they had been condemned; and the reſt retired into *Gaul*, where *Heraclius* made them undergo the ſame fate (D). His zeal however was highly diſcommended, not only by *Iſidor*, biſhop of *Sevil*, who was, in other reſpects, a great admirer of that prince [m],

[m] Isidor. Hiſpal. Chron. Gothor. p. 402. Vid. & Solom. Ben. virg. Sheveth Jehudah. p. 93, & ſeq.

(D) The *Jews*, who call that prince *Siſeboc*, tell us, that they urged againſt him the example of *Joſhua*, who did not conſtrain the *Canaanites* to be circumciſed, but only to obſerve the precepts of *Noah* (23), of which we have formerly ſpoken (*). But were anſwered, that *Joſhua* did as he then thought beſt; but that now the caſe was different; and, though men ought to be left at their liberty, whether or no they will accept of a temporal advantage, yet, with reſpect to thoſe which are of a ſpiritual nature, they ought to be forced to embrace them, as a child is to learn his duty, *&c.* He accordingly uſed ſuch violent means as obliged them, if not to be ſincere converts, at leaſt to pretend to be ſuch. His ſucceſſors followed his example, and a new law was made, that thoſe, who did not turn Chriſtians immediately after the publication of it, ſhould be publicly whipped, and receive a hundred laſhes, ſuffer confiſcation of all their goods, and be baniſhed the kingdom (24).

(23) *Solom. Ben. virgæ. Sheveth Jehudah, ub. ſup.* (*) *See Alc. Hiſt. vol. iii. p.* 115, *& ſeq. and notes* (G) (H). (24) *Leges Viſigoth. lib.* xii. *tit.* 3. *l.* 3.

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A.C. 533. *Council of Toledo's decree.* but likewise by the fourth council of *Toledo*, in which he presided; which declared it unlawful and unchristian to force people to believe, seeing, *it is God alone who hardens and shews mercy to whom he will.* However, there was one clause or regulation in it very derogatory to so pious a declaration, seeing it obliged these forced converts to continue in the faith and communion of the church, in which they had been partakers of the sacraments; and which they could not swerve from without manifest scandal to it [n]. There might indeed A.C. 638. be but too much reason for such a clause, seeing it was now common with the *Jews* to play fast and loose, to become converts, and *judaize* again as soon as they had an opportunity. However, the next *Toledan* council, which sat about five years after, was so far from condemning the violence used against them, that they highly commended their monarch's (*Sciuntila*) zeal, and blessed God for inspiring him with it, ratified the laws he had made against the *Jews*, decreed, that, from thenceforth, no king should mount the throne, till he had taken a solemn oath to observe them, and concluded, with an anathema against those that should violate them. This decree was so punctually executed by the succeeding princes, and such severe laws made against the recusant *Jews*, that they chose to conform rather than incur the penalties. But as those forced conversions were nothing less than sincere, and great numbers were observed to *judaize* again, and a new council was convened by king *Receſuinthus* to put a stop to that abuse, the *Jews*, on their part, resolved to avoid the ill consequences of it, by sending a letter to that monarch, in the name of all their brethren then in *Spain*, protesting, that, though they had till then dissembled, being neither altogether *Jews*, nor thoroughly converted, yet they were now fully resolved to become sincere professors, and wholly to conform to the laws of the Gospel (E). This so-

A new Council, A.C. 653.

[n] Act. concil. Tolet. iv. sub an. 633. c. lvii. & seq. tom. v. p. 1709.

(E) Among other plausible promises, they engaged to avoid all commerce and intermarriages with those that were unbaptized, to observe no longer the Sabbath, and the circumcising of their children; and, if they could not be brought to eat swine's flesh, as having contracted a natural reluctance to it, through custom and education, they would not scruple to eat any meat that was dressed with it. Lastly, they engaged to stone or burn all those that acted contrary to this promise; or, if his majesty thought fit to grant them their lives, they consented that they should be doomed to perpetual slavery, with the confiscation of all their effects.

lemn

lemn proteſt became the more ſuſpected as it promiſed ſo fair, and was looked upon, both by the king and council, as deſigned only to prevent the penalties being inflicted againſt thoſe that had relapſed; for their behaviour was quite oppoſite to it, they ſtill making open profeſſion of *Judaiſm*, and publickly attacking Chriſtianity (F); inſomuch that *Ervigius* was obliged to order *Julian*, then archbiſhop of *Toledo*, to write againſt them; which he did accordingly, and with great ſtrength and ſucceſs °, in a learned treatiſe, which he publiſhed a little before the cloſe of the ſeventh century. Julian's book againſt them, A.C. 686.

EGICA ſoon after preferred a complaint to the ſame *Toletan* council againſt the *Jews*, who, he ſays, had combined with thoſe of *Africk* againſt him. That prince added, that the infection had ſpread itſelf through all the provinces of the *Spaniſh* monarchy; and, that though it had not yet reached *France* and *Italy*, it was not therefore the leſs deſerving of their ſerious attention. Whereupon it was there decreed, that all the *Jews* ſhould be deprived of their privileges, and declared perpetual ſlaves; that their effects ſhould be confiſcated, and their children taken from them, and brought up by the Chriſtians (G). This ſevere edict however, they did, in all probability, elude, as uſual, by a timely baptiſm; for we do not read of any that ſuffered on its account. Jews in Gaul, A.C. 503.

THOSE

° JUL. Tolet. cont. Jud. l. i. Bibl. Rabbin. p. 122, & ſeq. lib. iii. p. 139, & ſeq.

(F) They objected, among other things, that Chriſt was not come in the ſixth millenary, which had been pointed out for his appearance; to which the archbiſhop gave a moſt learned anſwer out of the writings of the prophets, and proved to them, that Chriſt was born at the time prefixed by them; and, upon his reminding them, that they were now expelled out of the promiſed land, without kings, prieſt, ſacrifice, or altar, all which, he urged, were aboliſhed according to their expreſs prediction, they replied, as they had long before done, that they had ſtill a king of the race of *David*, who reigned in ſome corner of the eaſt; but which they not being able to make out, was juſtly rejected as a forgery.

(G) This plainly confutes, what *Luke de Tudela* affirms, that the *Jews* did not get footing into *Spain* till the reign of *Vitiza*, who invited them thither, ſince this prince was the ſon of *Evica* above-mentioned, who obtained that decree againſt them. It ſhews beſides, that they had been ſettled there ſome ages before this time.

It likewiſe proves a more material error in another author (25), who makes *Vitiza* to

(25) *Jac. Schudt. compend. hiſt. Jud. lib.* iii. *c.* 8.

have

Conspire against the Goths.

THOSE of *Gaul*, if any were so early settled there, made so obscure a figure, that we should not have known of any there, but for some edicts of *Constantine the Great*, which mention them in *Belgic Gaul* [p]; and it is not till the sixth century that historians begin to speak of them; about which time mention is made of their having intended a false accusation against *Cæsarius*, bishop of *Arles*, for being in the interest of the *Franks*, then laying siege to it, and having engaged to deliver up that city to them; upon which the bishop was fetched from his palace in order to have been thrown into the *Rhosne*; but was miraculously preserved, and brought back privately to his palace. The *Jews*, believing him dead, applauded their perfidy against him; and one of them, under pretence of throwing a stone into the besiegers trenches, sent them an invitation to scale the walls on that side which was guarded by the *Jews*; and promising to deliver up the city to them, on condition they should be exempted from being plundered. The letter being found out by the next morning, discovered the treasonable design of the *Jews*, as well as the innocence of the bishop [q]. This circumstance shews, that they were by this time in no small credit, seeing they were allowed, even during a siege, to take upon them the guard of one part of the city (H).

As

[p] De his vid. GREG. Turonens. tom. ii. [q] Vid. Fragment. de morib. & gest. Francor. tom. i. p. 232. CYPRIAN. ap. Mabill. §. i. p. 662. BASNAG. ub. sup. c. xiii.

have reigned about *an.* 520, and *Sisibut* about five years sooner, seeing the latter reigned at the beginning, and the other about the end, of the seventh century. How could he then place them so near one another in the beginning of the sixth?

(H) We shall not trouble our readers with an enquiry, how far the perfidy of the *Jews* will clear the bishop from it; for though he was, in other respects, a man of great merit, yet, being a zealous orthodox, he might be more inclined to *Clovis*, king of the *Franks*, than to the *Gothish* king, who was as strenuous for *Arianism*. And a late historian and critic hath been highly censured by the Roman Catholicks for having questioned his innocence (26). All that we need say about it, is, that if the *Jews* and the good bishop had been in the same interest, it is altogether improbable, that they would have turned his accusers, that they would have been so zealous to have him taken off, or so full of joy when they thought him drowned in the *Rhosne*. And this alone will go further to clear that excellent

(26) *Basnag. Hist. ub. sup. lib.* viii. *cap.* 13. §. 14, *& seq.*

prelate,

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As ſoon as the *Romans* had been driven out of *Gaul*, and the *Viſigoths* been ſuppreſſed in it, we find divers regulations made by the councils there, relating to the *Jews* ever-ſince the reign of *Clovis*, the firſt king of the *Franks*; one in particular under *Childebert*, to whom that crown was fallen by lot, which forbad them to appear in the ſtreets of *Paris*, from *Thurſday* in the holy week to *Eaſter Sunday*; which ſhows, that they were by that time ſettled either in that city, or in ſome of its ſuburbs (I). The ſame was likewiſe done by the Council of *Orleans* in the very ſame year; from which one may conclude, they were diſperſed in ſeveral other parts of *France*. They were ſtill more numerous in *Languedoc*, whence *Berreol*, biſhop of *Uſez*, was baniſhed upon their account. His extreme deſire of converting them had betrayed him into ſuch a familiarity with them, as had rendered him ſuſpected at court, where he was forced to go and juſtify himſelf to king *Childebert*; but being again reſtored after ſome years exile, he fell into the other extreme, and drove them all out of his biſhopric [r].

Edicts againſt them, A.C. 540.

A.C. 556. *Perſecuted at* Uſez; *Expelled* Languedoc, *and* Clermont.

THEY brought a much greater miſchief upon themſelves by their untimely zeal at *Clermont*, in the province of *Auvergne*, where *Avitus*, the biſhop of it, was making ſome converſions among them. One of the new converts being entered the city in his white garment, the ſight of it did ſo far provoke one of the ſame nation as to preſume to fling a pot of ſtinking oil upon him; for which he would have been torn in pieces by the Chriſtians, had not the biſhop prevented it. However his charity did but delay their reſentment till the next feſtival, which proved *Aſcenſion-day*; on which the people, leaving the proceſſion, went and pulled down the *Jewiſh* ſynagogue [s]. The conſequence was, that they muſt either turn Chriſtians, or be baniſhed. Many of them choſe the former, and thoſe that remained obſtinate, returned to *Marſeilles*, whence they were originally come. St. *German* was no leſs zealous for their converſion; and the hiſtorians of thoſe times relate

A.C. 569, *under king*

[r] LE COINTE. annāt. ſub A. C. 556. [s] GREGOR. TURON. hiſt. Franc. l. v. c. 11 VENAUT poeta ap. Bibliot. max. patr. tom. x. lib. 4. epiſt. 5.

prelate, than all that that author hath ſurmiſed againſt him; unleſs we could ſuppoſe, that their hatred to him, on account of his extraordinry virtue, learning, and piety, made them guilty of that complicated perfidy.

(I) The reaſon of theſe edicts ſeems to have been deſigned to prevent their cauſing ſome diſturbances at that ſolemn ſeaſon, when the ſtreets and houſes were empty, and the people at their devotions at church.

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Chilperic

some instances which were accompanied with miracles, for which we shall refer our readers to them [t]. King *Chilperic*, who observed those of his kingdoms of *Soissons* and *Paris* to be rich and numerous, did likewise oblige them to be baptized, and punished those that refused it. But neither his converts nor martyrs did him much honour; tho', being a wicked prince [u], he doubted not but his zeal might make some atonement for his vices. The same befel them under king *Dagobert*, who, being then sole monarch in *France*, and no less wicked than *Chilperic*, endeavoured to ingratiate himself with his clergy and people by his hatred against the *Jewish* nation [x]; and obliging them either to be baptized or banished; by which those, who had fled hither from *Spain*, found themselves in as bad a plight here, as they had been there (K). Many of

and Dagobert, A.C. 629.

[t] Fortunat. vit. St. Germ. c. 64. p. 580. Vid. & Fredegar. chron. hist. Francor. tom. i. [u] Greg. Turon. & Marolle's not. in eund. tom. i. p. 386. [x] Gesta Dagobert.

(K) About this seventh century began to flourish the famed academy of *Lunel*, one of the most celebrated in all the west, not only for its great doctors, and the great number of learned men, who had their education there, but much more for their extraordinary charity in maintaining their scholars at their own charges. This city is situate in *Languedoc*, between *Montpelier* and *Nismes*; and was still subsisting, in great splendor, in the twelfth century, when *Benjamin de Tudela* went thro' it. The famed *Solomon Jarchi*, one of the most learned *Jews* that *France* ever bred, had either his birth, or, at least, his education, in it; from which he took his surname of *Jarchi*, in allusion to the word *Jareach*, which signifies the moon; for *Bartolocci*, on the testimony of some *Jewish* rabbies, affirms, that he was born at *Troyes*, another city of *Gallia Narbonensis*, or *Languedoc*. He was a very expert man; and, though his decisions are too much in the talmudic strain, and so not much admired by Christians, yet they are held in great esteem among those of the *Jews*; especially as he had travelled thro' most parts of the world, where there were any learned men of his nation, and had greatly improved himself by their conversation.

Lunel produced another great man; *viz. Zachariah Levita*, who was indisputably a native of it, though he be commonly stiled a *Spaniard*, because that city, as well as the rest of *Languedoc*, did then belong to *Spain*. He is said to have wrote a treatise, intituled, *The two great Lights*. Some other we might still name, who have been ornaments to this academy, but who all flourished in or since the twelfth century: even *Solomon Jarchi* was not born till 1105, though we have mentioned him on account of his denominating himself the Lunatic, from this city of *Lunel*.

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them left that country, and took refuge where they could; but the greater part choſe to diſſemble, rather than follow them; and, by degrees, returned to their old way.

THIS became more viſible during the latter end of *Clovis*'s reign, and the regency of his widow *Bathilda*. For this laſt, during the minority of her ſons, among many other regulations, had aboliſhed the capitation which had been in vogue time out of mind, and a great nuiſance to the nation, becauſe it reſtrained people from marrying, and obliged many to ſell their children, to avoid paying of the tax. The *Jews* were become odious by the infamous traffic of thoſe children, which they ſold to barbarous nations; upon which account, that princeſs not only removed the cauſe of it by taking off the capitation, but obliged all thoſe captives to be reſtored which they had in their hands: and forbad them the carrying on of that cruel commerce for the future; though we do not find, that ſhe uſed any other ſeverity againſt them. *Wamba*, king of the *Goths* in *Languedoc*, deſigned to have done the ſame by them in his dominions, but met with a ſurpriſing oppoſition from the abbot *Raymirus* and the count of *Thouloufe*, who combined to protect them, and oppoſe his edict againſt them. Count *Paul*, a favourite of *Wamba*'s, was ſent againſt them; but, inſtead of ſuppreſſing, joined himſelf to them, and had got himſelf crowned king at *Narbonne*; but, being afterwards defeated and condemned by *Wamba*, both he and his accomplices, but eſpecially the *Jews*, felt the dire effects of his reſentment: his edict was put in full force, and they baniſhed out out of his dominions [y].

Under Bathilda, A.C. 655.

Baniſhed by Wamba, A. C. 675.

THE eighth century, to which we are now come, is chiefly celebrated for the converſion of *Chozar*, a heathen, to the *Jewiſh* religion; for it is about this time, that this wonderful tranſaction is pretended to have happened. *Chozar*, though a heathen, was a ſerious thoughtful prince; and a dream, or, as the fabulous account of it ſays, an angel, had made him ſo diſſatisfied with his religion, that he reſolved to ſeek after a better. He converſed with the philoſophers, with Chriſtians, *Mohammedans*, and *Jews*; and was at length, notwithſtanding his innate contempt of that nation, convinced by a famed rabbi, named *Sangari*, that the *Jewiſh* was the only true religion; to which all others were at beſt but as a ſhadow to the ſubſtance, or the picture to the living original [z]. Several other learned matters he explained to him, ſo

A.C. 740. Chozar's *converſion to* Judaiſm:

[y] CATEL's memoirs for the hiſtory of Languedoc, lib. iii. p. 308. [z] Vid. lib. Cozri, part ii. p. 83, & ſeq.

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the occasion and

much to his satisfaction (L), that the king, afraid of alarming his idolatrous subjects, communicated his design of turning

(L) For fear our readers should think them of so high a nature, as to regret the loss of them, we shall give them a specimen whereby to judge of the rest. He tells the king, that *Judea* was above all the other countries of the world; and that *Adam* had been there created, and was buried in the sepulchre which *Abraham* afterwards bought for himself; that the dispute between *Cain* and *Abel* was about the inheritance of that holy land, to which each laid a strenuous claim; and that the former, being *driven from the presence of God*, meant no more than his being banished out of *Judea* (27); all which sufficiently shew how unskilled he was in the situation of paradise (*). The rest being much of the same nature, we shall go no farther with it.

The misfortune is, that this kingdom of *Chozar* is no-where to be found, notwithstanding all the pains which some of the most zealous *Jews* have taken to be informed about it; and even the famed *Jewish* traveller of the twelfth century, *Benjamin de Tudela*, who is not sparing of every thing, though ever so improbable, that makes for the credit of his nation, owns, that he could not find it out. Neither have any since, either of that or any other nation, been more successful in its discovery. What authority this pretended conversion comes backed with, will be seen in the sequel. In the mean time we shall only observe, that, though this kingdom hath been commonly thought hitherto to be only a fictitious one (insomuch that the learned *John Buxtorf*, and others, rather believed *Chozar* to be the name of the king now in question, though quite contrary to the rules of the *Jewish* grammar, which shews it to be that of a country or a kingdom), yet we read of a city of that name in the province of *Transoxiana*, south east of the *Caspian Sea*, and south of *Samarcande*, the ancient capital of *Bactria*, which was still flourishing in the time of *Timur Beg*, vulgarly called *Tamerlane*, and is mentioned in the history of that great conqueror, written by his physician *Shereffeddin Hali*, and translated into *French* by M. *Petit la Croix*, *an.* 1723, and published at *Delph* in four volumes 12^mo^. To this we may add farther, that the geographical tables of *Nasir Eddin*, the *Persian*, and of *Ulug Beigh*, the *Tartar*, published by *Gravius*, speak of the city of *Balanjar* as the chief residence of the king of *Chozar*.

But, though what we have quoted above doth prove in some measure against Mr. *Basnage*, *Calmet*, and others, that there was once such a city or kingdom near the *Caspian Sea*, yet the main of the story about that monarch's conversion

(27) *Hiccofri*, *part* ii. *p.* 83, *and* 96.

(*) *De hoc vid. Anc. Hist. vol.* i. *p.* 109, *& seq.*

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ing *Jew* to none but to his general, with whom he went, with the utmoſt privacy, to ſome mountainous deſert towards the ſea, where, night having overtaken them, they retired into a cavern. Here they found, to their great joy, ſome *Jews* celebrating their Sabbath; and, having there abjured his old religion, and received the ſeal of circumciſion, returned with the ſame privacy to his capital. He then prepared by degrees, and with great addreſs, the minds of his ſubjects to receive the news of his converſion; which ſpread afterwards ſo far, that thoſe *Jews* among them, which had till then diſſembled their religion, not only made now open profeſſion of it, but aſſiſted him in converting the reſt of his kingdom. He ſent ſoon after for the moſt learned *Jews* from other countries, to inſtruct thoſe new converts, which amounted to above 100,000, and vouchſafed himſelf to take one of the moſt famous among them to be his inſtructor. He betrayed at firſt a kind of inclination for the *Karaites*, a ſect of which we have formerly ſpoken †, as being more ſcrupulouſly at- *manner of it.*

† Anc. Hiſt. vol. x, p. 485, & ſeq.

is ſtill queſtioned by all the learned, and even by ſome of the *Jews*; and the book itſelf called *Haccozri*, and by the *Arabs*, *El Chozri*, ſuppoſed only a fable, or at beſt a fictitious dialogue, written by *Jehudah Halevi*, the pretended tranſlator of it, in imitation of thoſe of *Cicero*, *Plato*, *Gellius*, &c. in the twelfth century, that is above 300 years after its ſuppoſed epoch of 740; though the ſeveral editors of it, particularly *R. Jehudah*, *Ben. Tibon*, and *R. Muſcato*, who both printed it at *Venice*, and, ſince then, *John Buxtorf* and *R. Aben Dona*, have ſtrenuouſly defended both the book and the truth of the fact above related. But, upon the whole, whoever reads it with an impartial eye, will be apt to conclude it a mere romance, in which *Deus* and *Machina* are introduced to give a ſanction to facts, which have not even the appearance of probability: ſuch are, for inſtance, the apparition of the angel to make the king diſſatisfied with his religion, without telling him where to look out for a better; the puerile arguments upon which he rejects that of the Chriſtians; his extraordinary ſkill in philoſophy, philology, and his ſurpriſing knowlege of the niceſt ſubtleties of the cabbalah; his building a *Moſaic* tabernacle inſtead of a temple, with the ark; though, as we have formerly obſerved, the *Jews* had none ſince the *Babyloniſh* captivity; the altar for ſacrifices, though theſe were allowed to be offered no-where but at *Jeruſalem*; and, in a word, his modelling his worſhip, government, &c. according to that eſtabliſhed by *Moſes*: all theſe are juſtly reckoned ſufficient obſtacles to the credibility of the book, was it better atteſted than it really is.

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tached to the law; but *Sangari*, who was a thalmudiſt, brought him over to his ſide. From that time the original *Jews* grew in great eſteem; and a tabernacle was erected exactly like that of *Moſes* in the wilderneſs; to which both they and all the *Chozrean* converts repaired to the *Jewiſh* worſhip. The king became rich, happy, and ſucceſsful, triumphed over his enemies, diſcovered new treaſures hidden in the earth, and enlarged his dominions with new and conſiderable conqueſts [a]. Thus far the book, the credit of which we have given a full account of in the laſt note.

King Joſeph's account of that kingdom, &c.

BUT as its authority had not weight enough to procure a general reception of its legend, a freſh one hath been trumped up by the *Jews* about 250 years after, which is no leſs liable to ſuſpicion; *viz.* a letter procured with no ſmall difficulty by rabbi *Chaſdai*, a man in high eſteem at the court of *Abd-al-Rahman* in *Spain*, from *Joſeph*, king of *Chozar*, in which that prince, at his requeſt, gives him an account of his religion, government, country, *&c.*; and which, if genuine, would prove, at leaſt, that the *Jewiſh* religion was not only eſtabliſhed in that kingdom under one of his predeceſſors, whom he names *Bula*; and in the manner related in the book *Haccorzi*; and with the addition of ſeveral other particulars, which the reader may ſee under the next note (M); but likewiſe prove that it ſtill continued to flouriſh in his dominions; though

[a] Vid. lib. Cozri, part ii. p. 75, & ſeq.

(M) *Chaſdai* was, we are told (28), treaſurer-general of *Abd-al-Rahman*, and in high favour with him; and having often heard of this *Jewiſh* kingdom, particularly from ſome ambaſſadors ſent from *Conſtantinople* to his maſter, who acquainted him, that they had often ſeen merchants from thence who chiefly trafficked in furs, and from whom they had been informed, that the then reigning monarch was called *Joſeph*, reſolved at any price to ſend a letter to him; and diſpatched accordingly an expreſs with the embaſſadors, who conducted him to *Conſtantinople*, whence he was forced to come back, being there informed, that the roads to *Chozar* were then impaſſable. He tried afterwards ſeveral other means not worth mentioning; the laſt of which brought him at length an anſwer from that prince, with a full account of all that he had deſired him to inform him of.

This anſwer, among other trifling particulars we chuſe to paſs by, confirmed the account of king *Bula*'s converſion by *Sangari*, in the manner above related; and added, that his ſon *Obadiah* had built ſundry ſynagogues, and maintained a number of learned rabbies to ex-

(28) *A. Ben. Dior, Shalſhelath, Hakkabalah, ſub A. M.* 4921.

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though there be nothing in the deſcription he gives of them, of their ſituation, limits, climate, cities, rivers, product, *&c.* that can direct a reader where to find them; ſo that it were in vain to dwell longer on that legend.

WE ſhall therefore now turn our eyes to the *Jewiſh* tribes diſperſed in the eaſt, during this eighth and the following century; where, if we except the common calamities that muſt attend the civil wars that then reigned between the Khalifs, *Abbaſſides*, *Omniades*, &c. of which a fuller account hath been given in their hiſtory †; and in which *Jews* and Chriſtians muſt be ſuppoſed to have ſhared; in other reſpects, we do not find that any of thoſe monarchs diſturbed their quietneſs. The *Jews* in particular enjoyed full liberty of conſcience, during the khalifat of *Abdelmelech*, about the beginning of the eighth century, and thoſe of his ſucceſſors, *Al-walid* and *Soliman* * his brother. Their academies flouriſhed, and their doctors enjoyed all their ancient privileges (N); only the Chriſtians

Jews *under the Khalifs*, A.C. 705, & ſeq.

† See before, vol. i. and ii. p. 166. * Ibid. p. 175, & ſeq.

pound the ſacred books and the thalmud, *&c.* The account he gave of his dominions was, that they were about thirty days journey in compaſs, and were ſituate near the *Gargan Sea*; and that ſeveral neighbouring nations were tributary to him. They had ſeveral cities and towns, one of the three principal of which was about fifty paraſangs, or leagues, in circuit, and was the reſidence of his queen, and other wives, ſervants, and eunuchs, in which both Chriſtians and *Turks* had liberty of their religion. The third in rank for bigneſs, was that of his own reſidence; and in which he only ſpent the winter with his council; after which they all removed into the country, where the inhabitants buſied themſelves with the care of their grounds, whilſt he and his court took a progreſs round the country to keep all things under due regulation; inſomuch that they had neither quarrels, law-ſuits, nor tax-gatherers. He added, that it ſeldom rained there, but that they abounded with large rivers full of fiſh, with excellent vines and all kinds of fruit-trees. He concluded with ſome account of the Meſſiah's coming, which he ſaid was very uncertain, becauſe God had delayed it on account of their ſins; and with a kind invitation to rabbi *Chaſdai* to come and viſit his dominions, and the promiſe of an honourable welcome. This is the ſubſtance of the letter and anſwer that paſſed between king *Joſeph* and him. But whether the rabbi was impoſed upon in the laſt, or was the forger of both, was hard to ſay; but, upon the whole, the account out of the *Chozri*, and this letter, are looked upon as a mere fiction.

(N) We are even told, that one of them aſked this laſt his daughter in marriage; and being anſwered, that the differ-

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Christians were obliged to fortify *Ramah* in *Palestine*, to suppress the inroads which the wild *Arabs* made into that province; and obstructed the concourse of pilgrims, of *Jews*, and other nations, into the holy land. They are supposed to have suffered some oppressions under the reign of his brother and successor *Zeyd*, though more from the rapaciousness of his ministers, than the cruelty of that monarch. But their greatest change for the better was under the reigns of the *Abbassides*, upon the dissolution of that of the *Omniades* under *Mervan*.

A B or *Abbas Saffa*, whom *Elmakin* calls *Abulkabas* †, having gained the khalifat, removed the royal residence from *Damascus* to *Cufah*, situate on the *Euphrates*, about four days journey from *Baghdad*, or *Babylon*; and became thereby nearer neighbours to the *Jews*, and better acquainted with
A.C. 740, their academies. *Almanzor*, who succeeded his brother, and
750, 760, was a learned prince, and fond of all that were so, without
770. enquiring what nation or religion they were of, had invited a great variety of them to his court; and, among the rest, a good number of *Jews*, who took that opportunity to put their academies in a more flourishing condition than ever. *R. R. Joseph* and *Samuel* surnamed the *Gaon*, or Excellent, presided at that of *Pundebita*, and were succeeded by *Doræus*, another *Gaon*, *Ananias*, and *Malcha*; that of *Sora* was governed by two learned professors, both named *Judah*; the one the son of *Nachman*, and the other of *Otrinæus* (O). *R. Acha* was

† De hoc vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 255, & seq.

ence of their religion did not permit it; replied, that though the different sects of *Mohammedans* did curse one another in their mosks, since *Mohammed* had given his daughter to *Ali*, who was the chief of a different sect, it shewed, that the diversity of opinions ought not to hinder such inter-marriages, much less countenance those curses which each publicly vented against the other.

This conference, which appears to have been concerted between that prince and the *Jews*, to put a stop, as it actually did, at least during his and some following reigns, to that abominable trade of cursing (29); both however show, that the *Jewish* nation must have been in high credit at that time with the Khalifs, to be permitted to act such a part before a court, and the chief of the *Mohammedan* doctors.

(O) Some pretend, that the former of these two published a set of learned lectures; others, with more probability, attribute them to *R. Simon Keiara*, another famed doctor, who then flourished in these eastern parts, though not a *Gaon*. This book, which was stiled *Helcoth, Gedoloth*, or Great Lectures, was so highly admired, that *R.*

(29) *Abulfarag. p.* 131.

Judah,

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was no leſs famed for his high learning, and his large treatiſe on the precepts of the law under the title of *Shealtoth*, or Queſtions: but having unfortunately quarrelled with *Samuel*, the then chief or prince of the captivity, he had the double mortification to ſee himſelf excluded from the title of *Gaon*; and ſoon after, upon the death of that chief, to ſee his own ſervant *Nithronius* raiſed to that dignity. *Acha*, unable to brook the affront, went and died in *Judea*, and left *Nithronius* to enjoy his principality; which he did during the ſpace of thirteen years [b] (P). About this time the *Jews* of *Perſia* and *Arabia* had alſo the mortification to ſee an edict publiſhed againſt them by the *Imam Jaaffar*, ſurnamed *Zadic*, or the Juſt; by which thoſe, who turned *Moſlems*, became ſole heirs of their whole family: and this induced great numbers of *Jewiſh* and other children to apoſtatize, in order to get poſſeſſion of ſuch eſtates, as they could otherwiſe have no title to [c]. A.C. 760. Jaaffar's *edict againſt the* Jews.

ALMANZOR was ſucceeded by *Al Mohdi* †, in whoſe reign appeared the infamous *Hakem*, or, as the *Arabian* hiſtorian calls him [d], *Almakaneus*, an impious impoſtor, whom ſome have ſuppoſed to have been a *Jew*, but without any foundation; for which reaſon we ſhould hardly have mentioned him, but that he had, in ſpite of his impious tenets, ſome of them which ſeemed to be of *Jewiſh* extract, and found means A.C. 770. Mohdi *Khalif.*

[b] GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 124, & ſeq. [c] ABULFARAG. ubi ſup. d'Herbelot. Bib. Orient. † See vol. ii. p. 305. [d] Ibid. p. 146.

Judah, the *Soran* profeſſor, epitomized it; and gave it the title of *Helcoth Peſſuchoth*, or Decided Lectures (30). However, *Keiara* had the ſurname of *Great Light*, as well as *R. Mari*, his cotemporary, that of *Meor Henaim*, the Light of the Eyes, on account of their having loſt their ſight.

(P) About this time flouriſhed the famed *R. Ananus*, who was likewiſe excluded the title of *Gaon*, though a man of great learning, on account of ſome material error they ſuſpected in his doctrine, and not without good grounds; ſince he became the reviver and chief of the *Sadducean* ſect, which was thought to have been long ſince buried under the ruins of *Jeruſalem*. But it took, it ſeems, not only new life, but new vigour under that chief, and became formidable to that of the Phariſees (31). Thoſe critics, who have ſtiled *Ananus* the founder of the *Caraitic* ſect, are certainly miſtaken, ſince, as we have ſeen in both parts of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, they were of much older date.

(30) *De his vid. Bartoloc, Biblior. rabbin. & Wolf, Biblioth. Hebr.* (31) *Id. ibid. Gantz Tzemach David, p. 125, & ſeq.*

to

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to draw a great number of disciples after him, by some seeming prodigies with which he amused them. But *Mohdi* sent some forces against him, which so closely besieged him in one of his fortresses, that he first poisoned all his disciples, and then flung himself into the fire, according to the last mentioned author; or, according to others, into a vessel of *Aqua fortis*, which consumed all but his hair. *Mohdi* was succeeded by his brother *Aaron*, surnamed the Just, and a great lover of learned men; and so considerable a prince, that *Charlemagne* sent him an embassy, consisting of the two counts, *Sigismond* and *Laufred*, and *Isaac*, a *Jew*, who was to be the chief manager of that commission. Authors vary about the purport and success of it [e]; which being foreign to our present purpose, we shall refer to the history of those two monarchs; and only observe, that *Isaac* was made choice of by that emperor, on account of the credit which the *Jews* were in at the Khalif's court. However, as he loved to encourage learned men, without any partial regard to their religion [f], and seldom travelled without having an hundred of them in his retinue, the *Jews* endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with him chiefly by that means, that is, by filling their academies with the most celebrated professors.

Aaron *Khalif*, A.C. 786.

Amin *Khalif*, A.C. 808.

A.C. 831.

He was succeeded by his son *Amin Al Musa Al Hadi*, or, as *Elmakin* calls him, *Abumusa*, about the beginning of the 9th century †; but this proved so weak a prince, and so addicted to his pleasures, that his brother *Mamun* soon found an opportunity to dethrone him; and being a great encourager of learning, caused all the best *Jewish* books to be translated into *Arabic*. This step was not at all relished by his subjects, who were ready to revolt upon it; but that never hindered him from distinguishing learned men of all nations; among whom was a celebrated *Jewish* astronomer, who had been in high repute ever-since the khalifat of *Almanzor*; but was now esteemed at this court as a phenix of learning; and as such, highly beloved by *Mamun*; during whose reign the *Jewish* academies of *Sora* and *Pundebita* swarmed with men of letters (Q). It

[e] De hac vid. Du Haillau, hist. de France, lib. iv. Aventin. Annal. Bojor. l. iv. [f] Sangalens. de gest. Carol. Magn. lib. ii. Eginard, vit. Car. Magn. p. 7, & al. † See vol. ii. p. 390.

(Q) *Rabbi Gantz* hath given us a long catalogue of the *Gaons*, and other learned *Jews*, that then flourished at those two academies (32); but, as it consists chiefly of their names, it were

(32) *Gantz Tzemach David, p.* 125, *& seq.*

of

It was about this time alſo, that the famed impoſtor *Mooſſa*, or *Moſes*, the ſon of *Amran*, as he called himſelf, began to appear, and pretended to be that great lawgiver of the *Jews* newly riſen from the dead.

MAMUN was ſucceeded by his brother *Al Motaſem*, who, among other of his victories, defeated a famed impoſtor named *Babeck*, who cried down all other religions but his own, which chiefly conſiſted in pleaſure and jollity; and was become ſo powerful, that he waged war againſt *Jews*, Chriſtians, and *Moſlems*; and was with difficulty overcome by the united forces of that Khalif. His ſucceſſor, named *Al Wathek*, and, by ſome, *Wathek-Billah* *, became a bitter enemy to the *Jews* on two accounts: 1ſt, Becauſe they had been guilty of ſome great frauds in the management of the finances, which had been committed to their care in his predeceſſor's reign. And, 2d, Becauſe they would not receive the *Koran*; for which they were heavily taxed, and forced to pay very large fines into his treaſury. *Motavel*, or *Motawakel*, who ſucceeded him, proved ſtill more ſevere againſt them; and not only obliged them to wear a leathern girdle by way of diſtinction, and, on the ſame account, forbad them to ride on any but aſſes or mules, and the uſe of iron ſtirrups, but he alſo ſtripped them of all their honours, titles, and places; which ſhews, that they had enjoyed ſome conſiderable ones in former reigns [s]. And what was ſtill worſe, his edict ſpread itſelf not only through his empire, but into the neighbouring ſtates; and this mark of infamy hath, more or leſs, ſubſiſted ever-ſince in thoſe countries that are under the *Turks* (R); and we may add,

Perſecuted under Watheck, A.C. 841.

Under Motavel, A.C. 846.

* De hoc vid. vol. ii. p. 412, & ſeq.. & p. 424. [s] D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. p. 640.

of little uſe to inſert them. He tells us however, of a diſaſter that happened at that of *Sora*, about the beginning of the ninth century; *viz.* its being two whole years without a profeſſor; which was not ſo much owing to the want of encouragement, as to the diviſions and feuds that then reigned among thoſe doctors, and thwarted their elections of proper perſons to fill the chair. For that of *Pundebita* was filled by the famed *R. Abumer*. This laſt, at length, ſent his ſon *Coben-Zedek* thither, who carried the election; ſo that this family filled both chairs for a conſiderable time, and with great credit. The father and the ſon, the uncle and the nephew, were chiefs of both academies. But, upon their demiſe, the great proſperity they enjoyed, ſoon made them fall into their old diſſenſions, as we ſhall ſee in the next note.

(R) They brought, at the ſame time, another misfortune upon themſelves, by the revival of their old academic jars. *R. Menachem*, the ſon of *Joſeph*, who

add, in several parts of *Europe*, and under Christian princes to this day. *Motawakel*'s successors, whose reigns were short and violent, followed the same severe methods against the *Jews*; so that they bought those little remains of liberty at the expence of very heavy taxes; and it was in the reign of *Mohamed*, the last of them, who was a weak and effeminate prince, that *Ahmet*, then governor of *Egypt*, revolted, and founded a new dynasty there; by which that province was dismembered from the empire of the Khalifs about the end of the ninth century * (S).

Ahmet's revolt, A.C. 869.

We come now to the *Jews* in the west, that is in the empire, in *Spain*, *Italy*, *France*, and other parts of *Europe*, during the eighth and ninth centuries. We begin with the empire, which was at this time miserably torn by the civil

* See before vol. ii. p. 477, & 481.

who presided alone in that of *Pundebita*, and saw himself threatened with the concurrence of a colleague, which the *Jews* were going to force upon him, so strenuously opposed it, that the dispute ran to a great height. However, after much wrangling, and ill blood on both sides, he gained his point; and his rival, named *Mattathias*, was set aside. *Menahem* did not survive his disgrace above two years; and left the chair to him, who enjoyed it a much longer time. These feuds were the more unseasonable at these times, because the Khalifs were now no longer such encouragers of learning as their predecessors had been; so that both, joined together, occasioned a general decay of it in those two places, which was not soon nor easily recovered

(S) A little while before that Khalif's death, which happened, *A. C.* 891, was discovered on a down in *Syria*, called the *Down of the man run mad for love*, a tomb, in which were seven bodies; among which was that of a youth whose face and lips were still as lively as if he had been in health; and near it a stone, on which was an inscription ingraved, which no-body could read. *Mohamed*, desirous to know the contents of it, tried in vain the skill of the most learned *Jews* and Christians; they all found it impossible to be decyphered (33).

In his reign arose likewise a famous *Jewish* astronomer in *Arabia*, named *Abulmanassar*, who pretended to foretel strange events by the course of the planets, not excepting those which chiefly related to religion (34). He pretended, that the *Jewish* law had its birth under the conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*; and that the same configuration would usher in anti-christianism. He foretold likewise, that it would be fatal to Christianity, *an.* 1460; but the event hath proved him a false prophet, and his science an idle dream. He died, *an.* 886.

(33) *Chronic. Abbassid. ad an. Hegiræ*, 275, *h. est*, *A. C.* 879. *Vid D'Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. p.* 638. (34) *Vid. Basnage, ub. sup. lib.* ix. *c.* 2. § *ult.*

dissensions

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diſſentions between the *Iconoclaſts*, and the image worſhippers, and in which the *Jews* were accuſed to have had a conſiderable hand, if they were not the firſt movers of it. We have given an account of that, and of its bloody effects, in a former part of this hiſtory †, and ſhall examine here only what is laid to the charge of the *Jews*, with relation to their being the firſt promoters of it, and which appearing to us very doubtful and apocryphal, we ſhall remit to the margin, with ſome ſhort but neceſſary remarks on the whole ſtory (T).

Accuſed of cauſing the edict againſt the images.

† Anc. Hiſt, vol. xvii. p. 41, & ſeq.

(T) The *Jews*, we are told (35), having cheated *Jezyid* in the eaſt, with the promiſe of a long reign, and being obliged to leave thoſe parts, came from thence thro' *Cilicia* into *Iſauria*, a province of *Aſia-minor*, over againſt the iſland of *Cyprus*, where they ſet themſelves down by a fountain, to refreſh themſelves from the fatigue and heat of the day. A youth of that country came ſoon after and ſat among them, who uſed to travel about and ſell trinkets to the towns and villages adjacent. The *Jews* having viewed him more intenſely, foretold to him that he ſhould become emperor; and only begged as a reward for their prediction, that when he was come to the crown, he would take from the Chriſtians all their images, as contrary to the ſecond commandment. And hence it came to paſs, that when he came to mount the throne, under the title of *Leo Iſaurus*, he waged ſuch a violent war againſt the image worſhipers

We might here with Mr *Baſnage* obſerve ſeveral remarks on the improbability of this whole ſtory; but as they are obvious to every thinking reader, it will be ſufficient to remind him that *Leo* could not be in *Iſauria*, tho' that was his native place, at the time of the *Jews* coming thither, ſeeing *Juſtinian* had conveyed him and his family into *Thrace* before that time, and before he was of age ſufficient to carry on the pretended pedling trade about his country. Neither was it the prediction of the *Jews*, but the orders of that emperor which got him into his ſervice, ſeeing he had been liſted amongſt his guards, *An.* 705: and, laſtly, what ſeems moſt effectual to deſtroy the probability of this ſtory, eſpecially of the *Jews* prediction to him, is the perſecution he raiſed againſt them, upon his coming to the throne, as will be ſeen preſently; for had there been any ſuch thing, would they not have complained of his ingratitude and injuſtice? But all this ſtory ſeems contrived to make one imagine that *Leo* could not conceive ſuch a violent diſlike to images, unleſs ſome ſuch enemies to Chriſtianity had inſpired him with it; whereas the *Jews* were ſo far from wiſhing them aboliſhed, that the more they were multiplied in the churches, the greater occaſion of triumph it gave them over the Chriſtians.

(35) *Theophan. ann. ſub. A. C.* 615. *p.* 336. *Sigebert ſub an.* 724. *p.* 545. *Zonar ann. tom.* iii. *Cedren ann. in Leon Iſaur. Maimbourg Hiſt. Iconocluſt. l.* i.

However,

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Perſecuted by Leo Iſaurus.

However that be, it is plain that the new emperor declared himſelf no leſs zealous againſt the *Jews* than againſt images; for both they and the *Manichees* were ordered by him to turn Chriſtians, under the ſevereſt penalties; only the latter being more tenacious of their hereſy, ſuffered themſelves to be burnt for it, whilſt the *Jews* took their old method of ſaving their lives by diſſembling; which they found, however, proper means to diſallow in private. But as the patrons for images gained their point, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the emperor and his followers, they obliged the *Jews*, whoſe ſincerity they had no great reaſon to rely on, to ſubſcribe to a formulary, by which they acknowledged themſelves worſhipers of the croſs and holy images, and prayed to God to ſtrike them with *Gehaſi*'s leproſy, and *Cain*'s tremor, if they did not do it from their hearts [h].

In Syria. A.C. 769.

THEY found themſelves ſtill more involved in thoſe devaſtations which *Abdallah*, the ſon of *Ali*, was making at *Jeruſalem* and *Syria*, and, among other hardſhips, were forced, as well as the Chriſtians to be branded in the hand, to diſtinguiſh them from *Moſlems*. The latter did indeed retire upon it to the *Roman* territories; but the *Jews* not only ſubmitted to it, but choſe to follow *Abdallah*'s army, in order to enrich themſelves with the plunder of the Chriſtians. For that prince, we are told, had always a conſiderable number of them in his army, to whom he ſold all the church plunder he took [i].

Favoured by Nicephorus

THEY fared much better under *Nicephorus*, who ſucceeded *Leo* about the beginning of the ninth century, and who likewiſe declared himſelf for the *Iconoclaſts*; for which it probably came that the other ſide branded him with having forſaken God, to put himſelf under the care of the *Manichees* and *Attingans*, who were a kind of diviners or ſoothſayers; but according to the language of the *Anti-Iconoclaſts*, were perſons that dealt with the devil, and could by their art make kingdoms flouriſh, princes victorious, *&c* (U). However, the latter

[h] THEOPHAN. ub. ſup. ſub. A. C. 759, & ſeq. [i] Apud Goar Euchol. in THEOPH. p. 149.

(U) It is not eaſy to ſay who either theſe *Manichees* or *Attingans* were. Some make them to be the ſame, under two different names, and to belong to the heretical ſect of the *Manichees* (36), and to have uſed ſome kind of ſacraments, *&c*. *Zonaras* (37) repreſents them as a kind of ſoothſayers, one of whom foretold *Michael*'s ſucceſſion to the throne, after *Nicephorus*.

(36) *Paul Diacon. lib.* xxiv. *p.* 552. (37) *Ann. tom.* iii. *p.* 100.

ter of them were, againſt all probability, pretended to be of *Jewiſh* extract; and it was thought ſufficient proof of their being ſo, that *Nicephorus* protected their nation, and ſuffered them to live quietly under him. They were ſtill more in favour under his ſucceſſor *Michael*, ſirnamed the *Stammerer*, who is by ſome repreſented as half *Jew*, and by other branded with the odious appellative of the Sink of all religions, becauſe he had imbibed ſomething from each, during his younger days. However, tho' he tolerated them all, and ſeems to have ſhewn a particular regard to the *Jews*, yet, as he was profeſſedly a Chriſtian, and an orthodox, and never ſwerved from them, it is not unlikely that his being an *Iconoclaſt* hath been the main cauſe of all that ſlander (W). We are told by *Photius*, that about this time there was a law in force againſt the *Jews*, that made it capital for any of them to appropriate any of the church's goods [k], which is however denied by his commentator *Balſamon*, becauſe no ſuch one is to be found in *Theodoſian* code. But might not ſuch a one have been made ſince, on account of their buying ſo much of the church's plunder from the *Moſlems*, as was hinted above? And might not the empreſs *Theodora*, who perſecuted all the *Iconoclaſts* with ſuch ſeverity, have made ſuch a law againſt them, on purpoſe to puniſh them for being ſuch profeſſed enemies to the worſhip of images?

and Michael, A.C. 820.

A law againſt them.

We know but little of their condition either in *Italy* or *Spain*, during theſe two centuries; except that in the latter, a *Jew*, named *Serenus*, taking advantage of the feuds which reigned between that and *France*, proclaimed himſelf the Meſſiah, and drew great numbers of his nation to follow him into *Judea*, where he was to fix his kingdom. How far that deceiver led them, we cannot find; except that *Ambiſa*, the then governor in thoſe parts, took the opportunity to

Deceived by a falſe meſſiah, A.C. 724.

[k] Phot. Nomocan. tit. 9. p. 123, & ſeq.

phorus. But that prince having declared againſt images, the *Jews* were again accuſed as the authors of it, and the *Attiggans* affirmed to be a ſet of conjurers belonging to that nation, meerly to brand the *Iconoclaſts*.

(W) As a proof of this we may remember, that upon his mounting the throne, tho' by murder and treaſon, yet ſo long as there were any hopes of his declaring for the uſe of images, he was extolled to the ſkies as a *David* or *Joſiah*, by no leſs a man than *Theodore Studites*, one of their miraculous ſaints; but as ſoon as they found themſelves diſappointed of their hopes, he hath been repreſented as a monſter, and had among other opprobrious names, that of Sink of all religions, given him.

ſeize

seize on all the estates and effects which those infatuated people had left behind them; those that did not perish by the way, returned to their habitations, where they were at leisure to bewail their folly and loss [l]. Here also, in the reign of *Abd-al-Rahman* or *Abderama*, who had been acknowledged Khalif the west, and built a famed mosque at *Cordoua*, flourished the famed *R. Judah*, a man of great learning, who published a philosophical treatise, to shew why the sea did not overflow the land, which was highly applauded by the learned. He likewise translated several books out of *Arabic* into *Hebrew*, and compiled a dictionary in the former: all which shews not only that the sciences flourished there among the *Jews*, but likewise that the first Khalifs favoured them more than they did the Christians, whom they obliged to build the stately mosque above-mentioned, with the materials they had taken from them [m].

R. Judah, a learned Jew, A.C. 763.

Invite the Arabs into Languedoc.

LANGUEDOC being at this time (as well as great part of *Spain*) in the hands of the *Visigoth*, was much infested with the incursions of the *Arabs*, who are said to have been in league with, if not invited thither by, the *Jews*, and to have engaged themselves, by their help, to massacre all the Christians. They are likewise accused to have invited the *Saracens* out of *Spain*, to free them from the tyranny which they suffered under the bishop of *Tholosa*, who coming accordingly, took *Narbonne* and *Tholosa* in their way, and penetrated as far as *Lyons*, putting all to fire and sword, as they went, except the *Jews* who had assisted them in it. *Charlemagne* having afterwards defeated the *Saracens*, and retaken *Tholosa*, resolved to punish the treacherous *Jews* with the utmost severity, who had been the authors of so much bloodshed; but being at length softened by their groans and cries, commuted their punishment, and only executed the heads of them, and condemned the rest of those that dwelt in that city, to receive a box on the ear, three times a year, at the gates of one of the churches, which should be named by the bishop, and to pay a perpetual fine of thirteen pounds weight of wax. The greatest part of this accusation, and of the facts alleged to support it, hath been refuted by a late historian [n]: and indeed the mild behaviour of the emperor towards the *Jews*, shews nothing less than his supposing them the betrayers of

Their punishment.

[l] MARCA Hist. de Bearn. lib. ii. c. 2. [m] Id. ibid. p. 138, & seq. [n] BASNAG. ub. sup. l. ix. c. 3. § 8, & seq.

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that city, or the authors of the *Saracens* incurſion (X); but as the farther diſcuſſion of theſe points would not only carry us too far, but be a mere repetition of the hiſtory of thoſe monarchs, we ſhall refer our readers for a further account of it to the hiſtory of thoſe times, in the ſecond and third volumes, as well as to the author there quoted.

THEY were ſtill more favoured under *Lewis*, ſirnamed the *Debonair*, whoſe chief phyſician was a *Jew*, named *Sedecias*, whom ſome hiſtorians have repreſented as one of the greateſt magicians in the world [o], but who was in ſuch high credit with that prince, that all the courtiers were glad to gain his and his countrymen's friendſhip, with the nobleſt preſents. They had the liberty of building of new ſynagogues, and obtained ſuch ſingular privileges, as could not fail of inſpiring them with uncommon inſolence, as well as of raiſing jealouſy in the Chriſtians, as it accordingly happened, more particularly in the dioceſe of *Lions* [p]; where *Agobard* biſhop of it, did not content himſelf with forbidding them to buy any Chriſtian ſlaves, and the keeping of their Sabbath, but forbad likewiſe, under ſome frivolous pretences, the Chriſtians to buy any wine, or to deal with them during the time of Lent. The *Jews* made no difficulty to complain of the biſhop's edicts to the emperor, who ſent three commiſſaries to *Lions* to enquire into the truth of it, upon which they were immediately reſtored to their ancient privileges, to the no ſmall mortification of the biſhop, who, tho' otherwiſe a moderate man, and averſe to perſecution, could hardly be perſuaded of the reality of the emperor's orders, tho' ſigned with his own ſeal. This made him invent ſome new accuſations againſt them, and to ſend him freſh remonſtrances againſt them, ſigned by two other biſhops. *Evrard*, the chief commiſſary, remained firm to the *Jewiſh* intereſt, and all the allegations againſt them were rejected at court, as falſe and groundleſs, as indeed they deſerved, being moſtly ſuch; and ſome of them ſo ridicu-

Their credit under Lewis *the* Debonair, A.C. 815.

Diſturbed by the biſhop of Lions,

[o] DANDEN de ſuſpect. de Hæreſi. TRITHEM Chron. Hirſaugienſ. [p] Vid. AGOBARD. de Inſolent. Judeor.

(X) The *Jews* in his reign boaſted that they had been ſuffered to buy ſome of the richeſt veſſels of the church, and other coſtly utenſils belonging to the churches, abbies, &c. which the luxury and avarice of the biſhops and abbots had induced them to ſell. *Charlemagne* being informed of it, forbad indeed, by a ſevere law, all ſuch abuſes for the future; but neither condemned the *Jews* to reſtore thoſe they had, nor reſtrained them from that ſhameful commerce, but levelled the penalty wholly againſt ſuch of his clergy as ſhould be guilty of it.

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lous as to cast no small reflection on the blind zeal of those prelates. The reader may see them in the authors quoted in the margin [q].

His untimely zeal suppressed.

AGOBARD, seeing all his pious endeavours thus frustrated, resolved to take a journey to court, in order to sollicit that prince more effectually against the *Jews*; but he failed of success, being only admitted to an audience of leave, wherein he was permitted to go back as he came, without any farther satisfaction, as he himself complains, so that he was even afraid of baptising the heathen slaves that belonged to the *Jews*, for fear of exasperating the court against him, tho' he offered to pay them the full price for them [r]. But as he did not dare venture upon this last, without the emperor's leave, he sent to beg his consent to it. What answer he had we cannot learn; but if one may guess by the dreadful curses he pronounces against the *Jewish* nation, in his letter to the great and learned *Nebudius*, bishop of *Narbonne*, one may conclude that it was not such as he liked; and the spleen which he vents in that uncharitable epistle, was the less excusable, because it not only made the *Jews* the more flourishing and insolent, but was like to have caused a general defection; insomuch that people not only professed openly that they were to be respected as the posterity of *Abraham* and the prophets, but began to conform to the *Jewish* rites in many instances (Y), that were quite scandalous, and a reproach to Christianity.

Under Charles *the* Bald,

THEIR case was not quite so agreeable to them under *Charles*, surnamed *the Bald*, when *Remistus* the bishop of that diocese caused some of his clergy to preach every *Saturday* in their synagogues; by which so great a number of their children were like to have been converted, that they were forced to send them away to *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, to *Macon* and *Arles* in *Provence*, and other places, where they were more numerous. Of this the bishop sent a complaint to court, and begged of that prince to send orders to the bishop of *Arles*, *&c.* to follow

[q] AGOBARD. ub. sup. & Epist. BERNARD & EVERARD de Judaic. Superstition. [r] AGOBARD Consult. ad proceres de Baptism. Judaic. vid. & BASNAG. ub. sup. § 14, & seq.

(Y) Thus we are told that some of them began to celebrate the Sabbath, instead of the Lord's-day; that many of them chose to go and hear the *Jewish* rabbies declaim in their synagogues, rather than to hear the sermons preached in their own churches; and that a deacon named *Putho*, or *Paudo*, belonging to the court, had renounced the church, and gone over to the synagogue.

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his method; and repreſented to him, that the converſion of thoſe children was a greater act of charity, than the ſaving them out of the lion's mouth. It is likely he conſented to his requeſt, for numbers of *Jewiſh* children were baptized, all by their own free choice, and the emperor was ſoon after poiſoned by *Sedecias*, his *Jewiſh* phyſician, lately mentioned, who is ſuppoſed to have been hired to that vile deed by thoſe of his own nation [s]. Theſe are likewiſe accuſed to have had a great hand in the troubles that happened under this reign, by the incurſion of the *Normans* into ſeveral provinces, particularly that of *Aquitain*, where they were very numerous; and tho' it is likely the *French* authors have charged them with more crimes than they were guilty of, ſuch as the betraying the cities of *Bourdeaux*, *Perigues*, &c. which thoſe barbarians plundered and burnt [t], whilſt the *Jews* are ſaid to have been exempted from the common calamity: yet there is no doubt to be made, that they reſented the loſs of ſo many of their children, tho' no violence was uſed in converting them (Z), and that they would willingly have joined with any other nation, by whom they hoped to be freed from ſuch a ſenſible hardſhip. Eſpecially if we add to it, that they were ſtill liable to the ignominious ſentence paſſed againſt them by *Charlemagne*, of being buffetted three times a year at the church door, which was not indeed executed on all the *Tholoſan Jews*, but was in time confined to their ſyndic or head magiſtrate, who received that puniſhment in the name of the reſt. To this we may add, that tho' their credit was ever ſo high at court, during the life of the treacherous *Sedecias*, yet they were liable to many inſults

accuſed of aſſiſting the Normans,

and other treaſons.

[s] Flor. Collect. de Baptiſ. Hæbr. DACHERY Specileg. vet. Script. tom. xii. p. 52. [t] Du MOULIN Hiſt. Normand. p. 38. incert. Auct. de geſt. Normand. ap. DU CHENE, p. 2.

(Z) *Florus*, a deacon of the church of *Lions* in this reign, tells us, that the biſhop above-named contented himſelf with ſending for thoſe young *Jews*, and aſking them whether any of them were willing to become Chriſtians; upon which ſix of them begged on their knees to be baptiſed, whoſe example was followed by ſeven and forty more. And that prelate proteſts to the emperor, that he diſmiſſed the reſt of them *intactos*, untouched (38). But tho' there might be no violence uſed in their converſion, yet there might be other indirect means practiſed to induce them, ſuch as careſſes, promiſes, gifts, &c. equally capable of working upon them, and diſagreeable to their parents.

(38) *Flor. Collect. de Baptiſ. Hæbr. ap. Dacher. ſelect. tom.* xii.

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and affronts from the populace in cities at a distance from it. Thus, for instance, those of *Beziers* in *Languedoc*, were yearly wont to be driven about with vollies of stones, from *Palm-Sunday* to the *Tuesday* in *Easter*-week [u], which indignity they at length redeemed by a tribute which they paid to the bishop of the place.

State of the Jews during the 10th and 11th centuries.

IT is now time to close the ninth century, and to pass on to the tenth and eleventh, which we shall be forced to join, to avoid breaking off the thread of the facts which happened in the middle interval between them. We begin, as usual, with those of the east, who were, during that time, if we may believe their historians, in a most flourishing condition; especially with respect to learning, which began now to revive among them, and the vast number of their doctors, that then flourished, whilst almost the rest of the world, especially the Christian countries, were buried in darkness and ignorance; insomuch that the *Jewish* academies, not being capable of containing the overgrown multitude of their scholars, they were obliged to build a new one (A). They even add, that they never had, in any age, before or since, so many and such excellent doctors as now. It proved, however, but a short-lived glory, partly thro' the broils that were bred between the chiefs of the captivity and their professors and doctors; but more especially by the zeal of the cruizaders, who made it an uncommon piece of merit to massacre all the *Jews*, before they went upon the conquest of the *Holy-land*; all which, joined together, caused the total downfal of their academies, and the utter expulsion of the nation from those eastern countries, and obliged them to take refuge in *Spain* and *France*, and other parts of *Europe*, of all which we shall now give an account in as few words as the subject will admit of.

Learning begins to flourish.

Their academies

DAVID, the then chief of the captivity, and a man of a haughty ambitious spirit, had raised the prerogative of that

[u] CATEL Hist. Languedoc, lib. iii.

(A) The reader may recollect that we closed the ninth century with an account of the feuds that reigned between the heads of those academies, which had quite stopped the progress of learning amongst them. What caused the revival of it at the beginning of this, was the example of the *Arabs*, among whom it began to flourish about this time. And tho' it chiefly consisted in the study of physic, dialectics, astronomy, and astrology, yet it so far inspired the *Jews*, with such a fresh relish to them that they immediately applied themselves to the same study, and set their academies again in a flourishing condition.

dignity

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dignity beyond all his predeceſſors (B), and reigned as abſolute as any eaſtern monarch; which raiſed ſuch diſſentions between him and the chiefs of the academies, as quickly haſtened their downfal [w]. That of *Pundebita* had choſen *R. Miſhiſher* for their chief, and *David* immediately appointed another, and the jealouſy which reigned between thoſe two aroſe to ſuch a height, during the ſpace of five years, that the only expedient they could think of to put an end to it, was to erect two ſchools in that place, tho' it had a contrary effect. That of *Sora* had ſcarcely raiſed itſelf up from the low degree it had formerly ſunk into, when *David* ſent likewiſe thither one *R. Jom Tob*, a man ſo ignorant and unfit, that the academy muſt have been ſoon abandoned, had not they ſent for a proper perſon from *Egypt*, to preſide over, and raiſe the character of it. This was *R. Saadiah*, a man of great learning and abilities, and who made it his firſt care to explode the doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which had gone current for many ages, not only among the *Perſians* and *Arabs*, but even among the *Jews*. He had already made ſome progreſs in it, when the prince of the captivity ſent for him to ſubſcribe to a new regulation which he thought was repugnant to the *Jewiſh* laws, and which he therefore ſtiffly refuſed to ſign, and thereby made him ſo far his utter enemy, that he was forced to retire, and ſeek for ſhelter in ſome place out of his reach, where he continued till the breach between them was happily made up (C).

ruined by their diſſentions.

R. Saadiah *oppoſed by the chief.*

THE

[w] GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 130.

(B) The *Jews* complain that their chiefs till then uſed to pay tribute to the Khalifs, but that he found means to ſhake off that ignominious yoke; to which two things chiefly contributed, *viz.* his long reign of thirty years and upwards, and the weakneſs of the then Khalif, *Mochtader*, who had been depoſed twice by his officers, and was wholly governed by them †.

(C) This refuſal, we are told, ſo exaſperated the *Jewiſh* chief, that he ſent at firſt his ſon to him, with a threatening to have his head broke, if he did not obey, and other opprobrious language, with which *Saadiah* having acquainted his ſcholars, they raiſed an uproar about him, in which they gave him ſome ſevere blows. The academy was ſoon divided into two parties, in which that of *Saadiah* ſo far prevailed, that *David* was depoſed from his dignity, and his brother *Joſeph* appointed in his room. It was not long however, before *David* got himſelf reſtored, and *Saadiah* was obliged to flee and ſeek out for a ſafe retreat, where he continued ſeven whole years.

It was during this receſs that he compoſed the greateſt part

† *De Loc vid. ſup. vol.* ii. *p.* 515, *& ſeq.*

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Jews *very numerous.* THE *Jewish* nation was at this time so numerous and powerful, that they reckoned no less than nine hundred thousand of them in the city of *Pherutz-Shiboor* (D). This number may probably have been greatly exaggerated by the *Jewish* writers. However, here it was that they had founded a new academy, at the head of which was the famed *R. Sherira*, under whom it flourished about thirty years. He was a man of great learning, but a mortal enemy to the Christians, especially to the monks; and was, on that account, highly respected by his scholars and the whole nation, and being at length worn out with age, left the chair to his son *Hay*, whom the *Jews* styled the most excellent of all the excellent. The rest of his character and writings the reader may see in the margin (E). He

Found a new academy. A. C. 1037.

of those books which were since published after his death, and go under his name. He found means nevertheless, to be reconciled to his haughty prince, and was again restored to the chair; and having outlived him by several years, enjoyed it quietly, and with great success. However, the deposition of the chief shows that that dignity was neither absolute nor unalienable: besides, we find some of the chiefs of the academies chosen to be princes of the captivity, tho' this did not often happen. As for the choice of the academic chiefs, it was done by the plurality of votes; though the prince's authority did not a little influence it. Sometimes not only the doctors but the people joined in the election; and we have an instance of it, during this tenth century, when the academy of *Pundebita* wanting a professor, and two candidates having offered themselves, *viz.* one *Aaron*, a rich merchant, and *Nehemiah*, a learned rabbi, the former was chosen by the interest of the people, and the latter succeeded him about seventeen years after, that is, in the year of *Christ* 959.

(D) This city, whose name signifies the breach of *Sapor*, stood about five miles distant from *Babylon*, and is by some supposed to have been built by *Sapor* II. king of *Persia*, a great conqueror, who built many cities in that kingdom. Others ascribe the honour of it to rabbi *Shiabour* or *Sapor* XV. though he only founded the academy of it (39).

(E) He is pretended to be lineally descended from king *David*, and as such bore the lion in his arms, as did all the kings of *Judah*, pursuant to *Jacob*'s prophecy concerning that tribe (40). But what hath rendered him still more famous, was the number and variety of his writings, such as his treatise on buying or selling, pledges, wages, and on the interpretation of dreams, which last was printed at *Venice*, among some other pieces of *R. Solomon Jarchi*, on the same subject (41), *an.* 1623. At *Amsterdam*, *an.*

(39) *Vid. D. Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. sub. voc.* (40) *Vid. Gen.* xlix. 9. *See also Anc. Hist. vol.* iii. *p.* 450. *& seq.* (P). (41) *Bartoloc. Bibl. Rabbin, vol.* ii. *p.* 387.

1636,

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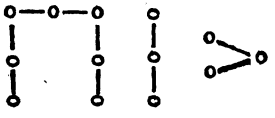
He is ſaid to have been the laſt, as well as the greateſt, of all the *Gaons*, or ſublimes, and to have preſided at that academy

1636, and 1642. And at *Wetmerſdorff*, with the *Shabare Zion*, or *Gates* of *Sion*, *an.* 1690 (42). His book intitled *Miſpphete Shebughoth*, or judgments on oaths, in 20 ſections, printed at *Venice*, *an.* 1602, in which thoſe on buying and ſelling, above-mentioned, were likewiſe printed there. His poetic treatiſe, intitled *Muſſar Haſhekel*, or on the forming of the underſtanding, printed at *Paris*, *an.* 1562, and at *Venice*, *an.* 1579. His *Piruſh Shemoth* 42 and 72, or an expoſition of the names of God, written with 42 and with 72 letters (43). And laſtly his queſtions on the book called *Jetzirah*, or a treatiſe of the formation, is remarkable for ſhewing the manner in which the great name of God was anciently written at *Jeruſalem*; which being ſomewhat curious and uncommon we have here ſubjoined (44).



We ſhall forbear inſerting the conjectures which ſome learned Chriſtians have drawn from the triplicate number of o's or circles, which they think to have been meant to ſignify ſo many lights, implying thereby the myſtery of the three perſons in the Godhead. *R. Hay* was a great cabbaliſt, and hath not only explained the terms of that art, but his treatiſe of the voice of God, with power, is full of cabbaliſtical principles. His reputation was ſo great among thoſe of his nation, that they flocked to him from all parts, to conſult and hear him; and he was choſen chief of the academy of *Pundebita*, as well as of that of *Pherutz-ſhiabboor*, in which laſt he had ſucceeded his father, from the 29th year of his age. There is even ſome probability that he was choſen likewiſe chief of the captivity, during his father's life-time; but they both did, by ſome means, ſo exaſperate thoſe of their nation, that they fell into diſgrace ſome time after, under the khaliphat of *Al-Kader*, who being come to the crown, ‡ raiſed a kind of perſecution againſt the *Jews*, for having taken too great advantage of the civil diſcords that then reigned, and had aſſumed greater privileges than they had a right to claim. Among them *Sherira*, and his ſon *Hai*, were accuſed of having raiſed their authority beyond its due bounds, and condemned to be ſtript of all their wealth, dignities, and privileges. The former, who was then near 100 years of age, was apprehended and impriſoned, but the latter had the good luck to eſcape, and ſoon after to be reſtored to his academy, over which he preſided till the year 1037 (45).

(42) *Vid. Wolf Bibl. Hæbr. p.* 345. (43) *Vid. Noſtos Chochmah, p.* 195, & *Wolf, ub. ſup.* (44) *De hoc auct. vid plur. in Gantz Tzemach David ad An. M.* 4757, *ſeu Chr.* 997. *Sepher Juchaſin, p.* 125. *Shalſheleth Hakkabalah, p.* 37. ‡ *De hoc vid. vol.* iii. *p.* 120, & *ſeq.* (45) *Gantz, ub. ſup.* & *al. ſup. citat.*

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about 40 years. He died in the year 1037, and in the 69th of his age *.

Jews persecuted. His ſucceſſor *Hezechias*, chief of the captivity, was more unfortunate under that Khalif, as well as the *Jews* under him; he being put to death with all his family, except two of his ſons, who fled into *Spain*, by the time he had enjoyed that dignity about two years: after which the academies were ordered to be ſhut up, and the learned doctors obliged to retire into the weſt; whither they were followed by the reſt of that nation, to avoid further perſecution. A year or two before, that is, about the beginning of *Hezechias*'s reign, happened that famed ſchiſm between the ſons of *Aſher* and *Naphthali*, which is looked upon to have given birth to the firſt *Maſſorites*. They are at leaſt the firſt grammarians that took upon them to reviſe and correct the ſacred books (F). However that may be, the

The riſe of a new ſchiſm.

perſecution,

* Ganz ibid. ſub A. M. 4797. Juchas. p. 125. Shalſhel. Hakkabal. p. 37. Bartoloc. Wolf. Hottinger Hiſt. Eccl. N. T. §. xi. p. 495.

(F) They were called *Moſes* and *Aaron*; and as to their ſtyling themſelves the ſons of *Aſher* and *Naphthali*, that was the name of their tribe, and not of their parents. *Aaron* hath been ſuppoſed by ſome critics (46) to have been a native of *Tiberias*, becauſe that academy, over which he preſided, took his part againſt *Moſes*, and his eaſtern followers; who preferred the corrections of his antagoniſts. It were loſt labour to enquire after his native country, but it is plain, from the *Jewiſh* hiſtorians, that he taught in the eaſt, under *Hezechias*, from which he might afterwards retire to *Tiberias*, on account of the perſecution. And here it was that the doctors gave him the preference to *Moſes*, as he had preferred that city and academy to all others, to take refuge in. However, the diſpute between him and his competitor, was not about the points, as *Capellus* imagined, but about the terms of ſcripture.

A learned critic in thoſe matters, who had examined the corrections of *Aaron*, both printed and in manuſcript, makes very light of them (47), and thinks them poſterior to the *Maſſorah*, and tho' new, yet too trifling, notwithſtanding the noiſe which that diviſion hath made, which is no more than common, moſt of the ſchool diſputes being of that nature. However, if he is right, it ſtill ſhews the authority of the *Hebrew* to be the greater, and that the original text, had till then been ſo far preſerved in its purity, as to ſtand in no great need of their correction.

That theſe two competitors flouriſhed in the eleventh century, ſeems indiſputable not

(46) *Capel. Arcan. Punctat.* (47) *Simon Hiſt. Crit. V. T.*

only

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perſecution, which was partly owing to the civil diſcords that then reigned among the Khalifs (of which we have ſpoke more fully in their hiſtory †) and partly to the jealouſy which they conceived of the chief of the captivity [y], and of their raiſing ſome revolt, proved ſo ſevere and violent, as to bring on not only the deſtruction of their family, the ſhuting up of all the academies, as we lately hinted, but likewiſe to oblige the reſt of the *Jewiſh* nation to ſeek for refuge, ſome in the deſerts of *Arabia*, and others in the provinces of the weſt. And here it is that moſt authors place the total extinction of the dignity of the princes of the captivity; tho' if we may believe the *Jewiſh* travellers *Benjamin de Tudela*, and rabbi *Petachiah*, who viſited thoſe parts in the 12th century, they ſtill found one of thoſe chiefs among the diſperſed *Jews* in *Perſia*, who was called *Samuel*, and boaſted himſelf lineally deſcended from the great prophet of that name; and for proof of it, produced a regular genealogy from the one quite down to the other; which, if true, proves, 1ſt. that thoſe princes were not all of the lineage of *David*, as the *Jews* pretend: ſecondly, that they were not wholly aboliſhed in the 11th century, tho' they muſt be ſuppoſed to have ſunk much from their former ſplendor and authority, if they really enjoyed more than the bare name. And as for the academies, eſpecially thoſe of *Sora*, *Pundebita*, and *Pharutz-Shiboor*, it plainly appears that they were quite aboliſhed from the year 1039; and if any ſchools were left in thoſe parts that aſſumed the name of academies, they were too poor and obſcure to deſerve it (G). We have

Expelled from the eaſt.

Retire into Spain, &c.

End of their princes.

† Vol. iii. p. 131, & ſeq. [y] Solomon, Ben Virg. Sheveth Jehudah, p. 307.

only becauſe they taught in the *Babyloniſh* academies, which were ſhut up ſoon after; but becauſe the learned *Maimonides*, who flouriſhed in *Egypt*, in the enſuing century, formed his own copies from that of *Ben Aſher*, ſo that this laſt muſt have lived ſome years before him, ſeeing his corrections had been already approved in *Egypt*. And if thoſe reviſers are ſtill more ancient, as is generally pretended, then are they the leſs to be charged with novelty (48).

(G) The Chriſtians have taken occaſion from thence to triumph over the *Jews*, and to prove to them, from the prophecy of *Jacob* (49), that it is vain and abſurd in them to expect the Meſſiah to come, ſeeing, by their own confeſſion, the ſceptre hath been ſo long departed from *Judah*, &c. And it is true indeed, that they have now no longer that pretence to invalidate the force of that noble prediction againſt them. But whoever conſiders it in its full extent and purport, as we have endeavoured to ſtate it, in ſeveral parts of

(48) *Vid. Baſnag. ub. ſup. l.* ix. *c.* 4. § 11. (49) *Genes* 49, 10.

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Perſecuted in Egypt.

have now nothing more to mention of them in the eaſt, except that ſhort-lived perſecution which they ſuffered in *Egypt*, under the reign of *Hakem*, who pretended to ſet up a new religion, oppoſite to all others, and which was that of the *Druſi*, little known to us, if it was not the ſame with that of the ancient *Druids*, but which he had blended with a vaſt number of the moſt extravagant and impious notions not worth repeating; which he affirmed to have had from the Deity. The vaſt number of diſciples which he gained among the heathens, made him reſolve to perſecute the Chriſtians and *Jews*, as the only ones that oppoſed his doctrine; the latter of whom he obliged to wear a mark of diſtinction, and ordered all their ſynagogues to be ſhut up, and them to be cudgelled into compliance: but as he was of an inconſtant temper, he ſoon changed his mind, and reſtored them to their ancient liberty [z] before he died (H). But it is now high time to paſs into the weſt.

Reſtored, A. C. 1026.

Jews *in* Spain *in the* 10*th and* 11*th*

WE begin with *Spain*, where the wars between the *Saracens* and the Chriſtians, which reigned during the 10th century, gave them ſuch time to breathe, that their ſchools were in a flouriſhing condition under the khalifats of *Abd-Allah* and

[z] See the Kitab Almakid, tranſlated by M. De la Croix, & D. Herbelot Bibl. Orient. ſub voc.

this work (50), will eaſily ſee that the good old patriarch could not mean by the words ſceptre, and lawgiver, ſuch princes as thoſe chiefs of the captivity were, who, even in their moſt proſperous ſtate, were at beſt mere tributary ſlaves to the princes under whom they lived, ſubject to their laws and capricious will, and liable to be depoſed, impriſoned, or even put to death by them. And can we think that ſuch an imaginary dignity, which was neither hereditary nor confined to the tribe of *Judah*, could be the ſceptre and lawgiver there meant? But we have ſufficiently proved, in the places laſt quoted out of this work, that they were long departed from them, and ſhall dwell no longer upon it.

(H) *Hakim* was murdered by order of his ſiſter, *A.C.* 1026, in the mountain of *Moccatam*, to which he was wont to repair every morning, under pretence of holding an intercourſe with the deity. *Hamzah*, who had been his maſter, took the advantage of the privacy of the fact, to perſuade his diſciples, that he had only diſappeared for a time, and would return again after a while; and the *Druſi*, his diſciples, who are now maſters of *Mount-Lebanus*, of *Berythus*, and ſome other cities in *Syria*, expect him as much as the *Jews* do their Meſſiah (1).

(50) *See Anc. Hiſt. vol.* iii. *p.* 317, *& ſeq.* (G). *vol.* x. *p.* 629. (1) *D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. p.* 418. *Kitab Almikaid, tranſlated by Peter de la Croix.*

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Abd-Al-Ramah, the latter of which reigned above 50 years with great ſucceſs, whilſt the *Jews* grew numerous and wealthy, and abounded with learned doctors, both *Spaniards* and of other nations. Among the latter was the celebrated *Moſes*, ſirnamed *Cloathed with ſackcloth*, becauſe, in his coming from the eaſtern countries, he had been taken by ſome corſairs, and ſold to the *Jews* of *Cordowa*, who paid his ranſom out of charity. *Moſes* being ſtill deſtitute of every thing, even of clothes to cover his nakedneſs, wrapped himſelf about with a ſack, and in that deſpicable guiſe uſed daily to go and hide himſelf in ſome corner of the ſchool, to hear their lectures. It was not long, however, before he gave them ſuch pregnant proofs of his learning and merit, by his queſtions and anſwers, that the then profeſſor yielded the chair to him of his own accord. He was ſoon after choſen chief of the nation with a conſiderable income: but his deſire of returning to his native country was like to have deprived them of him, had not *Hakem*, the Khalif then reigning *, put a ſtop to his going, for ſome reaſons of ſtate, and retained him to explain the thalmud to the *Spaniſh Jews* (I), and to determine all their controverſies. *Moſes*, according to the *Jewiſh* ſtyle, reigned with great credit and applauſe, till the year 997, and left the throne, or chair, to his ſon *Enoch*. centuries. Moſes Sackcloth choſen chief, A.C. 968. A.C. 997.

HASHEYM, who ſucceeded his father *Hakem* at *Cordowa*, went ſtill farther, and cauſed the thalmud to be tranſlated into *Arabic*, whether out of curioſity to know what that ſo much boaſted book contained, or perhaps, rather to render it more common there, and ſo prevent the *Jews* frequently going to *Bagdad* or *Jeruſalem*. *R. Joſeph*, one of *Moſes*'s diſciples, was appointed to preſide over the verſion, and ſucceeded ſo well in it, that it made him quite proud and arrogant, ſo that he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the election of *Enoch* to the chair. Nevertheleſs, *Enoch*'s party not only carried it *Thalmud tranſlated into* Arabic.

* De hoc & preced. vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 339, & ſeq. & p. 483, & ſeq.

(I) That book was ſo little known at this time in *Spain*, it ſeems, that when any diſputes aroſe among them, they uſed to ſend deputies to the *Babyloniſh* academies, to have them decided by their doctors. The very prayers which they uſed on the grand expiation-day, and other national faſts, had been compoſed by *R. Miſſim*, one of the *Babyloniſh* chiefs. The Khalif, who was an *Omniade*, and was apprehenſive left this frequent intercourſe in the eaſt, where the *Abaſſides*, his mortal enemies, reigned, ſhould give riſe to ſome dangerous change, put at once an end to it, by ſetting up this *Moſes* for their oracle; by whom all diſputes and controverſies were decided without going farther.

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R. Joseph *excommunicated.* against him, but caused him to be excommunicated; upon which he first applied to *Hasheym*; but he refusing to meddle in the dispute, *Joseph* was forced to leave *Spain*, and took the road to *Bagdad*, in hopes to have been protected by the famed *R. Hay*, who was then chief there: but he also sent him word that he could not receive a man that had been excommunicated by the *Spanish* synagogue; so that he was obliged to retire to *Damascus*, where he died some years after, without being able to obtain a reversion of his sentence [a].

R. Sam-Levi *chief of the* Jews A. C. 1027. A. C. 1055. THE wars in *Spain* being still as violent during the 11th century, as they had been during the 10th, the *Jews* reaped no small benefit from it, during the first four years of it; in which *R. Samuel Levi*, being secretary and prime minister to the king of *Granada*, was by him created chief of the *Jewish* nation, and used all his credit to promote the interest and honour of it, and even to the sending for some of the most learned doctors from *Babylon*, *Afric*, and *Egypt*, to whom he was a very liberal benefactor. He had even the good fortune to see himself succeeded by his own son, in all his dignities, tho' his being a haughty and arrogant youth was no small grief to his father, who was particularly famed for his humility and sweetness of temper, even in his most prosperous state. But their tranquility was soon disturbed, by an unexpected accident. And one rabbi *Halevi*, a learned and zealous *Jew*, having undertaken to convert the *Moslems* to the *Jewish* religion, to which the version of the thalmud into *Arabic* lately mentioned, was a great help, soon awoke the jealousy of the *Granadan* king, who could not but resent so bold an attempt, against the then established religion, by one that was barely tolerated. He therefore caused the *Jewish* rabbi to be apprehended and hanged; after which he began such a fierce persecution of that nation, that about 1500 families of them that lived within his dominions, felt the dreadful effects of it; which proved the more severe, as they were, by a long series of prosperity, become very wealthy and powerful [b]; and because there was reason to fear that the other princes of *Spain* would have followed his example; nevertheless, they had the good luck to see it quickly stopt there, and without spreading itself out of that kingdom (K).

Persecuted in Granada, A. C. 1046.

[a] GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 130. [b] SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 8.

(K) However as it was so violent whilst it lasted, the *Jews* took it into their head that God had caused that disaster to be bewailed a long time before-hand, because they had then kept a solemn fast all over *Spain*, on the 9th of *December*, the day on which this persecution afterwards began.

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THEY would have undergone a more ſevere and deſtructive one, under king *Ferdinand*, (who, at the inſtigation of his bigotted wife, was going to ſanctify his war againſt the *Saracens* by the extirpation of the *Jews*) had not the biſhops, and even the pope, *Alexander* II. put a ſtop to his furious zeal, by publicly oppoſing and condemning it (L). But what moſt probably put them out of all danger from that monarch and his ſucceſſor, was the revolution which the *Moors* cauſed in *Afric*, by which *Alfonſo*, diſtreſſed on every ſide, found himſelf obliged to befriend and careſs, inſtead of oppreſſing them, in order to make them ſerviceable to him with their purſes and aſſiſtance. Accordingly, they were promoted by him to conſiderable poſts, and obtained ſuch other privileges, that pope *Gregory* quite diſapproved of them (M), tho' his cenſures could not prevail upon him to retract them. His grandſon *Peter* was no leſs deaf to the remonſtrances of *Nicholas de Valentia*, who endeavoured to divert him from joining in the cruſade or holy war, lately publiſhed; by repreſenting to him that he had too many dangerous enemies in his boſom, meaning the *Jews*, to need to go ſo far to ſeek new ones. He

Ferdinand *oppoſed by the biſhops.*

A. C. 1080.

K. Peter *refuſes to perſecute them.*

A. C. 1096.

(L) That pontiff having been acknowledged in *Spain*, for the lawful pope, againſt his competitor *Honorius*, he wrote them a letter, in which he highly commends their laudable oppoſition to *Ferdinand*'s bloody deſign againſt the *Jews*, by which he was going to take away the lives of thoſe to whom probably God might grant light and immortality. He condemns his zeal as furious and unchriſtian, and reminds him of the example of pope *Gregory* the great, who had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the like perſecutions, and the pulling down of the *Jewiſh* ſynagogues. He concludes with ſhewing them the difference between the *Saracens*, againſt whom the prince was going to wage war, and who were perſecutors, and the mortal enemies of the Chriſtians and the *Jews*, who were only a kind of ſlaves under them (2). It hath been queſtioned whether this letter was directed to the biſhops of *France* or thoſe of *Spain*; but the continual wars which the *Spaniſh* monarchs were waging againſt the *Saracens* mentioned in it, ſufficiently ſhews that it was directed by that pontiff to the biſhops of *Spain*.

(M) One of them eſpecially, that pope highly reſented; *viz.* his ſetting up the *Jews* to be judges over the Chriſtians, for which he upbraids him with having ſet up the ſynagogue of Satan above the church of *Chriſt* (3). *Alfonſo*, however, was too much intangled with his war, to liſten to his remonſtrances, ſo that he let the *Jews* enjoy their privileges and liberties, in ſpight of all the pontiff's orders to the contrary.

(2) *Alexand.* II. *Epiſt.* xxxiv. *p.* 1183. (3) *Greg.* VII. *Epiſt.* i. *lib.* ix. *Epiſt.* ii. *p.* 277. *Vid. Baſnag. ub. ſup. lib.* ix. *c.* 5.

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insisted in particular, that they hated the Christians to such a degree, that they never gave them any other than a *middling greeting*; (the reader may see the meaning of that obscure expression in the margin (N).) to which he added many other incentives equally ridiculous, to which the king, who was averse to persecution, only lent a deaf ear. However, this did not save the *Jews* from being massacred by the crusaders, in several other parts of *Spain*, by way of begging a blessing on their holy expedition.

Men of learning.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these persecutions, *Spain* produced a great number of learned rabbies, during this 11th century, particularly the celebrated *Samuel Cophsis*, a native of *Cordowa*, who published a commentary on the Pentateuch, the manuscript of which is still extant in the *Vatican* library. Those who have examined it, commend it as an excellent work, only too full of allegories. He died *A. C.* 1034. Soon after him flourished no less than five *Isaacs* at once, all of them famed for their writings, whose farther character and works the reader will find in the margin (O). But this increase

(N) He intimated by it, that when the *Jews* saw a Christian afar off coming towards them, they prayed to the gods and goddesses to destroy him: when he was come nigh enough to him, they wished him health and a long life: and when he was gone far enough out of hearing, they prayed to God that the earth might open and swallow him up, as it did *Corah* and his rebellious crew; or that the sea might overwhelm him, as it had done *Pharoah* (4).

(O) One of them was called *Isaac Alphesi*, because he was come over from *Africa*, and out of the kingdom of *Fez*, into *Spain*, probably with the *Morabethons*, or, as *Marianna* calls them, *Almoravides*, who were descended from the *Arabian Homerites*, who became Christians in the reign of *Justinian*. The *Morabethons* having conquered *Mauritania*, under their general *Abubekker*, his nephew *Joseph* extended his conquests as far as *Spain*, where his family reigned till the 12th century. And this *Isaac Alphesi* may be supposed to have come thither about the same time, where he was looked upon as the most learned man of his age, and became chief of the captivity there. His epitaph which was wrote in hexameters, was to this purport: "Let it "be engraved on this stone, "that the light of the world is "gone out, and that the foun- "tain of wisdom is deposited "within this tomb. Daughters "of *Sion* come and weep; the "world is buried and stricken "with blindness; weep and sigh, "for the ark and the tables of "the law are broken in pieces "with this doctor (5)."

Another was the son of *Ba-*

(4) *Solom. Ben Virg. p.* 73. (5) *Ap. Dav. Gantz. ab. sup. p.* 134.

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creaſe of learned men did not fail of increaſing their old feuds and quarrels, and ſtill more between their diſciples and them. For theſe having gained a taſte of polite learning, wanted to dive ſtill deeper into the arts and ſciences, which their maſters were no leſs deſirous and careful to prevent. We have had frequent occaſion, thro' the courſe of their hiſtory, to obſerve that they bred them up in a ſingular contempt for all kind of foreign learning; and we find, in the apoſtil to the text of the *Miſhna*, a ſevere curſe intailed on him that breeds up a boy, and him that ſuffers his ſon to learn the *Greek* tongue; as if the one was equally impure as the other. But by this time we are now upon, they found it next to impoſſible to ſuppreſs either the knowlege of foreign tongues, or many of their ſtudious diſciples conſequently from diving into their books, and conceiving a ſingular liking for polite literature: ſo that the profeſſors now began to divide themſelves on that account, ſome by endeavouring to ſuppreſs and condemn that prophane curioſity, others by reſtraining it within ſome limits, and a third ſort, by giving it its full ſcope and liberty (P); and theſe laſt ſo far prevailed, that the young ſtudents began to apply themſelves ſo cloſely to the ſtudy of the

Feuds and broils among them.

Prophane learning condemned by ſome.

ruch, who deduced his genealogy from *Baruch*, *Jeremiah*'s ſecretary, and pretended that his family had paſſed into *Spain* at the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*. He was ſuch a lover and maſter of the mathematics, that the king of *Granada* called him the Mathematician, and heard him read ſeveral lectures on that ſcience at court. He continued in that country, greatly eſteemed, till his death, which happened *an.* 1007, when he gave an ample proof of his repentance for having fallen out with the former *Iſaac*, and having rejected all means of being reconciled to him: for, finding his death approaching, he ſent his ſon to him to obtain his pardon; which the other, who was as near his latter end, readily granted, and, as a token of his ſincerity, took care of that youth's education whilſt he lived. The other three were likewiſe men of learning, but of the ſame proud leaven, and ſo not worth dwelling longer upon.

(P) It was indeed in a manner impoſſible for them to prevent the learning of foreign tongues; for how could they that lived in *Egypt* avoid ſpeaking *Greek*, thoſe in the *Roman* empire *Latin*, thoſe in *Spain* the *Saracen* or *Arabic*? Notwithſtanding which, *R. Solomon*, who was profeſſor at *Barcelona*, in this eleventh century, took upon him to excommunicate every *Jew* that ſhould begin to learn *Greek* before he was 20 years of age, which, tho' a wide ſtep from the rigidneſs of the ancient law, proved ſo little ſatisfactory, that *R. Mar*, without minding his anathema, gave theſe young ſtudents a full liberty to learn both the languages and ſciences.

mathematics,

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mathematics and other sciences, that *Spain*, in a little time, produced a great number of learned men among them [c].

Few learned in France.

It proved far otherwise in *France*, where the scarcity of rabbies of any note was such, during these two centuries, that we do not read of above five or six that distinguished themselves for their learning. The most celebrated of them was

R. Gershom.

R. Gershom, or *Gersion*, who, whether a native of *France*, or of *Mentz* in *Germany*, as most pretend, published there his book of constitutions, which, tho' it was a long time before it could meet with the approbation of the rest of the *Jewish* doctors, yet it was at length received as a body of excellent laws, about the year 1204, and its author dignified with the title of *Light of the* French *captivity* [d]. He is affirmed by some to have died *an.* 1028, and by others 40 years later. So that those who pretend that he flourished in the ninth century, are egregiously mistaken. He had some eminent disciples, whose characters and writings the reader will find in the margin (Q).

[c] Gantz & al. ub. sup. [d] Id. ibid. Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 69, & seq. Wolf Bibl. Hæbr. sub voc.

(Q) The most celebrated of them was *R. Jaacob*, the son of *Jekar*, a great musician, and casuist, whose decisions are received with the greatest esteem, and cannot be rejected without incurring a crime. He is said to have flourished about the same time with his master; and to have died in the same year. The next was *R. Judah*, surnamed *Abercellonita*, who was a professor of laws at *Barcelona*, and wrote a treatise on the rights of women, and another on the various *Jewish* calculations of time; such as from the exod, from the first *Jewish* monarch, from the entry of *Alexander* into *Jerusalem*, &c. which last was followed down to the 10th century, when rabbi *Sherirah*, formerly mentioned, obliged the *Jews* to reckon from the creation of the world †. *Judah* likewise published some sermons. The last worth mentioning, was *R. Moses Hadarshian*, or *the Preacher*. These two last introduced preaching in their synagogues, which had been till then much neglected; but the latter seems by his title of *Preacher*, to have been the most admired, and was likewise the author of the *Bereshith Rabbah*, or large comment on *Genesis*, often quoted by Christians (6) against the *Jews*, and by us frequently in their preceding history. He died in the year 1070, and left behind him a no less celebrated disciple, *viz. Solomon Jarchi*, or *the Lunatic*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in this chapter.

† *See before, p.* 13, *sub note.* (6) *Vid. int. al. Pet. Galatin. de c. l.* viii. *c.* 21. *& alib. pass. Raym. Pugio Fidei Mic. Neander & al. mult.*

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BUT among the reſt of the *French* rabbies of this century, we muſt not omit the author of the pretended hiſtory of *Joſipp Ben Gorion*, whom, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, the *Jews* have ſubſtituted for the *Greek* hiſtorian of that name *. This *Jewiſh* impoſtor, to gain the greater credit with his readers, begins with giving himſelf out for *a royal prince and prieſt of the* Jewiſh *nation, in whoſe perſon providence had united thoſe two dignities, to war againſt their enemies*. He calls himſelf *the* Joſeph *full of the ſpirit of wiſdom and underſtanding, of counſel, fortitude, knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord; and who ſacrificed his life to the defence of the ſanctuary and people of God* [c]. He adds, that one of his ſoldiers, one day, cried aloud to him, *thou art the man of God. Bleſſed be the God of* Iſrael, *who hath created the ſoul that animates thee, and hath endowed thee with ſuch extraordinary wiſdom!* And when taken by the *Romans*, their army aſked each other with tears, *Is that the perſon ſo admired among the* Jews, *and ſo dreaded by the* Romans? *How is he caught, who was alone once able to inject terror into our army, and hath filled the univerſe with the fame of his valiant deeds? Titus* himſelf was no leſs taken with his perſon and courage, and raiſed him above all the prieſts and *Levites* of his nation (R). *The ſham* Joſephus, *a native of* France, *in this century.* *The high titles he gives himſelf.*

WE have already taken occaſion to ſpeak of his fabulous hiſtory, and the occaſion of his impoſing it on the world in an age ſo far remote from that in which he pretends to have wrote it, as well as of the time in which it began to be made known to the world, *viz. A. C.* 1140. His impoſture hath however ſo well ſucceeded by his pirating from the *Greek* and original *Joſephus*, ſuch facts as were to his purpoſe, miſrepreſenting and adding ſuch others as he pleaſed, and couching his hiſtory in the *Hebrew* tongue, whereby the *Greek* one became not only neglected but ſuſpicious, and at length rejected as a forgery, by thoſe of his nation. So that we need not wonder if the generality of them have ſince extolled it to *His hiſtory fabulous, and wrote in oppoſition to the true* Joſephus.

* See Anc. Hiſt. vol. x. p. 695, & (H). [c] Vid. LADISL. Decret. lib. i. c. 10. ap. VERBOCZ Corp. jur. Hungar.

(R) Thus much we thought neceſſary to mention to give a ſketch of the modeſty and eloquence of this *Jewiſh* braggadocio; in which we need not wonder that a man who deſigned to impoſe ſuch a forgery on the world, ſhould be ſo laviſh of his breath in blowing his own trumpet; tho' we juſtly may, that ſo many of his own nation ſhould be infatuated enough to join in the chorus, and raiſe his character and panegyric even beyond what he himſelf had done, as we have had occaſion to ſhew at the beginning of this chapter.

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the skies, and so many learned men among the Christians have been deceived by it. As to the fuller confutation of the author and his history, and the many falshoods, contradictions, absurdities, *&c.* which plainly prove its forgery, we shall, for brevity's sake, refer our readers to the authors quoted in the margin [f], and proceed with our *Jewish* history in other nations in *Europe*.

Jews *in* Hungary, A. C. 1092.

We begin to find them flourishing in *Hungary* towards the latter end of the 11th century, when St. *Ladislaus*, who then reigned, convened a synod, in which were made several regulations, such as if a *Jew* should marry, or, as the act words it, *sibi associaverit*, a Christian woman, or buy a Christian slave, they should be set at liberty, and the price given for them confiscated to the bishop [g]. His son *Coloman* being come to the throne, forbad them, by a new law, the using of Christian slaves, but permitted them to buy and cultivate lands, on condition they used no other but Pagan slaves, and settled only in such places as were under the jurisdiction of a bishop [h]. These two laws shew the *Jews* to have been numerous and powerful in that kingdom.

Success in Hungary *and* Bohemia.

They were no less so in *Germany* and *Bohemia*, where they had built many stately synagogues, in most of their noted cities, particularly in the former, at *Treves*, *Cologn*, *Mentz*, and *Francfort*. They had likewise settled themselves in the latter, ever since the 10th century, when they assisted the Christians against the irruptions of the barbarians, and for which they were allowed to have a synagogue there also (S). They

[f] Colodan. Reg. decr. lib. i. ad an. 1100 ap. Verbocz. ub. sup. p. 65. [g] Josippon seu Joseph Ben Gorion. Hist. Jud. libri sex. p. 309, & 346. [h] De hoc vid. Basnag. Hist. des Juifs lib. ix. an. 6. pass.

(S) We are told however, that they were so much terrified by a variety of prodigies which seemed to threaten the destruction of the world, that having lost all hopes of the coming of the Messiah, they for the most part embraced Christianity. And indeed, if we may believe those historians, this eleventh century was remarkably pregnant with such wonders, and nothing so common as the then intercourse between this and the other world; there being scarce a night in which there were not some travellers from the one to the other. Pope *Benedict* XII. was seen to come from thence, mounted on a black horse, to give notice of a bishop being cruelly tormented there, because all his alms had been the fruit of his extortions; and to advise his surviving brother to open the chests of his ill-gotten wealth, and distribute it to the poor. Others came to inform against

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They underwent indeed, in ſeveral parts, ſome grievous perſecutions from the zealots, ſuch as thoſe we have hinted under the laſt note; but the emperor *Henry* (not the Vth, as the *Jews* have miſtaken it[i], but his father, who was then at variance with pope *Gregory* about ſome inveſtitures) having declared himſelf for them, they were not only reſettled in their ancient abodes, but had, by his orders, all the goods refunded which they had been plundered of. This occaſioned freſh complaints and accuſations, they being charged with having magnified their loſſes, in order to enrich themſelves by a more plentiful reſtitution, which, if true, they did eaſily bear the ſcandal of, for the advantage they gained by it.

Protected by the emperor, A. C. 1096.

BUT what moſt contributed to kindle the heat and fury of the zealots againſt them, was the march of the cruſaders thro' *Cologn*, *Mentz*, *Worms*, *Spires*, and other cities of *Germany*, where they committed freſh maſſacres in every one from *April* to *July*, on thoſe that refuſed to be converted. The *Jewiſh* hiſtorians reckon but 5000 that were either butchered or drowned; and as to the number of thoſe that ſaved themſelves by diſſembling, it was beyond compute[k]; and they are ſo far from having exaggerated the particulars of that perſecution, that the Chriſtians make the number of the for-

Maſſacred by the cruſaders, A. C. 1094.

[i] Shalſheleth Hakkabalah, ſub A. M. 4856. p. 110. [k] Id. ibid.

againſt whole monaſteries of nuns, who were employed in making drawers for men, which made them burn with luſt towards them. All which, and many more, paſſed for current in thoſe times.

However, thoſe prodigies had not converted ſuch numbers of the *Jews*, but that there was ſtill left a quantity ſufficient to ſtir up the zeal of a prieſt named *Gotteſcal* againſt them, who at the head of 15000 banditti, committed the moſt horrid outrages againſt them, and was ſupported and encouraged in it by ſome of the crowned heads. He had already gone thro' *Franconia*, and was entered *Hungary*, when they were caught plundering the Chriſtians as well as the *Jews*, raviſhing their wives, and giving themſelves up to all kind of debaucheries: and he was ſurpriſed in the midſt of them, and ſlain with the greateſt part of his troops. (7) The landgrave of *Liningben* having taken it in his head to follow his ſteps, and declare himſelf the perſecutor of the *Jews*, had likewiſe made ſome havock among them, and penetrated as far as the *Hungarian* borders, when he was likewiſe ſurpriſed and defeated by the brave *Hungarians*, who were come to put a ſtop to his farther progreſs (8).

(7) *Moulin's Chron. German. l.* xv. & xvi. *p.* 123—126. (8) *Id. Ibid.* & *Pistor. Hiſt. Germ. tom.* iii. *ſub A. C.* 1089.

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mer much greater, and the manner of it even more dreadful [l] (T): and as for the latter, they only made a shew of Christianity till the storm was over, and relapsed all into *Judaism* by the next year. The bishop of *Spires*, more humane than the rest, not only protected those that took refuge under him, but caused some of their persecutors to be hanged. The *Bavarian* annalists give us a still more dreadful account of those in their country [m], of whom they tell us above 12,000 were slain; and all agree that the number of those that perished in other parts of *Germany* was almost infinite.

During the second crusade, A. C. 1144, & seq.

THIS was the first crusade; the next, which was published 50 years after, might have proved no less violent against them, (it being promoted with great zeal and success along the *Rhine*, by the hermit *Rodolphus*, who was charged with the care of it: the common cry of the preachers being then, that they must exterminate all the enemies of *Christ* within their own territories, before they went to seek new ones in foreign parts) had not this pulpit eloquence alarmed them time enough to give them an opportunity of retiring to *Nuremberg*, and other principal cities, where they met with a kind reception and a protection from the emperor. It must be owned, however, that that hermit's persecuting doctrine was displeasing to many Christian bishops and others, and

[l] Vid. Addit. ad LAMBERT SCHAFFNABURG. PISTOR. Hist. Germ. tom. iii. ad. A. C. 1089. BERTHOLD. CONSTANT. Append. ad. Herm. ap. WURSTIS, tom. i. p. 375. Hist. Trevor. ap. DACHER. specil. tom. xii. p. 236. [m] AVENTIN. Annal. Boior, lib. v. p. 361.

(T) These inform us that there were no less than 1400 burnt at *Mentz*, and that the disorder which happened on that occasion, was the cause of one half of that city being reduced to ashes. Those of *Worms* went to beg the bishop's protection, who refused to grant it, unless they turned Christians; and as the people were very eager, they gave them so little time to deliberate, that the most intimidated of them immediately accepted of baptism; whilst others, more desperate, put an end to their own lives. Much the same was done at *Triers*, or *Treves*, where the very women, at the sight of the coming crusaders, murdered their own children; telling them that it was much better thus to dispatch and send them into *Abraham*'s bosom, than to leave them to the mercy of the Christians. Others loading themselves with stones, flung themselves and them into the *Rhine* (9).

(9) *Vid. Hist. Germ. & al. sup. citat.*

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that St. *Bernard* did in particular write a letter to the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, in which he highly condemned it, and was for having that fiery zealot ſent back to his ſolitude [n]. Nevertheleſs, the flame was ſpread far and near by his trumpeters, not only in *Germany*, but in moſt other parts of *Europe*, and vaſt multitudes were maſſacred by the Chriſtians, beſides a much greater number, if we may believe the *Jewiſh* chronologers; who being driven into deſpair by the cruelties they were made to undergo, made away with themſelves [o]. We are now come to the end of the 11th century, which was cloſed with thoſe butcheries in moſt parts of *Europe*, and with a fuller account of which our readers will eaſily diſpenſe, whilſt we now take a view of their more peaceable and flouriſhing ſtate in the eaſt, during the 12th century. *Protected by the emperor.*

THE author whom we have followed, and whoſe character the reader will ſee in the margin (V), tells us that he found ſeveral *Benjamin of Tudela.*

[n] BERN. Epiſt. 133. tom. i. & ſeq.

[o] GANTZ TZEMACH. p. 133.

(V) We ſhall, for want of a better guide, be chiefly obliged for the account of the *Jews*, during this 12th century, both in the eaſt and weſt, to the noted traveller of their nation *Benjamin*, ſirnamed of *Tudela*, a city in *Navarre*, his native place, and often quoted in this chapter; who tells us that he had viſited moſt of theſe parts. But we have had occaſion before now to obſerve that he is, in the main, a very fabulous writer, and hath not ſcrupled to interlard his account with many abſurd and incredible ſtories, to raiſe the credit of his nation. He hath even invented new countries, and mentioned kingdoms and cities, and places not then in being: and to others he aſcribes many ridiculous particulars, ſcarce worth mentioning after him. We ſhall however, give our readers an inſtance or two by way of ſample to the reſt, which we deſign to paſs by.

Of this nature is what he tells us of the city of *Pethora*, the reſidence of *Balaam*, ſaid by *Moſes* to have been near the river *Euphrates* (10), and where our traveller tells us was ſtill ſtanding the tower in which he lived, and which had been built by his magic art; and the ſynagogue, pretended to have been built by *Ezra*, upon his leaving *Babylon* to return into *Judea*, with the reſt of the captivity; as if that great *Jewiſh* leader would ſpend his time in building ſuch places in *Babylon* for his brethren, when he was going to lead them thence back into their own land. Another of his ſynagogues he mentions in a city built by *Omar*, one of the firſt and moſt ſucceſsful Khalifs, at the foot of *Mount*

(10) *See Numb.* xxii. *& ſeq. See alſo Anc. Hiſt. vol.* ii. *p.* 128. *& ſeq. & notes.*

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la's *character and travels.*

ral considerable synagogues, and a great number of *Jews*, who lived there at their ease, and enjoyed the liberty of their religion unmolested [p]. That of *Bassorah*, mentioned in the last note, and situated in an island of the *Tygris*, had 4000 *Jews*; that of *Almozal* answering to the ancient *Nineveh*, and built of its old materials, had 7000 more. In this last he found *Zacheus*, a prince descended from the house of *David*, and *Beren al Pherec*, a famed astronomer, who associated himself as a kind of chaplain to king *Zin-Aldin* (W). Passing thro' *Reboboth*, in his way to *Bagdad*, he found 2000 settled there, and 500 at *Karchemish*, famed for the defeat of *Pharoah Necho*, and situate on the banks of the *Euphrates*. *Pundebita*, or as he writes it, *Pum-beditha*, once so famed, as we have seen, tho' much sunk from its pristine grandeur, and then named *Aliobari*, or *Elnebar*, had still a few doctors, tho' almost forsaken, and about 2000 *Jews*, some of whom applied themselves to the study of the law. It shewed still the tomb of *Bostenai*, a prince of the captivity, who had married a daughter of the king of *Persia*, and those of two celebrated doctors, and the two synagogues they had built

Jews *in the east.*

Prince of the captivity's tomb, and

[p] Itinerar. p. 59, & seq.

Ararat (11), where the ark rested, and with the remains of of which he built a stately mosque; as if those materials, supposing them to have lasted ever since the flood, could be fit for such an edifice. Besides, that city did not stand at the foot of *Ararat*, but on the mouth of the *Tigris*, and seems designed to prevent the *Persians* from sailing into *India* thro' the *Persic* gulph, and was called *Balsora*, or *Bassorah*. These are some of the absurdities with which he hath blended the relation we are speaking of, but which hinder not its giving us the best general idea of the state of the *Jewish* nation that can be had during this century. However, as the route which he took from *Europe* thither is contrary to the method we have followed in this chapter, we shall stick to this last, and begin, as we have hitherto done, with the eastern parts, and those in particular there which lie along the *Euphrates*.

(W) It may seem strange that a *Jewish* astronomer should be chaplain to a *Mohammedan* prince, for such was *Zin-Aldin* above-mentioned, who was brother to *Nor-Aldin* king of *Syria*, whom the *Moslems* reverenced not only as a grand conqueror, but as one of their greatest saints. But if we consider how apt the generality of the *Jews* were to temporize, either thro' fear, or for their own interest, we shall not be surprized to find that great astronomer so compliable to the religion of his prince (12).

(11) *Itinerar. p.* 59, *& seq.* (12) *Vid. Basnag. ub. sup. l.* ix. *c.* 8. § 4.

before

before their death [q]. The academy of *Sora*, once ſo famed for being the reſidence of ſeveral *Jewiſh* chiefs, of the lineage of *David*, as well as for the number of its ſcholars, and learned profeſſors, had likewiſe loſt moſt of its ancient glory; and the ſame he ſays alſo of that of *Nahardea*, whoſe ſchools were all demoliſhed, and the doctors retired into the weſt (X). We have given an account of this deſertion in ſpeaking of the foregoing century; nevertheleſs, tho' thoſe parts had now neither academies nor learned rabbies, the *Jews* were ſtill very numerous there; and our author tells us he found no leſs than 10,000 of them at *Obkeray*; which city he pretends had been built by king *Jechoniah*, during the *Babyloniſh* captivity. *other antiquities.*

FROM thence he came to *Bagdad*, where *Moſtanged* who then reigned, tho' but two years, was a great lover and favourer of the *Jews*, and had a great number of them in his ſervice. He was perfectly well acquainted with the *Hebrew*, could readily write it, and had gained ſome knowledge of their law. There were however, not above 1000 *Jews* in that city, tho' ſome have enlarged it to many thouſands, a thing very common among *Jewiſh* writers; but whatever their number might be, they had, he ſays, 28 ſynagogues, and ten tribunals or courts, at the head of which were ten of the moſt conſiderable of their nation, who applied themſelves to the affairs of it, and were ſtiled the ten *Idle men*, over whom was the chief or prince of the captivity. The perſon who then enjoyed that dignity was ſtiled by them lord, and by the *Moſlems*, the ſon of *David*, he being, according to our author, lineally deſcended from that holy monarch [r]. His authority extended itſelf over all the *Jews* under the dominion of the Khalif, prince of the faithful, and from the province of *Syria* quite eaſtward to the *Iron gates*, and as far as *India* (Y). Jews *at Bagdad favoured.*

THE

[q] Ibid p. 62, & ſeq. [r] Ibid p. 72, & ſeq.

(X) This laſt was then only famed for a ſynagogue, which its ſuperſtitious inhabitants had built of ſtones, earth, and other materials brought from *Jeruſalem* (13).

(Y) He farther tells us that this chief was looked upon as a kind of ſovereign, to whom even the *Mohammedans* were obliged to riſe and bow as he paſſed, under the penalty of receiving 100 laſhes. He had 100 guards that eſcorted him when he went to viſit the Khalif, and a herald cried before him, *prepare the ways of the lord the ſon of* David. The moſt re-

(13) *Itiner. p.* 81.

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Not independent of the monarchs.

THE *Jewish* rabbies who pretend that those eastern chiefs were independant of any other monarchs, and retained still the power of life and death, have left no stone unturned to prove that favourite point; insomuch that *Origen* himself believed that those *Assyrian* monarchs under whom they lived, being contented with their subjection and dependence, allowed them to govern their people, according to their own laws, and to inflict even death on the guilty, and proved it not only from the apocryphal book of *Susanna* against *Africanus*, but from more recent instances, under the *Roman* emperors, after the destruction of the temple by *Titus* [s]. He hath been followed by others both ancient and modern, who pretend they had a power to raise a tribute on the nation, and to punish the recusants as well as other criminals with death [t]. We shall not repeat here what we have formerly said on the subject of the sceptre departing from *Judah* * long before this time, nor on the unlikelihood that conquerors should grant such an extensive power to the conquered, notwithstanding

[s] Epist. ad African. p. 144. [t] Vid. int. al. SULPIT. SEVER. Hist. lib. xi. c. 2. Druf. not. p. 279. * Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 629.

mote places of the *Jewish* nation were obliged to receive their teachers from him, by the imposition of his hands. The *Jewish* merchants likewise levied a kind of toll in their fairs, and paid a sort of tribute to him; the remotest provinces were wont to send him some sorts of refreshments and other presents; besides all which, he had his own patrimony, and some lands allotted to him, to help him to keep up his grandeur, to supply his table, maintain the poor, and support some hospitals for his nation.

He was however obliged to buy this grandeur and his privileges, by a tribute paid to the Khalif, and by large presents, which he made to his officers; which plainly shews, that if there was really a chief of the captivity still in being in this 12th century, and who still lived in such splendor (though what we have said of the persecutions they underwent in the preceding century, would induce one to believe our *Jew* hath greatly exaggerated the matter, and hath rather described his state according to what he formerly was, when they enjoyed more peace and favour) yet was theirs but a borrowed or rather bought dignity, depending on the pleasure of the monarchs under whom they lived, and subject to such a tribute as they thought fit to impose upon them: so that the *Jews* have no great reason to boast of having still their princes of the house of *David*, and who still enjoy the regal dignity. But it is still more likely, that this dignity, small and dependent as it was, had been abolished in the preceding century, as we have already shewn.

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the apocryphal ſtory of *Suſanna*, and what he quotes from other authors. What we have ſaid under the laſt note, is ſufficient to confute all the rabinic pretences, ſince that power, let it extend itſelf as far as it would, was ſtill ſubject to a ſuperior one, and liable to be taken away or continued according to the will of the princes from whom they received it, by ſpecial commiſſion under the royal ſignet, and ſo was but a precarious ſhadow of royal authority, which was either to be renewed by every ſucceſſor upon his acceſſion to the crown, or to become void of courſe. And therefore the more fair and impartial doctors of their nation have made no difficulty to give up that point (Z). Thus much we thought neceſſary to ſay concerning this pretended power of the *Babyloniſh* chief, we ſhall now follow our author thro' the other eaſtern provinces.

Their power ſmall and limitted.

On his leaving that of *Bagdad*, he paſſed through *Reſen*, where he tells us [u] he found near 5000 *Jews*, who were performing their devotions in a large ſynagogue; and ſome leagues farther about 1000 more, praying in an oratory, ſaid to have been built by the prophet *Daniel*. *Hela*, another town about five miles from that, had four ſynagogues, and about 10,000 *Jews*. Proceeding ſtill eaſtward, he arrived at the banks of the river *Chebar*, on which is the tomb of the prophet *Ezekiel*, where he found 60 towers, every one of which was a ſynagogue, and not far from it the palace of *Jechoniah*, built by that *Jewiſh* monarch upon his being reſtored by *Evil-Merodach* [w]. The reader may ſee the account he gives of it in the margin (A). From thence he paſſed to *Cufa*,

Jews in other eaſtern parts.

Tomb of Ezekiel reverenced

[u] Itiner. p. 78, & ſeq. [w] 2 Kings xxv. 27, & ſeq.

(Z) This is evident not only from two of their greateſt rabbies, *viz. D. Kimchi*, and *Abravanel*, who acknowlege the regal authority and judicial power had been aboliſhed, but much more from the learned *Maimonides*, who hath fully proved the unlawfulneſs of inflicting any capital puniſhment in any other country but in *Judea*; ſo that theſe chiefs of the captivity muſt have looked upon it as a violence, ſhould the Khalifs, or any other monarchs to whom they were ſubject, have obliged them to exert any ſuch power, ſeeing there can be no ſovereign tribunal, nor power of inflicting death, out of the land of *Judea*, as was hinted in a former note.

(A) This edifice which he tells us is ſo ſituate as to have a full view of the *Chebar* on one ſide, and of the *Euphrates* on the other; retains ſtill the figures of that *Jewiſh* monarch, and of his retinue, at the end of which is the prophet *Ezekiel*, carved on the roof. But the tomb of that prophet was ſtill more reſorted to, as a place of devotion, to which even the princes

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Cufa, once the famed residence of the Khalifs *, but since abandoned, wherein, however, he found about 7000 of his own nation, who had but one synagogue. *Thema* was according to him the chief place where the *Rechabites* † were still seated, and who were, according to him, masters of a vast territory about it; but this, as well as several other particulars, which he there affirms, concerning the ten tribes transported thither by the kings of *Assyria*, and their different settlements, *&c.* hath been sufficiently confuted by Mr. *Basnage*, to which we refer our readers ‡, and follow our author into *Egypt*.

Account of the Rechabites *confuted.*

HERE he found the *Jews* still more numerous, as it was a country in which they had from the earliest times, before as well as after their total dispersion, been settled in great numbers. He reckoned no less than 30,000 in the city of *Chouts*, on the frontiers of *Ethiopia*; 2000 he saw at *Mizraim*, now *Grand Cairo*, who had two synagogues, and were divided about some trivial points relating to the division and reading of the sacred books, one sort going thro' the whole lecture of them in one year, as they do in *Spain* and elsewhere; and the other only once in three years. In this city it was that the chief of all the *Egyptian* synagogues resided, ap-

Jews *in* Egypt,

* De hoc. vid. Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 104, & seq. † De his vid. sup. vol. iv. p. 136. (S). ‡ Hist. de Juifs, lib. vii. c. 3. § 10, & seq.

princes of the captivity repaired every year, attended with a numerous retinue. It was likewise frequented and highly reverenced by the *Persians* and *Mohammedans*; so that during all their wars, no conqueror ever dared lay hands on it. Here hung over that prophet's tomb a lamp, which burned night and day, and was maintained by the chief, and his head counsellors. There is likewise a rich library in it, to which all the *Jews* who died without children, used to bequeath and send all their books; and among the rest they shewed the prototype of *Ezekiel*'s prophecies written, as they pretend, with his own hands (14).

We omit several other antiquities and ruins which that author saw, and describes in these parts; such as the palace of the great *Nabuchadnezzar*, turned into a den of wild beasts; the furnace into which the three companions of *Daniel* were thrown, *&c.* which he says were there still to be seen; tho' those who have been there since give us a quite different notion of the place, as the reader may see by what we have said of it in a former part †. He tells us likewise of the magnificent tomb of *Jechoniah* at *Cufa*, which is more likely to have been that of some of the Khalifs or *Moslem* princes.

(14) *Itinerar. ub. sup. & seq.* † *Vid. Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 404, & seq.*

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pointed their doctors and took care of the affairs of the nation. Our author likewiſe viſited the once famed land of *Goſhen*, where, among other things, he found the *Jews* very numerous, in one places 200, in another 500, 300 in the city of *Goſhen*, as many at *Alexandria*, and but a few at *Damiata*[y]. The reſt he repreſents as diſperſed in all the other provinces and towns of *Egypt*, in great numbers, tho' vaſtly ſhort of what they once were, when the ſingle city of *Alexandria* was reckoned to have 100,000 of them (B). But what is moſt ſurpriſing is, that he makes no mention of any of their learned doctors, tho' there were then two celebrated ones that flouriſhed there at the very time that he pretends to have travelled thro' it; *viz. Abi*, a learned rabbi of *Alexandria*, who wrote a treatiſe on the intelligences which move the heavens, and on the influence of the planets; and flouriſhed about *an.* 1150. And the great *Maimonides* who lived about the ſame time at *Cairo*, and was in ſuch repute there, that he was, and is ſtill, reckoned the greateſt man of that age and nation. We have had occaſion to make frequent mention of him both in this chapter, and formerly in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory. The reader may ſee an account of his learned works in the next note (C). It muſt be owned however,

in Goſhen.

Two learned rabbies omitted.

Maimonides's *character and works.*

[y] ITINERAR. p. 83, & ſeq.

(B) Our author hath not only mentioned here a city (that of *Chouts*) which is not to be found in any other, and placed that of *Goſhen*, capital of the canton, near that of *Alexandria*, contrary to the ſituation which the ſacred writings give it, but ſpeaks of *Joſeph*'s granaries as ſtill to be ſeen at *Cairo*, and of *Ariſtotle*'s celebrated academy, that was reſorted to, by the learned from all parts of the world (15); though the former have long ago been deſtroyed, and the latter was built not at *Alexandria*, nor in *Egypt*, but at *Athens*.

He hath likewiſe made a ſad blunder in the account he gives of the then reigning Khalif in *Egypt*, when he came thither; and hath added ſome other circumſtances which cannot be reconciled either with each other, or with the hiſtory of that time: but as that is foreign to our preſent deſign, and would carry us beyond our bounds, we ſhall refer the curious to the author often quoted for the farther confutation of it (16).

(C) 1. *Piruſh Hamiſhnah*, or a comment on that book, begun in *Spain*, in the 23d year of his age, and finiſhed in the 30th in *Egypt*, and written originally in *Arabic*, in which language ſeveral copies are ſtill found in

(15) *Ub. ſup. p.* 115, & *ſeq.* (16) *Ibid. p.* 124, & *ſeq. Vid. Baſnag. ubi ſup. l.* ix. *c.* 8. § 16, & *ſeq.*

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ever, that excepting these two, *Egypt* hath not produced during these latter ages many men of note, we shall therefore leave

the *Vatican* and other public libraries; and since translated at different times, and by several hands into *Hebrew* (17). 2dly. *Jad Chazakah, il Mishnah Hathora*, or the repetition of the law, and divided into four parts, and these into 14 books, which are still subdivided into various other titles.

The 1st part, Book I, contains the five following books, under the title of *Sepher Hamadahh*, or book of knowledge. 1. *Jessode Hathorah*, or fundamentals of the law. 2. *Hadekoth*, or moral rules. 3. *Thalmud Hathorah*, or the study of the law. 4. *Havodah Zarah*, or of idolatry. 5. *Hathesshubah*, or of repentance.

Book II. intitled *Sepher Ahawah*, book of love, contains the six following; *viz.* 1. Of the reading of the sacred text of *Moses*. 2. Of prayers and the sacerdotal blessing. 3. Of phylacteries on the hands, forehead, &c. 4. Of the sacred peniculaments. 5. Of blessing and consecration of all things by prayer. 6. Of circumcision.

Book III. intitled *Zemanim*, of times, contains the 10 following; 1. Of the Sabbath. 2. Of mixturers on the Sabbath. 3. Of expiation-day. 4. Of common feasts, or intermediate days between the first and the last of the festivals. 5. Of laying aside all ferment. 6. Of the blowing of the horn or trumpet on stated days. 7. Of the annual payment of the sicle. 8. The consecration of the new moons. 9. Of fasts. 10. Of the feast of *Purim* or *Lots*, prescribed in the book of *Esther*.

Part II. Book IV. intitled *Of Women*, treats, 1. Of marriages. 2. Of divorce. 3. Of the *Jibum Achim*, or brethren marrying the deceased brother's widow. 4. Of virgins deflowered by fraud or force. 5. Of adulteresses.

Book V. intitled *Of Holiness*, treats, 1. Of unlawful coition, incest, &c 2. Of forbidden meats. 3. Of the due method of killing of beasts, &c.

Part III. Book VI. intitled *Of Separation*, treats, 1. Of oaths. 2. Of vows. 3. Of that of *Nazareal*. 4. Of the devoting of things and persons to sacred uses, and the estimate of their redemption.

Book VII. 1. Against mixtures of heterogeneous things. 2. Of the poor's gifts or portion to be set aside for them. 3. Of oblations. 4. Of first tithes. 5. Of second tythes. 6. Of first fruits and other offerings for the priests. 7. Of the 7th or jubilee year.

Book VIII. intitled *Of the sacred Ministry*, treats, 1. Of the temple or sanctuary. 2. Of the vessels used in it for the divine worship. 3. Of the going of the priests into the sanctuary. 4. Of things that were not to be offered. 5. Of the offering of sacrifices. 6. Of the daily

(17) *Vid. Pocock. post. Mos. Bartoloc. ub. sup. Wolf Biblioth. Hebræa. p.* 837, *& seq.*

and

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leave it, and paſs thence into *Paleſtine*, where we ſhall hardly find them in greater plenty.

OUR

and other ſacrifices. 7. Of defective ſacrifices. 8. Of thoſe to be offered on the expiation-day. 9. Of tranſgreſſions in the eating of the ſacrifices.

Book IX. intitled *Of Sacrifices*, or *Things offered*, treats, 1. Of that of the Paſſover. 2. Of the appearing before the Lord three times in the year. 3. Of the firſt-born. 4. Of trangreſſion thro' ignorance. 5. Of thoſe thoſe that need not to be expiated by ſacrifice. 6. Of the expiation ſacrifice.

Book X. intitled *Of Purifications*, treats, 1. Of defilements received from dead bodies. 2. Of the red heifer. 3. Of the leproſy. 4. Of thoſe defilements that pollute the beds, houſes, *&c.* 5. Of the fathers or general heads of defilements. 6. Of defilement in eating. 7. Of the pollution or cleanſing of veſſels. 8. Of baths and waſhings.

Part IV. Book XI. intitled *Of Damages*, treats, 1. Of ſundry kinds of damages to another's property. 2. Of theft. 3. Of reſtoring that which is ſtolen or loſt. 4. Of pledges. 5. Of manſlaughter, and the preſerving of the innocent manſlayer.

Book XII. intitled, *Of Poſſeſſions and Acquiſitions*, treats, 1. Of buying and ſelling. 2. Of public acquiſitions by hunting, fiſhing, *&c.* 3. Of neighbours, and the rights of neighbourhood. 4. Of the duty of meſſengers ſent, and of their puniſhment for neglect, fraud, *&c.* and of the rights of ſociety and commerce. 5. Of ſervants.

Book XIII. intitled, *Of Judgments, or ſentences to be paſſed by the judges*, treats, 1. Of hiring and hire. 2. Of lending, pledging, and reſtoring. 3. Of mutual lending and borrowing. 4. Of the doer or guilty perſon. 5. Of inheritance.

Book XIV. intitled, *Of the Judges*, treats, 1. Of the *Sanhedrin* or grand council. 2. Of witneſſes and their depoſitions. 3. Of recuſants or rebellions. 4. Of mourning and mourners. 5. Of kings and war. Theſe are the chief heads of that celebrated treatiſe *Jad Chazakah*, or *Strong Hand*, of which we thought proper to give this ſhort ſcantling, that our *Engliſh* readers might frame an idea of his clear and exact method of treating and ranging each ſubject; all which he treats with ſuch perſpicuity and ſtrong reaſoning, as is far above all that have gone before him, or indeed ſince. The reader may ſee a further account of this author and his books in *Wolf*'s and *Bartolocci*'s *Bibliotheca*'s, whilſt we content ourſelves with juſt mentioning the titles of the reſt of his works.

3. His third treatiſe is intitled *Moreh Nevokim*, or the directer or expounder of perplexed texts or places of ſcripture.

4. His fourth is the *Sepher Hammitzvoth*, the book of commandments, or an Expoſition of the precepts of the *Moſaic* law, both poſitive and negative.

5. His Epiſtle or Diſcourſe on the reſurrection of the dead.

6. His Southern Epiſtle or Letter to the *Jews* inhabiting the

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Jews *at* Tyre.

OUR author tells us that he found at *Tyre*, in his way thither, about 500 of his nation, some few of whom were well versed in the Thalmud. Most of the rest were employed in the glass manufacture, the *Tyrian* glass being then in great esteem. The *Samaritans* having abandoned their ancient capital, were retired some to *Cæsarea*, where he found about 200, and about 100 more at *Sichem*, which last was become the seat of their religion. The priests there boasted themselves lineally descended from *Aaron*, and never married out of their own family, that their succession might be preserved unmixed and untainted. They are very strict in solemnizing

Samaritans.

the southern parts of the world, exhorting them to continue stedfast in the *Jewish* faith.

7. His letter to the doctors of *Marseilles* in *Provence*, which is a kind of answer or confutation of the common *Jewish* notion about the infallible influence of the stars, and of a *Jewish* impostor who called himself the messiah.

8. The epistles to the great light, that is to *Maimonides* himself, and written to him by the learned *Jewish* doctors of *France* and *Spain*, with his answers to them.

9. A set of sermons wrote by him, and mentioned in this treatise on the sanhedrin, and by the author of the *Shalsheleth Hakkabalah*, p. 43.

10. His logic divided into 14 chapters, the MS of which is in the *Vatican* library.

11. His treatise on the preservation of health, dedicated to the king of *Egypt*, the MS in the *Bodleian* library.

12. His physical aphorisms, and other small treatises on diseases and their cures.

13. His garden of health, treating of animals, plants, stones, and other products of the earth.

14. Some other physical treatises in *Arabic*, and mentioned by Dr. *Pococke*, senior.

15. His book of the knowledge of God, by the help of his creatures.

16. His treatise on the soul.

17. Comment on *Hippocrates*.

18. —— on the law.

19. —— on *Avicen*.

20. —— on the *Gemarrah*.

21. *Pirke Moshe*, or physical extracts out of *Galen*.

22. Questions and answers concerning various customs.

23. Questions and answers on other subjects.

24. On the thirteen articles of faith.

25. His manuscript copy of the pentateuch, written with his own hand.

These are the most noted of his works. We omit some others of less moment, besides those which himself mentions in some of his treatises, but which are not now to be found. Those who desire to know more of him and his works, may consult among others, the authors quoted in the margin (18).

(18) *Bartoloc. & Wolf Biblioth. Rab. vid. & Sepher Shalsheleth Hakkabalah p. 44. Juchasin, p. 131. J. Buxtorph præfat. in Maim. Moreh Nevochi. R Clavering Dissert. de Maimon. & ejus Operibus. Hotting. Thesaur. Morin. Exercit. Bibl. Basnage. Hist. ub. sup.*

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their feſtivals, and offer up their ſacrifices on *Mount Garizzim*, where they pretend the altar was made of thoſe very 12 ſtones which *Joſhua* cauſed to be reared into an heap in the midſt of *Jordan*, upon his miraculouſly paſſing that of river †. They are ſcrupulouſly ſtrict in their waſhings, and the choice of their cloaths, and never wear thoſe any-where elſe, in which they go to the ſynagogue.

JERUSALEM, tho' once the ſeat of the *Jewiſh* religion, and ſo much ſighed after by the *Jews*, had ſcarcely 200 of that nation in it, who were all woollen-dyers, and paid a certain tribute for being the only ones employed in that buſineſs. They were ſettled in one of the quarters of the city, under *David's tower*, and made but a mean figure in it, and from a falſe notion which goes among them, that there is ſtill one of the walls of the ſanctuary left ſtanding, they commonly choſe to go and offer up their prayers before it (D). Other cities of *Judea* were ſtill more deſtitute of them, of whom he tells us, he found two in one, twenty in another, moſt of them dyers. That of *Shunam* had the moſt, that is, about 300. *Aſcalon*, once one of the capitals of the *Philiſtines*, had 553, the greater part of whom were of the *Samaritan* ſect, a few of them *Caraites*, and the reſt *Thalmudiſts*. Jews in Jeruſalem,

UPPER *Galilee*, or as it was commonly called *Galilee of the Gentiles* *, had a much greater number of them, and it was into that province moſt of them retired after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and where they afterwards founded the famed academy of *Tiberias*, often mentioned in this chapter; and yet our author found but 50 of them who had a ſynagogue, and the reſt of the town hath nothing left worth notice, but its ſalubrious, or as the *Jews* always ſtyled them, miraculous waters, of which we have formerly ſpoken *r*. However, ano- Upper Galilee.

† De hoc vid. Anc. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 459. * Ibid. p. 454, & ſeq. *r* Ibid. vol. x. p. 522. (Z)

(D) Our author hath embelliſhed his relation of this ruined metropolis with a deſcription of ſeveral noble antiquities ſtill to be ſeen there; tho' with as little truth as what is pretended of the wall; it being plain that the *Romans* demoliſhed all before them, and, according to Chriſt's prediction, left not one ſtone upon another of that ſacred building. However, he tells of the ſtables of king *Solomon*, the tomb of *David*, and other antiquities of the ſame nature, not worth repeating after him; the reader may ſee all that is remaining of that ancient city and ſepulchral monuments, in the deſcription we have given of its ruinated ſtate in a former part †.

† *See Anc. Hiſt. vol.* ii. *p.* 446, *& ſeq.*

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ther *Jewish* traveller [z], who was there about 25 or 30 years after, gives a quite different account of that academy and its doctors, whom he went thither to consult; and as it is hardly to be imagined either that it could have recovered itself in so short a time from the abject condition in which our author represents it, nor that this latter, who strives every-where else to raise the glory of his nation, should have any private motive to eclipse that of this city; so there can be no other way to reconcile those two travellers, but by supposing that it had undergone some severe change, just before our *Benjamin* came to it, occasioned by the incursions of the *Arabs*, who actually plundered and ravaged it sundry times, till *Soliman* caused its walls, which had been formerly demolished, to be built up again; upon which it began to be better inhabited both by *Jews* and *Turks* (E). However, as there was a synagogue then extant, and must be supposed to have had some doctors, even in *Benjamin*'s time, there may have been some more come thither since, enough to verify what *Aben Ezra* says of them.

Jews *in* Greece.

FROM *Palestine* our author passed into *Greece*, where he found about 200 *Jews*, who dwelt on and about *Mount Parnassus*, and lived on the product of it, which was chiefly pulse. They had some rabbies over them; but whatever be the reason, they have been since forbid to settle within some leagues of it. He found 300 of them at *Corinth*, and 2000 at *Thebes*, who were either dyers or silk-weavers. The rabbies in this last were so learned, that those only of *Constantinople* could equal them, tho' we can hear nothing of their productions in that kind. The two most learned of them were of the *Samaritan* sect. There were some more scattered here and there, some at *Lepanto*, others at *Patras*, and other parts of the *Turkish* empire, but were neither numerous nor wealthy, and as for learning, not to be compared to those that

Some Samaritans.

[z] ABEN EZRA ap. Basnag. ub. sup. lib. ix. c. 8. § 25.

(E) Accordingly the author of a book, intitled *The Genealogies of the Just in the land of* Israel (19), who is much more modern than either of the former, assures us, that in his time this city had two kind of academies situate without its gates, the one small and the other larger. And *R. Judah Zona*, who embraced christianity, and died at *Rome* about the middle of the 16th century, tells us that he had studied in one of them. We read of another at *Saphelah*, much more famous than either of the others, but which in all likelihood was not yet in being when *Benjamin* was there, since he takes no notice of it (20).

(19) *Vid. Basnag. ub. sup. l.* ix. *c.* 8. § 25. (20) *Id. ibid. & seq.*

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flouriſhed in the weſt, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by. From *Greece* he took in his way to *Conſtantinople* the famed city of *Agripou*, where he found 200 *Jews* (F), and near the ſame number in two other cities mentioned in the laſt note, and ſtill more unknown to us.

WHEN he came to *Conſtantinople*, he found about 2000 *Jews* ſettled in the quarter or ſuburb called *Galata*, or *Pera*, where we formerly took notice they had been ſettled by the emperor *Theodoſius*, and where they lived ſtill, and carried on the ſilk manufacture, and ſeveral of them were merchants. Beſides theſe, there were about 500 *Caraites*, who nevertheleſs lived peaceably enough with the reſt, though their quarter was divided from theirs by a wall, to prevent any communication between them. *Theodoſius* had granted them the privilege of having a peculiar magiſtrate over them, *viz.* the governor of the ſuburb, but they were afterwards ſtript of it by *Manuel Comnenus*, and made ſubject to the common magiſtrates. It is likely that he had already done ſo when our traveller came thither, ſince he tells us that they were hated and inſulted both by *Turks* and *Greeks*, tho' that emperor had a phyſician of their nation, who made uſe of all his intereſt with him in their favour. He adds, that they were forbid to ride on horſes thro' the ſtreets of the city, and were commonly inſulted and pelted by the populace, who often came alſo and broke forcibly into their houſes, and committed ſuch outrages among them, that they might be ſaid to live under the hardeſt and moſt ſhameful ſlavery; notwithſtanding which, they have ſtill kept their ſettlement there, and the

Jews at Conſtantinople.

Stripped of their privileges.

Hardly uſed.

(F) This city, which he ſays is ſituate on the ſea, and frequented by merchants from all parts of the world, is ſuppoſed to be the ancient *Chalcis*, near the *Negropont*; but he mentions ſome others which he pretends to be of equal ſplendor and greatneſs, ſuch as thoſe which he calls *Jabajeriza* and *Rabenica*, in which he ſays he found a good number of his own nation, but which are not to be found in any maps, or in any other author. He likewiſe mentions that of *Seleucia*, where the *Jews* lived very quietly under the emperor *Manuel Comnenus*, who permitted them to have a chief of their own who ſhould immediately depend on him; which invited great numbers of that nation to come and ſettle there, and carry on ſeveral trades and manufactures. This is ſomewhat different from the account he gives of that prince's treating thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, as we ſhall ſee under the next paragraph: ſo that it is likely they muſt have been guilty of ſome miſdemeanor in that metropolis, which occaſioned their being more hardly uſed there.

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quarter in which they ſtill live, is by the *Franks* called from them the *Jewry*.

FROM *Conſtantinople* our author paſſed into *Italy*, where the firſt thing he takes notice of, is the feuds and hoſtilities which reigned between the inhabitants of *Genoa*, *Piſa*, and other cities of that republic, on which account the *Jews* were but few in theſe parts; for whenever any ſuch quarrels happened, let which ever ſide get the uppermoſt they were ſure to be oppreſſed. He went thence to *Rome*, where he found them in greater numbers, and ſeveral learned rabbies among them, particularly *R. Jechiel*, who was ſuperintendant of the pope's finances. *Capua* was no leſs famed for the number and learning of her doctors, tho' it had but 300 *Jews* in it; the chief, whom they ſtyled the prince of the nation; tho' his authority did not extend even over all the *Jews* in *Italy*, if it did over any, except the *Capuans*. He found 500 at *Naples*, 200 at *Salermo*, and particularly in this laſt the learned *Solomon*, a prieſt, the *Grecian Eliah*, and *R. Abraham*, a native of *Narbonne*, who held the firſt rank. There were ſome others ſettled at *Malfi*, *Benevento*, *Aſculi*, and *Trani*, which laſt was the rendezvous for thoſe who embarked for the pilgrimage of the *Holy Land*. The iſlands of *Sicily* and *Corſica* had likewiſe a good number of them, eſpecially the former, where he found about 200 at *Meſſina*, and 500 at *Palermo*.

Jews at Rome, Capua, and other parts of Italy.

HE paſſed thence into *Germany*, where he found them not only more numerous, quiet, and peaceable, but likewiſe more zealous, devout, and hoſpitable to ſtrangers, bewailing the deſolation of their city and temple, and in longing expectation of hearing the *Voice of the turtle-dove*, as they term it, by which they mean their glorious recall into that once happy land (G). He penetrated as far as *Bohemia*, which he tells us was then called *the new Canaan*, becauſe the *Bohemians* ſold their children to all the neighbouring nations. Thence paſſing over into *France*, by the way of *Barcelona* and *Girona*, where he ſays the

In Germany, Bohemia, &c.

(G) That expoſition is taken from the book of the canticles (21), and the *Jews*, eſpecially in the northern parts, expect their recall to be ſudden, and, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye, and therefore endeavoured to keep themſelves in a proper mood for it: for they think that thoſe who are either too impatient for, or miſtruſtful or careleſs about it, ſhall have no ſhare either in that great bleſſing, nor in the more glorious one of the reſurrection

(21) *Chap.* ii. *verſ.* 12, *&* *ſeq.*

Jews

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Jews were but thin; he came to *Narbonne*, where he found 300, and at their head the famed *R. Calonymo*, ſaid to be lineally deſcended from *David*, who was very powerful and wealthy, eſpecially in lands, which had been beſtowed on him and his anceſtors on account of the ſignal ſervices they had done to the lords of that country; that city was looked upon as the center of the *Jewiſh* religion and nation. *Montpelier* was then full of *Turks*, *Greeks*, Chriſtians and *Jews*, who reſorted thither from foreign parts. In the neighbourhood of it was *Lunel*, where was kept the *Holy Aſſembly*, which applied itſelf to the ſtudy of the divine law night and day. *Meſhullam*, who then preſided over it, had five ſons equally learned, one eſpecially, in the thalmud, and who faſted often; and here the ſtrangers who came to learn, were maintained and ſupplied with every thing, at the public charge, that nothing might divert their attention to their ſtudies. Our author found likewiſe *Jewiſh* ſynagogues at *Marſeilles*, *Arles*, and other places, and not only in great cities, but in borough towns; and concludes his account with that of the city of *Paris*, where he found an aſſembly much given to the ſtudy of the law, and to hoſpitality, and received all the *Jews* who came thither as ſo many brethren (H). Before we conclude this 12th century, it will be neceſſary to give our readers a ſhort account of ſome other *Jews* diſperſed into other parts,

In France.

The holy aſſembly of Lunel.

Aſſembly at Paris.

(H) By this account of our author, it is plain the *Jews* were very much dwindled in the eaſt and weſt, both in number and wealth; eſpecially along the *Euphrates*, where they had been formerly ſo populous, as to have been reckoned to amount to 900,000. They were ſtill fewer and worſe treated in *Judea*, by the cruſaders; and tho' we have obſerved that they then refuged and ſpread themſelves all over the weſt, yet by the ſmall numbers which our author found in every place he came to, it is plain they could not amount to a very great bulk; and yet, one may ſafely ſay, that, by the tenor of his whole relation, he has ſpared no pains to make them appear as conſiderable as he could in number, wealth, learning and figure. And it is no leſs a wonder that ſo many learned men as they had then amongſt them, who applied themſelves ſo cloſely to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, and prophecies, ſhould reap ſo little fruit from all their pains and ſtudy, and confirm themſelves and their diſciples in their unbelief, inſtead of finding out their fatal miſtake, and acknowleging the Meſſiah to have been come, according to the time prefixed by Providence.

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according to the relation which another rabbi of theirs, named *Petachiah*, hath left us of them (I).

R. Petachiah's account of them in Tartary.

THE account he gives of those which he saw in *Tartary*, is that they were heretics, that is, that they did not observe the *traditions of the fathers*, and upon his asking them the reason why they did not, they answered, that they had never heard of any: they were, however, such strict observers of the Sabbath, that they cut the bread on *Friday* evening which they were to eat on that day: they hardly stirred from their seats all that day, eat their victuals in the dark, and knew of no other prayers but those which were contained in the book of Psalms.

Nineveh.

WHEN he arrived at the *New Nineveh*, he found about six thousand *Jews* there, whose chiefs were called *David* and *Samuel*, two near relations, descended from *David*. All the *Jews* of that country were obliged to pay them a certain capitation, one half of which was to be conveyed to the lieutenant of the king of *Babylon*, and the other belonged to them. They had lands of their own, fields, gardens and vineyards, well cultivated. It was, it seems, here, as well as in *Persia*, *Damascus*, *&c.* the custom among them, not to maintain any singers, but the chiefs, who kept at their table a number of doctors, obliged them, sometimes one, sometimes another, to perform that office. Their authority was so great, that they could punish strangers, as well as those of their nation, when, upon their pleading before them,

(I) This rabbi was born at *Ratisbon*, and travelled not only thro' most parts where *Benjamin* had been; but doth so exactly agree with him, as if they had copied each other; so that we shall forbear repeating from this what hath been said by the other, but take notice only of such facts or curious particulars, as are not mentioned by him.

He tells us he was at *Jerusalem*, when the crusaders were masters of it. It was in the year 1181 that *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* took it; so that he seems to have been on his travels much about the same with the time other. He did not however write the relation we are speaking of (which is intituled *Peregrinatio* Rabbi Petachia, R Isaaci Albi, & R. Nachmanis, Ratisbona *ortorum fratris*; *circuivit vero* Rabbi Petachiah *universas regiones ad fluvium usque* Sambation, *atque ea omnes novas mirasque a Deo editas quas intuitus est, audivitque memoriæ causâ consignavit literis, ut populo suo* Israelitico *notæ fierent & in lucem protraherentur occulta)*; but the two brothers there mentioned, are supposed to have compiled it from his memoirs, and what he had told them by word of mouth. Some name likewise a third author, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, who had also a hand in it; whereas *Benjamin* died *an.* 1173.

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they were found in the wrong; and kept a priſon for all ſuch delinquents (K).

UPON his coming to *Bagdad* he found about 1000 *Jews* ſettled there; but ſpeaks of 2000 diſciples under the chief of the ſynagogue, and all learned men. Theſe ſit on the ground, whilſt he teaches them from a high deſk covered with a gold tiſſue; and every one hath a copy containing the twenty-four books of the ſacred writ. The *Jewiſh* women go out veiled, and avoid ſpeaking to ſtrangers, either in the ſtreets, or even at their homes. We ſhall only add, with reſpect to the chief here, to what we mentioned out of *Benjamin*, that, upon the death of *Daniel*, who left no male ſucceſſor, the *Jews*, who had preſerved the right of chuſing their chief, divided themſelves, one party nominating *David*, and the other *Samuel*, to that dignity, both lineally deſcended from *David*; which diviſion ſtill ſubſiſted when our author left *Bagdad*; where he adds, the *Jews* were treated with great mildneſs, and were exempt from any tribute to the king, and only paid a piece of gold to the chief of the ſynagogue (L). But they were

In Bagdad.

His account of the chiefs.

(K) Our rabbi tells us, that he fell ſick during his ſtay at *Nineveh*, and was given over; and, to his greater grief, was informed, that the cuſtom was to confiſcate one half of the effects of thoſe ſtrangers that died there to the uſe of the governor. To avoid which, as he had very rich cloaths, and other wares, he cauſed himſelf to be carried over the *Tigris* in the night, on a hurdle made of reeds; and not only bauſked the governor, but recovered his health, by breathing a purer air. As he ſailed down that river, he ſaw ſynagogues in every city and town; and entered into the garden of one of the chiefs of one of them, which he found ſtored with all manner of fruits, not excepting the mandrake mentioned by *Moſes* (22), and of which we have given an account in a former volume (†).

(L) To ſhew that our author is not behind-hand with *Benjamin*, or any of his brethren, in relating of miracles, we ſhall mention a remarkable one that happened here. The king, who had a great kindneſs for the *Jewiſh* chief, took it into his head to ſee the body of the prophet *Ezekiel*, which lies there buried in the ſtately tomb lately mentioned. *Samuel* as ſtiffly refuſed it, thinking it impious to expoſe ſacred things to the view of the prophane. The king ſtill inſiſting upon it, he told him, that it would be better to begin with the tomb of *Baruck*, the ſon of *Neriah*, who was the prophet's ſecretary, and lay buried near his maſter; whereupon the *Iſhmaelites*, who were employed

(22) *Geneſis* xxx. 14. (†) *See Anc. Hiſt.* vol. iii. p. 280 (V).

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Number of Jews in Persia.

were used with greater severity in *Persia* (where nevertheless they were computed to amount to 600000); for which reason he only ventured through one of the *Persian* cities. He went thence into *Judea*, of which he gives much the same account as his brother *Benjamin*, but adds, that he fought in vain for *Lot*'s wife turned into a statue of salt, and believed that it was no longer in being. But we have taken notice in a former volume, that they had since found out a stump of it, which may in time, if it hath not already, be grown up to its pristine shape and bulk †. What he tells us about the sepulchre of *Abraham*, and of their having substituted another with three bodies in it, to deceive passengers, is rather too fabulous to deserve a place here: so that having now gone through the most material account of our two *Jewish* travellers, we shall supply the rest from other authors, with respect to some other countries and facts which they have passed by.

Jews protected by the popes.

We have already taken notice, that St. *Bernard*, who was a great enemy to the *Albigenses*, was as great a favourer of the *Jews*, and inclined the then pope *Innocent* II. on their

† See Anc. Hist. vol. ii. p. 424, & seq.

in opening his tomb, were all struck dead; for which reason that task was turned over to the *Jews*. These being obliged to obey, kept a three days fast before they ventured to open his tomb; and, upon their having done so, discovered his coffin and some of the cloaths; whereupon the king, thinking it wrong that two such saints should enrich one and the same place, ordered his corpse to be transplanted elsewhere; but upon having carried his coffin, which was of marble, about a mile from thence, it fixed itself in such a miraculous manner, that it could never be moved farther; and, the saint having moreover declared that to be the place where he designed to lie, they were obliged to let his bones rest there, since their miraculous heaviness would not permit them to move them farther. He is no less eloquent in describing the marvels of the tomb of *Ezekiel*: but, instead of following him, we shall close this note with the order which is there observed in their synagogues.

It is not, it seems, allowed there to any-body to tune or sing the psalms and prayers, but to the persons appointed by the chief; to which the people only answer *Amen*. And of these, one of them begins the prayer, another the praises, *&c.*; and if any of them sings out of tune, the chief beckens to him with his hand, and makes him get into the right note. They are all obliged to pull off their shoes at their going into the synagogue, and to continue there barefoot during all the service.

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ſide. What ſtill more contributed to it was their approaching him with uncommon reſpect, as he was making his grand entrance into *Paris*, and preſenting him with the roll or volume of their law; a ceremony which was uſed long before at *Rome* at the pope's inſtallation, who, upon receiving it at their hands, returned them this anſwer, *I reverence the law given by God to* Moſes, *but condemn your expoſition of it, becauſe you ſtill expect the* Meſſiah, *whom the catholic church believes to be* Chriſt, *who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt*. His ſucceſſor *Alexander* III. became likewiſe a great protector of them, and forbad the people to affront them on their Sabbath and other feſtivals, or on any other occaſions, as they had been wont to be; and under his protection they flouriſhed to ſuch a degree, that the little town of *Cozzi* in the *Milaneze*, the cities of *Monzza*, *Ricca Nova*, and others in the march of *Ancona*, produced great numbers of learned rabbies [a]. A. C. 1146, & ſeq.

THEY were no leſs powerful in *Spain*, where one of them, named *Joſeph*, was prime miniſter to *Alphonſo* VIII. and had a coach of ſtate and guards attending him. He was however undermined by one of his own creatures, named *Gonzales*, who, under pretence of filling that monarch's coffers, prevailed upon him to grant him eight of the principal *Jews* ſuch as he ſhould pitch upon, whom he accordingly cauſed to be beheaded, and confiſcated their eſtates, part of which he gave to the king, and the reſt he kept. He afterwards offered a much larger ſum for the grant of twenty more; but *Alphonſo* rather choſe to confiſcate their eſtates, in order to defray the charges of the war, without ſhedding their blood; and they were ſo glad to ſave their lives and liberty at any rate, that they poured immenſe ſums into his treaſury [b]. But what farther ingratiated them to him was his falling deeply in love with a beautiful young *Jeweſs*, to whom he ſacrificed his honour and intereſt, and, for her ſake, to her nation [c]; for the *Jews*, taking that advantage, were become ſo powerful and inſolent, that the court and clergy became quite ſcandalized at it; and, at length, diſſolved the charm by the death of the beloved object (M). The *Jews* however went on thrivingly, till the diſſention *Perſecuted in* Spain *by king* Alphonſo, A. C. 1170.

[a] BARTOLOC. ub. ſup. [b] SOLOM. BEN. virg. p. 98. [c] MARIANA, de reb. Hiſp. lib. xi. c. 18 & 19.

(M) They not only made away with the young charmer, but cauſed ſome ſpectre to appear to the king, and to preach chaſtity and repentance to him; and the defeat which the *Moors* gave

dissention between their doctors, mentioned in the last note, disturbed the union which had, till then, reigned among them. It was during this quiet interval, or perhaps a little
A. C. before this time, that, according to the *Jewish* chronologers [d],
1140, copies came to be dispersed of the sacred *Hebrew*, according to the manuscript of the celebrated *Hillel*, which had appeared some time before, at what year cannot be guessed, nor what became of it; but in which two verses were found wanting in the xxist chapter of the book of *Joshua* (N).

in France *by* Philip. THE *Jews* did not fare so well in *France*, where they were accused of the murder of St. *William*, and were con-

[d] GANTZ TZEMACH, sub. an.

gave him at that time was cried up as a just punishment for his crime. However, the *Jews* flourished so well under him, that *R. Eliakim*, who was then in great esteem there, and composed his ritual of all the ceremonies used in every synagogue, commonly stiled *the ritual of the universe*, reckons no less than twelve thousand *Jews* in the city of *Toledo*.

They were no less considerable in *Andalusia*, where great numbers applied themselves closely to the study of divinity and other sciences, till they came at length to divide themselves into three different sects, which *Maimon*, who then flourished, hath given an account of, and looked upon this rupture as one of the sad consequences of the abolition of their sanhedrin (23). We refer our curious readers to the book for the farther particulars of it, and the sad effects which he ascribes to it.

(N) These were the 36th and 37th verses, which mention the four cities of refuge appointed in the tribe of *Reuben*: but which, being found in the book, made *Grotius* imagine they had been since transplanted from thence into the text of *Joshua* above-mentioned, though without any foundation, seeing they are not only found there in the Septuagint, or *Greek* version, which is allowed to be more ancient than *Hillel*'s manuscript; but likewise explain that text, by telling us that those towns were on this side *Jordan*, and on one side of *Jericho*. Is it not therefore more likely that they were either overlooked by *Hillel*, or by his transcribers, than that they were brought thither from the book of Chronicles? And if the tribe of *Reuben* was like the rest to have its cities of refuge, is it not more probable that *Joshua* should mention them, as he hath done the others, than that he should have omitted them? Since therefore all the *Hebrew* copies, Septuagint, and other versions, have those two verses, why should the single manuscript of *Hillel*'s, or rather the copies of it, which are not of above 500 years standing, be deemed of more authority than them all?

(23) *Mare Nevoch. par.* i. *c.* 71. *p.* 133, *&* *seq.*

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demned to the flames for it [e], as they juſtly deſerved, provided thoſe only had ſuffered the puniſhment who had a ſhare in the guilt. But that was ſeldom the caſe, at leaſt the odium it brought upon the reſt expoſed them to the inſults of the populace (O). At length king *Philip*, ſurnamed *the Auguſt*, under pretence of devotion, not only baniſhed them out of the kingdom, but confiſcated all their wealth, and only permitted them to ſell their houſhold goods, which yet they could get none to buy, inſomuch that they were thereby reduced to the loweſt miſery, and great numbers forced to ſink under it [f]. This happened, according to ſome, *A. C.* 1170, according to others, 1182 or 1186 (P). His zeal however ſoon gave *Recalled by him.*

[e] Rob. de Monte, append. ad chron. Sigeb. an. 1177.
[f] Gantz, ub. ſup.

(O) Thoſe of *Languedoc* in particular were obliged to redeem themſelves from the moſt barbarous inſults, which they were commonly expoſed to, but more particularly on the *Eaſter* feſtival, by obtaining a treaty with the biſhop of *Bexiers*, by which he engaged to protect them, night and day, from *Palm-Sunday* to *Eaſter-day*, and to ſhut the church gate to any Chriſtian that ſhould break into their houſes; and they to pay him a certain tribute yearly. This treaty, which was dated *A.C.* 1160, procured them ſome reſpite, till *Philip Auguſtus* baniſhed them out of his dominions, as we are going to relate.

(P) This perſecution doth not go without an excuſe; for the author of that prince's life tells us (24), it was occaſioned by their crucifying a youth at *Paris*, named *Richard*; which, he adds, was commonly done by that hated nation once a year. This is no new thing alleged againſt them; and moſt of the perſecutions they have undergone in this and the ſubſequent centuries hath been aſcribed, either to ſome ſuch crucifixion, to their ſtealing ſome conſecrated wafer, and offering the vileſt indignities to it, or to ſome ſuch abominable crime, out of hatred to Chriſtianity; which ſeldom failed of being diſcovered in ſuch a miraculous manner as ſeemed to authorize the moſt cruel puniſhments they inflicted on them.

Thus the *Richard* above-mentioned, being buried in a common church-yard, became ſo famed for his miracles, that they have made a martyr of him, and removed his body into the church of the *Innocents*, whence, we are told, the *Engliſh*, in the reign of *Charles* V. ſtole it away, and left nothing behind but his head. However, it was on account of this pretended crucifixion that they were condemned to that cruel baniſhment (25), from which, thoſe

(24) *Rigord. de geſt. Phil. Auguſt. hiſt. Franc. tom.* iv. *p.* 61. (25) *Rob. de Monte, appen. ad chron. Sigeb. an.* 1180. *Piſtor. hiſt. German. tom.* xi. *Faſcicul. tempor. ibid. tom.* iii. *p.* 78. *Baſnag. ub. ſup. l.* ix. *c.* 12. §. 16.

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gave way to policy; and, whatever his private motive might be, he ordered them to be recalled; for which he was as highly blamed by the zealots as they had before applauded him; and for which he found no better excuse to silence their outcries, than by pretending he did it to extort more money from them to carry on the crusade.

Crucify a Christian youth, A. C. 1193.

THEY returned accordingly in great numbers, though their stay proved but short; for being become numerous and insolent, as well as incorrigible, to use our author's words, in the matter of crucifying of Christian children, they assembled themselves, by the queen mother's permission, in a castle on the river *Seine*, where they crucified a youth, after having cruelly scourged and crowned him with thorns; which obliged the king to come thither in person, and to cause eighty of them to be burnt alive [g]. But this did not save him from being blamed for recalling them, or the success which our king *Richard* had afterwards over him, from being looked upon as a just punishment upon him.

Jews in England obtain new burying-grounds, A. C. 1179.

THOSE in *England*, who had been banished out of it ever-since the year 1020, and had made loud complaints against the hardships they suffered by it, had since found means to settle themselves again in it; and were become so numerous in the reign of *Henry* II. that, having then but one burying ground in *London*, they petitioned that monarch to have some new ones, which were readily granted to them [h] (Q). But they underwent a most terrible punishment under his successor *Richard* I. when having ventured, contrary to the express prohibitions against it, to assist at his coronation, they were discovered, and overwhelmed with blows and dragged

[g] ALBERIC. Trium Font. chronic. sub, A. C. 1182. F. DANIEL. hist. de Franc. tom. i. p. 1269, & seq. BASNAG. ub. sup. c. 12. §. 23, & seq. [h] POLYD. Virg. l. xiii. p. 236.

only saved themselves who embraced Christianity; after which their synagogues were turned into churches. *French* authors however differ much about the true motives of this banishment and recall, which we have no room to enter into a detail of; the reader may consult those quoted in the margin (26).

(Q) They represented to him, that they were forced to bring their dead from distant places, stinking and nauseous, to *London*, or leave them exposed without burial; which allegations were found so just, that they were allowed burying grounds in most towns where they were settled.

(26) *Conf. auct. sup. citat. & Naucler. chron. gener. 4°. tom. ii. sub A. C. 1182. Spond. sub A. C. 1198. N. 9. Alberic. Trium Font. chronic. sub A. C. 1179 & 1182.*

qui

out of the church half-dead; which ſo exaſperated the populace, that they forced themſelves into their houſes, and killed all they met. From that metropolis the flame ſpread itſelf into the country; and, though the government publiſhed a proclamation by the very next day after the coronation to ſuppreſs the fury of the people, yet the perſecution laſted near that whole year (R), which was, according to moſt chronologiſts, the year 1189 or 1190 [1]; and with it we ſhall cloſe this twelfth century. *Perſecuted all over England.*

BUT before we paſs into the next, we ſhall, according to our promiſe a little higher, give a ſhort account of the moſt celebrated rabbies who flouriſhed during that interval, it having, as we there hinted, produced a greater number of *Learned men in the 12th century.*

[1] MATTH. PARIS, p. 108. TRIVET. Chronic. gener. ſub an. 1190.

(R) The occaſion of this prohibition was a ſuperſtitious notion then reigning, that the *Jews*, being moſt of them conjurers, might by ſome means bewitch the new king; to prevent which they were forbid, under the ſevereſt penalties, to aſſiſt either at his entry or coronation. But as ſeveral of them were come from far, and had put themſelves to great charge, they were unwilling to loſe their trouble and coſt; and, being unknown at court, thought they might eaſily diſguiſe themſelves ſo as to eſcape being diſcovered. It proving otherwiſe, not only the court and city, but moſt towns where any *Jews* were found, took fire againſt, and maſſacred great numbers of them.

They underwent a more ſevere perſecution when the king liſted himſelf among the cruſaders. They had indeed made ſure of his favour, by the vaſt ſums they furniſhed him with towards that expedition: but the people, not ſatisfied with it, reſolved to make a clearer riddance of them. They begun their bloody work at *Norwich*, *Stamford*, *Edgemont*, and other places, where they made a horrid ſlaughter among them. But the moſt dreadful was at *York*, where about 1500 of them had ſeized on the city, and, being overpowered, offered to capitulate, and to buy their lives by dint of money. Their propoſal being rejected, one of the moſt deſperate among them cried out, that it was better to die bravely for their law than to fall into the hands of the Chriſtians; upon which every one of them drew out his knife, and fell a butchering their wives and children. They then retired into the palace, which they ſet on fire, and were conſumed in the flames; whilſt the people entered the city, and enriched themſelves with the remainder of the plunder; the king beholding the bloody effects of their fury without being able to put a ſtop to it (27).

(27) *Polyd. Virg. l.* xiv. *p.* 248. *Math. Paris, p.* 111, *& al.*

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them than any before or since, especially as most of them have been often quoted through the course of the *Jewish* history. We begin with the learned rabbi *Nathan Ben Jechiel*, chief of the *Jewish* academy at *Rome* about the beginning of this century, and author of the book called ערוך, *Haruk*, wherein he explains all the terms of the thalmud in so copious a manner, that he hath in some measure exhausted that matter; insomuch that those who have come after, have rather plundered than improved him, particularly the great *Buxtorf*, who made frequent use of his remarks without quoting him (S).

R. Nachman.

Aben Ezra.

THE next in time, though superior in learning and merit, was the great *Aben Ezra*, or, as his name written at length imports, *Abraham Ben Meir Aben Ezra*, and surnamed, by way of excellence, *the Wise*, as he really was one of the most learned men of his age and nation. He had been a great traveller, and a diligent searcher after learning, was a good astronomer, philosopher, physician, poet, and critic, in which last he hath excelled all that went before him[k]; and is chiefly admired by the Christians for his judicious explications of the sacred books (T). He died, as he himself insinuated a little before

[k] F. SIMON, Hist. crit. V. Test. lib. iii. c. 5. WOLF. Bibl. Hebr. N. 110. BASNAG. ub. sup, c. x. §. 3, & seq. SCHICKARD. Bechinath Happerushim, p. 172, & al. mult.

(S) It is not agreed what family he was descended from, nor at what time he flourished, though it is commonly allowed as certain that he died at *Rome* about the year 1106 (28).

(T) He took a contrary way to the other rabbies, and, instead of hunting after traditional expositions and mystic interpretations, gave himself wholly to the grammatical and literal sense; which he hath investigated with such success and penetration, that the Christians justly prefer him to all the other *Jewish* expositors; though he hath in some instances given himself a liberty which hath been justly blamed by both. It was he that first shewed the way to such of our critics, who maintain the notion we have confuted in a former part (†), that the *Israelites* did not cross the *Red Sea*, but made a turn round part of it at low water, that *Pharaoh* following them, might be caught and drowned by the succeeding tide. He had some smart disputes with the *Caraites*, whom he treats as *Sadducees* for not receiving the traditions of the fathers; though he himself,

(28) *Juchasin. p.* 131. *Gantz Tzemach, in A. M.* 4866. *Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. N.* 1727. *Basnag. &c.* (†) *See Anc. Hist. vol.* iii. *p.* 390, *& seq. sub* (P).

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before his death, in the 75th year of his age, *A. C.* 1174 (V). The reader will find a liſt of his works under the laſt note.

WE have in this century three famen rabbies of the name of *Levi*, or *Hallevi*. One born at *Cologne*, who, after many *learned* Levi's. *Three*

by his method of expounding the Scriptures, ſhews he was no ſcrupulous follower of the cabbala, and perhaps had not a much better opinion of it than they; though he dared not own ſo much, for fear of bringing the partiſans for it upon him, who were then very numerous and hot in its behalf: ſo that it is not unlikely, that he fell foul on the *Caraites*, merely to wipe off the imputation of being an anticabbaliſt.

(V) Upon finding his death approaching, he wrote, that as *Abraham* was come out of *Ur*, or fire of *Haran*, in the 75th year of his age, ſo he at that age came out of the חרון העולם, from the fire, or the anger of the world, changing only by the addition of a vowel the word *Charan* into *Charon* (29). This ſhews however, that he was not born before the year 1099, though ſeveral chronologers have placed his birth ten or more years ſooner.

His works are; 1. A learned comment on all the books of the Old Teſtament, a work very much eſteemed by all the learned for its uſefulneſs, clearneſs, ſuccinctneſs, and elegance, and for being free from the puerile dreams and fables of the *Jewiſh* writers. 2. *Sepher Sodoth Hathorah*, a treatiſe of the hidden ſecrets of the law. 3. *Jeſſed Thorah*, the foundation of the law. 4. A comment on the decalogue, ſince tranſlated into *Latin* by *S. Munſter* with notes. 5. A new comment on *Iſaiah* and the minor prophets, reviſed and corrected by him. 6. *Ditto*, on Proverbs, the Canticles, *Eſther*, and the Lamentations. 7. His epiſtle on the Sabbath in rhiming verſe. 8. Another poem, intituled, חי בן מקיץ, let the wakeful ſon live; and treats of rewards and puniſhments. To which *Bartolocci* joins another, intituled, of the kingdom of Heaven. 9. יסוד מורא, the the foundation of fear. 10. ס השם, *Sepher Haſhem* on the *Tetragrammaton*, or name *Jehovah*. 11. Eight treatiſes on the *Hebrew* grammar. 12. One on ethicks. 13. One on logic. 14. A poem on the ſoul. 15. His beginning of wiſdom, an aſtrological treatiſe divided into eight parts, and treating on the influence of the ſtars and planets, their motions, aſpects, lucky and unlucky days; of algebra and geometry, arithmetic and aſtronomy, of the world, of embolimal years, of chances, and judicial aſtrology. 16. His excellent poem on the game of cheſs, tranſlated by Dr. *Hide*; and ſome others of leſſer note. Thoſe who want to know more of this excellent rabbi, may conſult the authors quoted in the margin (30).

(29) *Shalſheleth. Hakkabolah. p.* 41, *& ſeq. Gantz Tzemach, & al.* (30) *Id. ibid. Juchaſin. p.* 130, *&* 163. *Schikard, Simon. Bartoloc. & Wolf. & al. ſup. citat.*

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conferences with the Christians, was baptized, and taught *Latin* under the name of *Herman*. 2. *Judah Hallevi* a good poet, and author of the dialogue intituled, *Chozar*, which we have had occasion to mention before. And 3. *Abraham Hallevi*, a learned rabbinist and cabalist, whom some make father-in-law, and others, first cousin, to *Aben Ezra*, and who was a most zealous antagonist against the *Caraites*, tho' far inferior to them in point of reasoning and judgment; so that, not being able to cope with them, he had recourse to king *Alphonso* VII. to whom he had done some signal services, and easily obtained an order from him to have all his adversaries silenced (W).

Maimonides's *defenders and opposers.*

WE have already given an account of the great *Maimonides*, who flourished in this century, in speaking of the *Jews in Egypt*. His works, of which we have there given a short account of, particularly his *Moreh Nevochim*, soon raised him many admirers, but a much greater number of opponents; insomuch that the synagogues, who took part for and against him, made no scruple to excommunicate each other. *Judah Alcharisi*, who then flourished, and was a great poet, undertook to translate his comments on the Mishnah, at the request of the *Marsilian* doctors, who did not understand *Arabic*, and gave that work the noblest encomiums. He likewise translated his *Moreh Nevochim*, or resolution of doubtful questions; but, though he likewise cried it up to the skies, *Maimonides* was not satisfied with it, but disaproved of the version. On the other hand, *R. Solomon*, then chief of the synagogue of *Montpelier*, finding that he spoke still plainer against the thalmudic decisions in his *Moreh Nevochim*, than he had done in the comment, lost all patience, and engaged all the doctors there, particularly *R. R. Jonah* and *David* who studied under him, to stand up in the defence of the thalmud against him, even to the burning of his books, and ex-

(W) This rabbi was born, *an.* 1140. An author of his nation (31), tells us, that he some way or other so exasperated that monarch against him, that he threatened to hang him if he did not turn Christian; and that he, still persisting in his religion, was really hanged. *Bartolocci* hath endeavoured to confute that story, by pretending, that the *Spanish* monarchs never carried their persecution so far against recusants, but only against such as relapsed (32). But without examining how far that is true, *Hallevi* might have committed some other crime, which *Alphonso* might refuse to forgive him, unless he turned Christian, and caused him to be hanged upon his stiff refusal.

(31) *Schem. Ben. Virg. p.* 7. (32) *Bibl. Rab. tom.* i. *p.* 21.

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communicating all that ſhould read them, or apply themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy.

THE war thus declared againſt him and his followers, was however ſo far from deterring others from entering the liſts in his behalf, that the doctors of *Narbonne*, with the great *Joſeph Kimchi* at their head, not only ſtood up in his defence, but engaged all their brethren in *Spain* to do the ſame (X). This war between the doctors of both nations laſted about forty years, and employed the moſt learned heads and pens on both ſides; neither can it be ſaid to have been effectually ended, ſeeing his works have been attacked and cenſured, from time to time, in the ſubſequent centuries by freſh doctors of all nations. However the ſchiſm which they had cauſed, was aboliſhed, *an.* 1232. But it is time to ſpeak of the other learned *Jews* that flouriſhed in this 12th century [1].

Synagogues excommunicate each other about him.

R. KIMCHI was the ſon of *Joſeph Kimchi*, and, tho' a hot zealot for *Maimonides*, was inferior to his father in point of learning and reputation. This laſt was a bitter ene-

The three Kimchi's.

[1] CATEL. hiſt. d'Languedoc, lib. iv. BARTOL. WOLF. & BASNAG. ub. ſup.

(X) *Narbonne* was then in the hands of the *Spaniards*, which therefore engaged all the reſt of the *Spaniſh Jews* to take part with it, and to excommunicate the ſynagogues of *Languedoc*, as thoſe had done to theirs. They could not however bring them all over to their ſide; for that of *Peſcairo*, a little town in *Old Caſtile*, had two learned doctors both of the name of *Abraham*, who wrote ſtrenuouſly againſt him; the one, in contempt, treating him as a young fellow; and the other ſo effectually confuting him, that *Maimonides* was forced to own that he was the only man that had defeated him; though at the ſame time he forewarned him, in a kind of prophetic triumph, that he would not live to finiſh his work: which came to paſs accordingly, for *Maimon* died in that very year.

Another learned antagoniſt was *R. Judah*, a phyſician and chief of the ſynagogue of *Toledo*, whoſe zeal for the thalmud engaged him to join with the *French* againſt him, and againſt *R. Kimchi*, his moſt ſtrenuous champion. He wrote accordingly with ſuch force and fury againſt them, that *Kimchi* had no other way to ſilence him than by prevailing, by dint of caballing and intereſt, on the ſynagogues of *Catalonia* to excommunicate thoſe of *France* and their partizans; which obliged them at laſt to ſubmit, to revoke all their decrees againſt thoſe of *Spain*; and even to conſent to eraſe what they had written upon *Maimonides*'s monument of his being an excommunicate *.

* *Vid. Bartol. Wolf. & al. ub. ſup.*

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my againſt the Chriſtians; and ſuffered his zeal to tranſport him beyond all bounds, as one may ſee by his book of the wars of the Lord, and his treatiſe on faith and alliance with heretics, meaning the Chriſtians (Y). His ſon *David*, or, as his name is commonly abridged, *Radak*, for *Rabbi David Kimchi*, was more learned than either of them (Z), and much more moderate towards the Chriſtians. His works, which the reader may ſee an account of in the laſt note, are ſtill very uſeful and eſteemed, particularly his grammar and comment upon the Pſalms, which have been tranſlated into *Latin*, as well as ſome other of his commentaries, and inſerted into the *Latin* Bibles of *Venice* and *Baſil*. He had a brother named *Moſes*, who was likewiſe a man of learning, and the author of a treatiſe, intituled, *The Garden of Delight*, which treated of the ſtate of the ſoul, but hath never been printed. The manuſcript of it is in the *Vatican* library [m].

Solomon Jarchi.

ANOTHER famed rabbi of this century, was the learned *Solomon Jarchi*, ſtiled by ſome the ſon of *Iſaac*, and by others *Raſhi*, which is only an abbreviation of his name, a native of

[m] BARTOL. ub. ſup. tom. iv. WOLF. ub. ſup. N. 495, & ali. ſub. nom. GANTZ, ub. ſup. ſub an. 4950. Shalſheleth, ſub. A.C. 1192.

(Y) There is ſome diſpute whether he was of *French* or *Spaniſh* origin, which is occaſioned by his ſon *R. David* being ſtiled provençal, dwelling at *Narbonne*; which city belongs now to the *French*, but did then to the *Spaniards*, as we obſerved in the laſt note. And this at once decides the controverſy.

(Z) The *Jews*, alluding to his ſurname, affirm, that there can be no *Kemach*, meal without a *Kimchi*, or miller; meaning that there can be no true learning without him; and indeed there is hardly a better help to the *Hebrew* tongue than his grammar; which, though he took the greater part of it from an *Arabic* one, printed by one *Abul Valid Marom*, yet he ſo much improved and enlarged, that it appears a quite new work. It is intituled, *Miklol*, perfection (different from *Miklol Jophi*, or perfection of beauty, of *R. Solomon Ben Melek*), and conſiſts of two parts, the one of which is the grammar, and the ſecond a lexicon of all the *Hebrew* roots. His עֵת סוֹפֵר, or pen of a writer, is of the *Maſſoretic* kind, and commended by the learned *Elias Levita*. Some other treatiſes are likewiſe aſcribed to him in the ſame way; but what he has been moſt famed for, is his comments upon moſt books of the Old Teſtament. He is likewiſe ſaid to have written a verſion of them all in *Spaniſh* (33).

(33) *Vid. Wolf. & al. ſup. citat.*

Troyes

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Troyes in *Champagne*, who left it to travel into *Judea* and *Perſia*, and upon his return, applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy and teaching of the thalmud (A). His comment on the *Gemarrah* hath been ſo highly eſteemed, that it hath gained him the title of *Prince of Commentators*; tho' his notes on the ſacred books are ſo fraught with fables and thalmudic viſions, that he is as much deſpiſed for it, as he is admired for the other. He died at *Treves*, in the 75th year of his age (B), and his corpſe was carried to *Prague*, where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen [n]. The *Jews* in general had many famed men in moſt ſciences; ſuch as *Kimchi* for grammar, *Judah Alchariſi*, *R. Hallevi*, *Joſeph Hadajian*, of *Cordoua*, and *Aben Ezra* for poetry; the laſt named, and *Abraham Naſſi*, for aſtronomy. It were endleſs to go thro' the names of their celebrated profeſſors; we ſhall only mention one; *viz. Iſaac* *His death*, A. C. 1180.

[n] Id. ibid.

(A) His ſurname, *Jarchi*, which we have elſewhere obſerved, ſignifies *Lunatic*, hath been variouſly canvaſſed, ſome deriving it from the city of *Lunel* in *Languedoc*, where was an academy, which hath been rendered famous by his profeſſorſhip; others from that of *Luna* in *Italy*. We have likewiſe ſeen that name given to the celebrated *R. Samuel*, on account of their great ſkill in aſtronomy †. It were therefore vain to hunt after uncertain etymologies, even tho' the ſubject were of greater moment than this. To come therefore to ſomething better worth knowing;

His method of teaching and diſputing was ſomewhat ſingular. He had made, during his travels, a collection of the moſt difficult points he had met with, together with their deciſions by the learned. Upon his return, he went and viſited all the academies and ſchools, and diſputed about them; and upon his going away, threw down a quire, in which thoſe deciſions were written, without the name of any author; and thoſe quires were carefully collected everywhere, and amounted to a prodigious number; and it was by the help of thoſe that the gloſs on the thalmud is ſaid to have been compiled.

(B) He left three daughters, whom he married to as many learned doctors; the moſt famed of whom was *R. Meir*, who helped to collect the ſcattered quires of his father-in-law, and to compile the gloſs above-mentioned, from them. *Jarchi* had ſome grandſons likewiſe, who aſſiſted him in it; *viz. Jaacob* of *Orleans*, commonly called *Rath*, and *R. Thom*, likewiſe ſurnamed *Rath*. The former died in *Champagne*, and the other was murdered *an.* 1190, and his writings were deſtroyed with him (34).

(†) *See before, p.* 160. (34) *Gantz, Shalſheleth, &c.*

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Jews famed on other accounts.

Hazaken, or *the elder*, who had sixty disciples so skilled in the *Gemarrah*, that they could *extempore* dispute on any point that was proposed to them out of it, and deduce arguments *pro* and *con* from it. One of these disciples was the famed *Judah* of *Paris*, who became very famous in the following century °.

In Germany great prophets and miracle-mongers.

THOSE of *Germany* made themselves remarkable rather for their piety, miracles, and prophecies, than for their learning; and, if we may believe their authors *R. Samuel*, who lived at *Vienna*, gained the title of prophet, on account of the many oracles which he there delivered. His son *Judah*, surnamed *the Pious*, was no less famous for the miracles attributed to him, and fit only for a *Jewish* creed (C). This century likewise produced some learned women: and one of the *Jewish* travellers, mentioned a little higher, extols a daughter of the chief of the captivity in the east, who was so learned both in the law and in the thalmud, that she read lectures thro' the lattice of her window, to a great number of disciples, so that they only heard without seeing her, and being in danger of becoming enamoured with her, or she with them P. We have likewise seen in this chapter, some *Jews* in the highest posts in the courts of several princes; others at the head of armies, and exercising their several functions with great applause. *Portugal*, amongst others, produced a most celebrated one, who not only raised himself, by dint of merit, to the command of the army, but by his singular modesty, as well as his valour and success, eluded all the cabals and intrigues of the *Portuguese* ministry against him (D). We might here

Judah the Pious, his miraculous deliverance.

° GANTZ, & al. ub. sup. P Itinerar. R. PETACH, ap. WAGENSEIL, in Sottah, p. 220.

(C) To give a sketch of it, *R. Ghedaliah*, in his *Shalsheleth* (35), tells us, that being overtaken in a narrow lane, at *Worms*, by a waggon, which must unavoidably have crushed him to death against the wall, the brutish waggoner driving on with all speed, in spite of his cries to stop; the wall gave way just in the place where he stood, and left room for the carriage to go on without hurting him. Others say it was *Judah*'s mother who was thus miraculously preserved, being then big with him. And the learned *Wagenseil* prefers this last relation, which he had from the mouths of some credible *Jews*, who shewed him the very spot; which hollow they pretend is still to be seen in the wall. *Worms* was then full of them, and no less pregnant of their miracles.

(D) This was the great *Dom. Solomon*, the son of *Jechaiah*, who was as great a philosopher

(35) *Shalsheleth*, p. 55.

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here mention likewiſe ſome of their learned, that forſook the ſynagogue in this century, to turn either *Mohammedans* or Chriſtians; but as that would carry us too far, we ſhall only give an inſtance of each in the following note (E), and proceed to ſome more momentous tranſactions in it, *viz.* the ſeveral falſe Meſſiahs that appeared both in the eaſt and weſt during this interval.

Converts and apoſtates.

as general. His merit raiſed him to the dignity of field-maſter-general, *An. C.* 1190, which was then the higheſt poſt in the militia; in which he behaved ſo well, that he obtained the command of the whole army. His valour and ſucceſs raiſed him very powerful enemies among the grandees, whom he overcame by his ſingular modeſty; and not content with practiſing it himſelf, he inſpired his nation with it; and having obſerved that their rideing on horſeback along the ſtreets was diſpleaſing to the *Portugueſe*, he prevailed upon them to leave it off, as well as the wearing of ſilk garments.

(E) Of the firſt ſort was the famed apoſtate *Samuel-Ben Jehudah*, or, as he is commonly called, *Aſmouil*, a *Spaniard* by birth, and by profeſſion a phyſician, who, to convince the *Moſlems* of the ſincerity of his converſion, wrote a book againſt the *Jews*, *an.* 1174, in which he charges them with having altered the law of *Moſes*. This accuſation was greedily ſwallowed by them, and is ſtill to this day; inſomuch, that they forbid the quoting or tranſlating any part of the Pentateuch according to the *Jewiſh* or Chriſtian copies. They allege againſt them, that there is not a word in them about the reſurrection of the dead, the life to come, prayers, alms, *&c.* But whether he furniſhed them with thoſe objections out of hatred to them, or whether he did not rather mean by thoſe alterations he charges the *Jews* with, the falſe interpretations of the thalmudiſts, we cannot affirm (36).

Of the latter or Chriſtian converts, we ſhall only mention *Peter Alphonſo*; which names were given him, the former, becauſe he was baptiſed on St. *Peter*'s feſtival, and the other by the king of that name, who was his godfather (37). He was a native of *Oſea*, and profeſſed *Judaiſm* till the 40th year of his age, and after his converſion was made phyſician to *Alphonſo* VII. who was king of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and died *an.* 1108. *Pedro* wrote ſome dialogues againſt the *Jews*, which are ſtill preſerved (38), and from which one may conclude he had more zeal than ſkill in that controverſy, if he was not rather more influenced by worldly views than ſolid arguments; for from this inſtance one may ſee that there were no encouragements wanting to bring them over.

(36) *D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. Ab. voc.* (37) *D'Aguirra, Bibliot. Hiſp. tom.* iii. *l.* i. *c.* 3. (38) *Alphonſ. Dialog. titul.* 2 & 3, *ap. Bibliotb. Patr. tom.* xxi. *p.* 184, *& ſeq.*

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False Messiahs. Of these authors reckon no less than nine or ten; so that the great number of their learned could neither hinder their impostures, nor the people's credulity. The first of these appeared in *France*, *An.* 1137. The place of his birth or manifestation is not mentioned by any author; only they tell us that *Lewis*, who was then on the throne, caused their synagogues to be pulled down, and the *Jewish* nation to be severely treated: from which we may conclude that he had imposed on a great part of his nation (F). In the following year another appeared in *Persia*, and drew such multitudes after him, that the king thought fit to oblige the rest of the *Jews* to summon him, and order him to lay down his arms; which they tried at first in vain, till he seemed moved at the sight of the multitudes of children, which the sorrowful mothers brought before him to excite his pity. He then proposed to that monarch, that he should pay him the charges of the war, and let him lead his troops away unmolested; which, to the wonder of the *Jews*, was agreed to, and the sum stipulated by the Messiah paid down, and the troops disbanded. But the king finding himself out of danger, obliged the disarmed *Jews* to reimburse him the money; and, as some add, caused the impostor's head to be struck off [q].

First in France.

A second in Persia, A. C. 1138.

A third in France, A. C. 1157. MAIMONIDES mentions a third, which appeared in *Spain* about 10 years before he wrote, who brought a severe persecution on their nation. He was a native of *Cordova*, and was supported in his imposture by one of the greatest rabbies in that city, who wrote a book to prove before-hand the nearness of his appearing by the stars. Our author adds, that the better and wiser sort looked upon the fellow as a madman; but as those are few, in comparison of the rest, they could not hinder his gaining credit among them; till his disappointment undeceived them [r]. Ten years after that, another cheat proclaimed the coming of the Messiah within a year; and his prediction proving false, occasioned new troubles and perse-

[q] SOLOM. BEN VIRG. ub. sup. 169. LENT de Pseudo Mess. Judeor. p. 36. [r] MAIMON. Epist. de Reg. Aust. ap. Vurst. p. 293.

(F) *Maimonides*, who lived 30 years after, tells us, that the *French*, into whose hands he fell, put him to death, and with him the *holy assembly* (39). And another *Jewish* writer (40) complains, that on account of that impostor, they had pulled down a great number of synagogues in *France*.

(39) *Epist. de Aust. ap. Vurst. not. in Gaaiz Tzemach p.* 293 (40) *Solom. Ben Virg. ub. sup. p.* 163.

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cutions againſt that credulous people. This was in the kingdom of *Fez*, where we are told [s] there was another perſon who proclaimed himſelf the Meſſiah lately foretold (G). In the ſame year an *Arabian* ſet up there for the Meſſiah, and pretended to work miracles; tho' our author rather looked upon him as an enthuſiaſt, who had more ſincerity than judgment [t]; and being conſulted about him by the reſt of the *Jews*, foretold to them the fatal conſequence which his and their deluſion would bring upon them. His advice, however, did not hinder vaſt multitudes from following that impoſtor, who was apprehended at the end of a year, and brought before the king; where being aſked what had induced him to that impoſture, he boldly replied, that he was ſent by God; and as a proof of it, told that monarch, that if he would order his head to be cut off, he ſhould ſee him riſe immediately after. The king took him at his word, and ordered him to be beheaded (H); upon which the cheat was ſufficiently diſcovered, and thoſe who had been deluded by him, were grievouſly puniſhed, and the nation condemned to very heavy fines [u].

At Fez, A. C. 1167.

A new one there.

Beheaded by his own deſire.

Some time after a leper, who found himſelf cured in one night of his ſtubborn diſeaſe, took it into his head, from that ſuppoſed miracle, that he was the Meſſiah; upon which he went and proclaimed himſelf ſuch beyond the *Euphrates*, and drew vaſt multitudes after him. The *Jewiſh* doctors, however, ſoon perſuaded him and his followers, that this cure, miraculous as it ſeemed to be, was not a ſufficient proof of his being the Meſſiah, and made them and him aſhamed of their folly. But their appearing in arms on his account, had ſo exaſperated the people, that they raiſed a freſh perſecution againſt them; and one of their writers aſſures us [x], ten thouſand

A leper ſets up for one.

Jews *perſecuted on his account.*

[s] Solom. Ben Virg. ub. ſup. p. 169. [t] Maimon. Epiſt. ad Jud. in Maſſilia, ap. Wurſt. ub. ſup. p. 292. [u] Id. ibid. [x] Id. Epiſt. de Auſtr. Region. ap. Wurt. p. 293. Solom. ub. ſup. p. 169.

(G) According to this laſt author, one would be apt to think that thoſe two cheats acted in concert. However, as *Maimonides*, who flouriſhed at that time, mentions but one impoſtor, it is likely *Solomon* was either miſinformed, or hath ill expreſſed his meaning.

(H) It is very probable that he made uſe of that ſtratagem only to free himſelf from a more cruel death: but that did not hinder a great number of his infatuated followers from hoping, that tho' he did not immediately riſe from the dead, yet he would in ſome time after, to their no ſmall diſappointment, when they found themſelves deceived and puniſhed for their credulity.

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of them, being quite tired with their sufferings on that account, forsook the *Jewish* religion, which hath rendered the memory of that impostor odious to the whole nation. A new and severe persecution was raised in *Persia, an.* 1174, on account of a seventh false Messiah, who had seduced some of the common people, by such strange tricks, that they looked upon him afterwards as a conjurer or a devil [y].

A seventh in Persia.

An eighth in Moravia.

AN eighth impostor set up for the Messiah in *Moravia, viz. David Almusser*, who boasted that he had the power of rendering himself invisible whenever he pleased; and drew vast multitudes after him. To prevent the ill consequences of such concourses, the king sent to promise him his life, on condition that he surrendered himself into his hands. He did so; but that prince, instead of keeping his word with him, caused him to be flung into prison; from which, however, he soon escaped, by the help of his art. They tried in vain to pursue him: he disappeared when he pleased, and the king, who went after him in person, had the mortification to see him one while, without being able to reach him. Tired at length with following him, he summoned the *Jews*, who were then very numerous, to seize and deliver him up; which they at length, out of fear of a new persecution, performed, and he was again imprisoned. But whether his art was now exhausted, or some counter-charm was used against it, he could neither escape out of prison, nor out of the hands of the hangman (I) [z].

Caught and executed.

A ninth, named Eldavid.

His character and success.

BUT the most famous of all, during this century, was *David Alroi*, or *Eldavid*, whom others commonly place in the year 1099 or 1200; but *Benjamin de Tudela*, who travelled *an.* 1173, speaks of him as having appeared 10 years before. He was a native of *Amaria*, which city contained about 1000 *Jews*, who paid tribute to the king of *Persia*; and was well versed not only in the thalmudic learning, but likewise in the *Chaldean* magic, where he had picked out some strange secrets to delude the people by. He applied himself at first to the chief of the captivity, and to that of the synagogue of *Bagdad*, but chiefly prevailed on the *Jews* settled on the mountain called *Haphtan* to take up arms, after he had deluded them with some pretended miracles. The *Persian* king, alarm-

[y] Id. ibid. [z] Id. ibid.

(I) *Maimonides*, and *Solomon* above quoted, tells us of a ninth impostor, who, they say, lived in this 12th century, and in the time of *Solomon* the son of *Addreti*; but take no notice either of his name, country, or good or ill success.

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ed at this armament, and the progreſs it had made, ſent him expreſs orders to come immediately to court; promiſing him at the ſame time, that if he proved himſelf the Meſſiah, he would acknowledge him as a king ſent from heaven. *Eldavid*, contrary to expectation, obeyed the ſummons, and aſſured the king that he was really the Meſſiah: upon which he was immediately clapt into priſon, and was not to be acknowledged, till he had by ſome miracle extricated himſelf out of it. But whilſt the king was deliberating what death to put him to, word was brought to him that the priſoner was fled. He diſpatched ſeveral couriers after him; who upon their return, aſſured him that they had heard his voice, but had neither been able to ſee him or to lay hold on him. The king, ſuſpecting them to have been corrupted, marched in perſon after him as far as the banks of the river *Gozan*, where he heard him call them fools, without ſeeing him. Soon after that, they perceived him dividing the waters of that river with his mantle, and croſſing it. The king began to think indeed that he might be the Meſſiah; but was diſſuaded from it by his officers, who aſſured him, that it was mere illuſion; and ſo the army paſſed the river without ſeeing him.

Anſwer to the king of Perſia.

Diſappears,

and purſued in vain.

THE king wrote immediately upon it to the chiefs of the *Jewiſh* nation to deliver up *Eldavid* to him, under the penalty of being all maſſacred without mercy. This obliged the chief of the captivity to ſend a ſubmiſſive letter to him, deſiring him to deliver himſelf up, and ſave his nation from deſtruction: but the impoſtor only made a jeſt of it, and abſolutely refuſed it. He continued his hoſtilities, till his father-in-law, being tempted with a promiſe of 10,000 crowns, invited him to a ſupper; and having plied him with wine, cut off his head, and ſent it to the king (K). But *Zaid Aladin*, inſtead

Betrayed by his father-in-law.

(K) It is not unlikely that this *Eldavid* was the ſame with a *David Ben David* mentioned by an ancient chronicle (41), who was likewiſe a *Perſian*, and appeared about the beginning of the 13th century. He is ſaid to have been looked upon by the *Jews* as their king, and to have gathered a vaſt army of them under him. The chronicle adds, that he had formed a deſign of coming from *Perſia* to *Colegn* to meet three magicians who were to be there; and had already gone thro' ſome provinces, when he was forced to lead his army homewards again. What is there added about theſe three magicians, that they were to be of a gigantic ſtature, gives, indeed, the ſtory the air

(41) *Fragm. Hiſt. an. Chr.* 1222, *ap. Wurſt. Hiſt. Germ. tom.* ii. *p.* 89.

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Jews *massacred.*

instead of keeping his word, insisted upon having all those *Jews* delivered up who had served with: which they endeavouring to excuse themselves from, he caused a vast number of their nation to be butchered in his dominions [a]. And thus much may serve for the false Messiahs of this century: from which the reader may see the great propensity of the *Jews* to run after every impostor that sets up for a deliverer, and to join with him in taking up arms, and committing all kinds of outrages and disasters against those whom they called their enemies, because held in subjection to them, whether Christians, *Turks*, or heathens; and the necessity there was for every government under which they lived, to keep a watchful eye over them, and to enact wholesome laws, to keep them within due bounds; especially as they betrayed no less surprising readiness, for the most part, when under persecution or disgrace, to abandon their religion for any other offered to them, in order to save themselves from a present danger; but which forced conversions made them only more inveterate and revengeful against those that imposed them upon them, whenever any opportunity offered itself to throw off the disguise. So that nothing could be more impolitic and unnatural, than to oblige such men to redeem their lives and liberties at the expence of their religion. But it is time to pass on to the next century.

Decay of the Jews *during the 13th and 14th centuries.*

We shall here again be obliged to join the 13th and 14th together, to avoid being frequently forced to break off the thread of their history, and begin, as we have hitherto done, with those of the east, where we shall find them strangely dwindled, both in number and figure, especially with respect either to their chiefs, their academies, or learned men, of whom we hardly find any mention. With respect to the former, *R. Petachiah*, who travelled thither

[a] Ben Virg. Hist Jud. p. 162. [b] Itinerar. MS. ap. Wagenf. in Sotah.

of a rabbinic fable; but if we consider how credulous the *Germans* were of such prodigies, and how eager and desirous they were to embrace every rumour of a Messiah, it is not improbable, that having heard of the conquest and progress of *Eldavid* in *Persia*, they might give it out that he was coming full speed to their deliverance, in order to inspire their brethren with hopes of seeing an end of their slavery, if not with some design to do the same in *Germany* which the other had done in *Persia* (42). So that *Eldavid* and *David* the son of *David* may be probably enough the same person.

(42) *Basnag. lib.* ix. *c.* 11. § 14.

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about the latter end of the laſt century, tells us that they were ſtill in being and authority [b]; but it is moſt likely the perſecution lately mentioned, and which was not ended at the beginning of this, had put an effectual end to them; ſince which time their affairs have ſtill gone from bad to worſe. For ſoon after that *Neſſer Ledinillah*, Khalif of *Bagdad*, and a very zealous *Mohammedan*, as well as a perſon of conſummate avarice, grew jealous of the too great wealth of the *Jews*, as well as of their too eager zeal after every impoſtor that ſet up for a Meſſiah, raiſed an open perſecution againſt them, and obliged all that would not turn *Mohammedans* to leave the *Babyloniſh* dominions [c]; upon which, one part marched away, and the reſt choſe to ſtay upon his terms (L). The wars that happened there ſince, under *Melek al Naſſar* and his brother, againſt *Holagu*, alias *Hulaku*, emperor of the *Tartars*, his killing thoſe two princes, after the taking of *Bagdad*, helped to complete their ruin there †.

Chiefs of the capitivity abeliſhed.

Jews apoſtatize.

JUDEA was no leſs infeſted with the wars that raged between the Chriſtians and *Saracens*; but that did not hinder the *Jews* from having ſome ſynagogues and learned rabbies in it. Here it was that the famed *R. Moſes Nachmanides*, or as his name is commonly abbreviated, *Ramban*, retired, and built

At peace in Judea.

[c] D'HERBEL. Bibl. Orient. ſub. voc. ABULPHARAG. Dynaſt. ix. p. 532. † De his vid. ſup. vol. v. p. 156, & ſeq.

(L) Among thoſe that ſtaid was *Joſeph* the ſon of *Jehiah*, a famed phyſician and mathematician, who choſe to diſſemble for a time, rather than expoſe himſelf to unavoidable miſery. However, he took the firſt opportunity he could to turn his effects into money, and retired into *Egypt*, where *Maimonides* was ſtill alive, and by his aſſiſtance corrected a ſyſtem of aſtronomy, which he had brought with him; and after his death, retired to *Aleppo*, where he bought an eſtate, and married.

He died ſoon after there; and having, as we are told, made an engagement with an intimate friend, that he would come back from the other world to inform him of the ſtate of it, made him wait two years, and at length appeared to him. His friend, finding him very backward to diſcloſe the ſecret to him, took him by the hand, and challenged his promiſe, but could get nothing more from him than this dark anſwer, "The univerſal "hath reunited itſelf to the uni-"verſal; and the particular to "the particular (43)." This was, in all likelihood, only a dream of his friend, after having thought long and intenſely upon their previous engagement; otherwiſe one would think it hardly worth the other's while to take ſo long a journey to make ſo inconſiderable a diſcovery.

(43) *Abulpher. Dynaſt.* ix. *p.* 303, *ex. Baſnag. lib.* ix. *c.* 16. § 4.

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R. Moſes Nachmanides.

a ſynagogue (M), and became one of the moſt celebrated cabbaliſts that age produced. What made him leave his native country, where he was ſo eſteemed and beloved, for *Judea*, then ſo torn with wars, is not eaſy to gueſs; unleſs he perhaps had made himſelf obnoxious to the *Spaniſh* clergy, by the conferences he had had with ſome friars, particularly that which was held before the king of *Arragon* and his court, *an.* 1263. The time of his death is likewiſe variouſly placed; by ſome, *an.* 1300; at which rate he muſt have lived 106 years; and by others 40 years ſooner; tho' that is eight years before the author of *Juchaſin* makes him to have finiſhed his Expoſition of the cabbaliſtical law. His other moſt conſiderable works may be ſeen in the next note (N). However, the *Jews* made no

retires into Judea.

(M) He was born at *Gironna*, *an.* 1194, and at firſt ſtudied chiefly phyſic, but made afterwards ſuch progreſs in the ſtudy of the law, that he was ſtyled *the father of wiſdom, the luminary and glory of the crown of holineſs*; and a ſermon which he preached before the king of *Caſtile*, made him be looked upon as the father of eloquence. He at firſt ſeemed to have no opinion of the *Cabbalah*; but after he came to take a reliſh to it, he became ſo expert in it, that he could find every thing he wanted in the ſacred books, particularly in the *Song of Moſes*, and paſſed from the ſpeculative to the *Hammahaſith*, or active, or operative part of it (44).

(N) 1. A prayer on the ruin of the temple. 2. An epiſtle on the holineſs of marriage, giving ſome rules how parents may beget honeſt children. 3. His garden of deſire, another epiſtle, in the cabbaliſtical ſtrain. 4. A third to his ſon, on moral ſubjects. 5. A fourth in defence of *Maimonides*. 6. The treaſure of life, a cabbaliſtical treatiſe. 7. On faith and truſt, likewiſe cabbaliſtical. 8. His expoſition of the law, in the ſame ſtrain, and more ſubtil than the reſt. 9. On redemption or deliverance from baniſhment. 10. His ſermon before the king of *Caſtile* on the excellence of the divine law. 11. A treatiſe on purity. 12. New expoſition on the treatiſe of *Bava Batra*. 13. On that of *Jatzirah*, or the creation. 14. On that of the wars of the Lord. 15. On that of *Maimonides*, called *Jad Chazakah*. 16. Orders of ſalvation, cabbaliſtical. 17. *Eden* the garden of the Lord, ditto. 18. *Jaaleb*'s ſpring, ditto. 19. A comment on *Job*. 20. On ſome treatiſes of the thalmud. 21. A treatiſe on the end or coming of the Meſſiah. 22. On the pomegranate, cabbaliſtical. 23. Queſtions and anſwers. 24. The lilly of ſecrets, a cabbaliſtical expoſition by numbers. 25. The ſquare table. 26. The law of man, or directions how he ought to behave in ſickneſs, death, mourning, and expectation of a future life.

(44) *Bartoloc. ub. ſup. tom* iv. *Wolf, Bibl. Hæbr. n.* 1612. *p.* 876, *& ſeq. Ganz, Tzemach, Shalſheleth, Juchaſin, &c.*

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no great figure in *Paleſtine*, during this interval; and contented themſelves with having the free uſe of their ſchools and ſynagogues; and *Nachmanides* was the only conſiderable doctor they had among them[d].

THEY did not fare much better in *Egypt*, where the invaſion which St. *Lewis* made upon that kingdom, and the revolution that happened ſoon after under the *Mamlukes*, did not permit them to thrive either in wealth or learning; they being on the one hand excluded from having any ſhare in public affairs, and on the other, had been obliged to ſet aſide all thoughts of learning of any kind, inſomuch that we read not of one rabbi of any note among them. There was, indeed, one *Simeon Duran*, in ſome city of *Afric*, who publiſhed ſome works, which the reader may ſee in the margin (O); but he was neither *Egyptian* nor *African*, but a native of *Spain*, whence he had brought with him the comment of rabbi *Alphez*, which he tranſlated there; and he did not flouriſh till the latter end of the 14th century[e]. R. Simeon Duran, A. C. 1391. *his works.*

THE *Jews* about *Babylon*, as well as the diſperſed of the ten tribes eaſtward, had ſuffered much, as we hinted a little higher, from the invaſion of the *Tartars*; but at length gained a conſiderable reſpite under Khan *Argun* †, by means of a *Jewiſh* phyſician named *Saaddodowlah*, a learned man, and agreeable companion, whom that prince made his prime miniſter. The Chriſtian hiſtorians do him that juſtice, that he left them in quiet poſſeſſion of what they had in that empire; but he made uſe of all the intereſt he had with his prince to promote the intereſt of his own nation, and procured them ſome conſiderable privileges. They did not enjoy them long, before *Argun* was taken dangerouſly ill, and died ſoon after; and *Saaddodowlah*, who was hated by the *Moſlems* and *Arabs* for his kindneſs to the *Jews*, was accuſed by them of having poiſoned him, and maſſacred for it; and after him a Saadodowlah, *favoured by* Argun, A. C. 1291. *murdered.* 1327.

[d] De hoc vid. BARTOLOC. ub. ſup. WOLF. Bibl. Hæbr. N. 1612. p. 876, & ſeq. [e] D'HERBELOT. Bibl. Orient. ſub voc.
† De hoc vid. ſup. vol. v. p. 179.

27. His conference with a *Dominican* friar, mentioned above (45).

(O) Beſides the verſion mentioned above, he compiled a chronological catalogue of all the ancient rabbies, intitled *Maghen Aboth*, the *Shield of the Fathers*, another called *Obef. Miſhpath*, the *Lover of Judgment*; and a third called *Miſhpath Tzedek*, the *Judgment of Righteouſneſs*, or *juſt Judgment* (46); which two laſt *Buxtorf* has blended into one, becauſe they are commonly found bound together.

(45) *Id. ibid.* (46) *Bartol. ub. ſup. tom. iv. p. 411.*

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vast number of his nation [f]. Notwithstanding which, they found means to settle themselves in the territories, and even in the court of the Moguls after *Argun*'s death (P), by the next century. But as we read of neither academies nor learned men amongst them, we may conclude that they were more intent on their worldly interest.

Jews peaceable under the Greeks.

IT is probable likewise that they enjoyed the same tranquility in the *Grecian* empire, during these two centuries; at least we meet with nothing to the contrary. And what confirms us that they enjoyed there a full liberty of their religion, is, that the *Greek* writers of those times condemned the violence which the *Latins* exercised against them, in forcing them to be baptized, though themselves were the most forward to *judaize* [g]. These reproaches were but too well founded, considering the cruel usage which the *Jews* met with from the crusaders, both in the west before they set out, and thro' every place of the east, where they came to; and that the pope and his clergy had revived several *Jewish* customs in the church, such as the eating of the paschal lamb, unleavened bread, and some others, which the reader may see in the author quoted in the margin [h].

Sad state in the west.

IT is time now to take a view of the *Jewish* state in the western parts, where we shall find them no less oppressed than they were numerous and wealthy. For the latter seldom failed of exciting the jealousy of the clergy, and of producing the former. We begin with *Spain*, where they began to be persecuted from the very entrance of the 13th century, by the bishop of *Toledo* [i], who beheld their increase in number and

[f] Id ibid. [g] Græci in Latinos ap. COTELER. Mon. Eccles. Græc. tom. iii. p. 99—501—504—506—515, [h] BASNAG. ub. sup. lib. ix. c. 17. § 15. [i] MARIANA ub. sup. tom. v. p. 487. CARDOSO las excellentias, p. 373.

(P) At least we read in the life of *Abu Zaid*, who reigned at the beginning of that century, of a *Jew* who appeared at his court in great state and grandeur, and attended by a number of young pages, upon one of whom he leaned. A merry poet came and kneeled before him, and told him, that he saw the remains of the house of *Moses* carried by angels, and was come to pay homage to it (47). But how they fared when the mogul's monarchy came to be divided into so many principalities, and torn with cruel wars, can only be guessed; they never being wanting to promote their own interest by money, and other kind offices among the contenders, and we do not hear of any persecutions raised against them.

(47) *D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient.*

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wealth with a jealous eye, and ſtirred up the populace againſt them; and putting himſelf at their head, went and broke in to their houſes and ſynagogues, and plundered them (Q). The cruſaders, who were then preparing for their expedition into the *Holy Land* [k], and were ſoon after to have their rendezvous near that city, compleated what the prelate had begun, from a notion they took, that the deſtruction of thoſe enemies of *Chriſt*, would undoubtedly obtain a bleſſing on their enterprife; and accordingly made ſuch havock amongſt them, that *Abravanel* looks upon this perſecution as one of the four ſevereſt ones that nation had ever ſuffered [l]; inſomuch, that he reckons that a greater number of them went out of *Spain*, than that which *Moſes* brought out of *Egypt*. The *Spaniſh* nobility did indeed interpoſe their authority to ſuppreſs the cruelties exerciſed againſt them; but king *Ferdinand*, who was then endeavouring to ingratiate himſelf with the zealots by the perſecution of the *Albigenſes*, and other heretics, encouraged the ſame againſt the *Jews*, as the worſt of them all. It is, however, certain, that if the *Jews* will deal ſincerely, they muſt attribute all theſe diſaſters to their ſhameful remiſſneſs, and open tranſgreſſion of their law in ſeveral inſtances, which they acknowlege to be of the higheſt moment, and which the reader may ſee in the margin (R). A. C. 1209. 1212. *The main cauſe of it.*

THEY

[k] MARIANA, tom. xi. c. 22. p. 490. [l] In Iſaiam, cap. 46.

(Q) His pretence for this perſecution, which reached, however, no farther than their goods and liberty of conſcience, was raiſed by that prelate on account of their having formerly betrayed the city of *Toledo* to the *Moors*. But that this was a falſe accuſation appears both from the ſilence of all hiſtorians of that time, and much more ſo from the capitulation of the inhabitants, by which they were permitted either to leave the country, and take all their effects with them, or to ſtay and have the free uſe of their religion, on paying the ſame taxes they had paid to the *Goths*.

(R) It is plain that (in order to render themſelves leſs odious to the Chriſtians, on account of their ſcrupulous obſervance of their *Miſnah*, (which, as we formerly have had occaſion to ſhew, is with them of more than equal authority with the ſacred books) * they had diſpenſed with many things which are there ſtrictly commanded; particularly with reſpect to the tephilim, or philacteries, which they are bound to wear on their heads and hands; and concerning the wearing, ſhape, and materials of them, there were no leſs than eight deciſions given to them, as they word it, from *Mount Sinai*, among which that of their being of *a ſquare form, and ſown with dried nerves* was eſteemed very conſiderable.

* *See before, p.* 134, *ſub. nat.*

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Accused of crucifying a youth, A. C. 1250.

THEY were since accused of an enormous crime, *viz.* of having stolen a young choirister of the cathedral of *Saragossa*, named *Dominick*, and having crucified him. The discovery is, by the legendaries of those times, ascribed to a miraculous light observed on the grave in which they had laid him, by the sea side; upon which he was taken up and sainted, and placed in that cathedral church [m]. The fact is backed with several other circumstances, almost as surprising [n]; but yet justly rejected as fabulous, by all but credulous bigots. However, we do not find that it produced any persecution; which is strange, if they really had been guilty of it; tho' it served to render them odious, and expose them to the insults of the populace; which so intimidated them, that it helped to forward their conversion, which was then carrying on with great zeal and success, if those authors may be credited. Among those that were most zealous for this blessed work, was the learned *Raymond Penneforte*, general of the *Dominicans*, who was then in high esteem with *James* I. king of *Arragon*, and his confessor, as well as minister with the pope. He had already, by his credit and address, suppressed the violence of the populace against them, and persuaded that prince, that the most

Penna-forte strives to convert them,

[m] BEZOVIUS annal. ad an. 1250. [n] VINCENT BLASCO peristephan. Arragon, lib. iv. fol. 72. TAMAIO Salazar Martyr Hisp. p. 625, & seq. FASCICUL. temp. in Hist. Germ. tom. iii. fol. 18. WILLELM. MONACH. Veter. Ævi. Analect. & al.

And yet they had been so remiss in this and other particulars, both in *Spain* and *Portugal*, that their *German* brethren, always more scrupulous about these matters, were highly offended at it; insomuch, that *R. Baruc* came on purpose from *Germany*, about the beginning of the 13th century, to upbraid them with their shameful remissness and novelties. The small success he met with there, made him soon leave them, and pass from *Spain* into *Candia*, and thence into *Judea* (48).

But another and more scandalous abuse had by that time been introduced among them, *viz.* their intermarrying with strangers; and as those with Christians were so severely forbidden, many of them made no scruple to marry *Moorish* and *Saracen* women; insomuch that the famed *Moses Cozzi*, so named from the town of *Cozzo* in the *Milanese*, tho' a native of *Spain*, and one of the most learned and zealous rabbies of that age, thundered out his anathema's against that practice with such vehemence, that he persuaded many of them to put away their strange wives. At that time the city of *Toledo* had no less than 12,000 *Jews* settled in it.

(48) *R. Isaac de Garmisa, an.* 1236. *Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom.* i. *p.* 695. *V. p.* 75. *N.* 1210.

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gentle were the moſt effectual means of converting them °. Upon which ſeveral perſons were pitched upon to learn the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues, in order to fit themſelves to diſpute with and convince them of their errors by ſolid arguments (S). Theſe did accordingly ply their ſtudy of thoſe tongues, and of the ſacred books ſo cloſely, that they eaſily diſcovered the errors and fables of the rabbies, and were able to beat them at their own weapons. Among other productions brought forth againſt them, one was the *Pugio Fidei*, attributed by ſome to our *Dominican* above-mentioned, tho' it did not appear till three years after his death, and was written by another monk of that order, named *Raymond Martini*, and only encouraged and promoted by *Pennaforte* (T).

A. C. 1255.

R. Martino's Pugio Fidei.

ABOUT

° Anonym. in Vit. R. Penneforte.

(S) We are told, however, that he ſucceeded better againſt the *Moors*, of whom he is ſaid to have converted above 10,000; whilſt the *Jews* contented themſelves with expreſſing a great regard for him, on account of his ſingular moderation, without betraying any inclination to turn Chriſtians, tho' the king had publiſhed ſome edicts againſt them, which if not quite ſo bloody and ſevere as others have been, yet deprived the recuſants of their ancient liberty.

Pennaforte hath not only been highly cried up for his zeal, but hath been likewiſe canonized for his miracles, one of which their legend tells us was, that not being longer able to bear the corruption of the *Spaniſh* court, he croſſed the ſea upon his clock, whilſt his ſtaff ſerved him for a rudder †.

(T) Some have affirmed that he was originally a *Jew*, and after his converſion entered into that order, wherein he made ſo great a figure for his learning, that he was choſen to hold that famed conference with *R. Nachmanides*, before king *Ferdinand*, which we mentioned under his name, and wherein they add he had ſo much the ſuperiority, that he not only ſilenced that learned *Jew*, but obliged him, thro' ſhame of his defeat, to retire into *Judea*, as we there hinted. But in this they have done *Martini* more honour than he deſerved, ſeeing he was not the perſon that held the diſpute, in which he ſaid but little, but another of his order named *Paul*; and is the only perſon mentioned in that king's edict, and was accordingly cited as ſuch at another diſpute held before pope *Benedict* III.

However, with reſpect to the conference above-mentioned, each ſide ſung *victoria*. *Paul* obtained an edict from that monarch, enjoining the *Jews* to open the gates of their houſes and ſynagogues to him, and to furniſh him with all their *Hebrew* books whenever he came

† *Anonym. in Penefort. apud Baſn. l.* ix. *c.* 17. § 7.

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Alphonso X. *encourages the* Jews, A. C. 1255.

ABOUT the same time *Alphonso* X. king of *Castile*, and a celebrated astronomer, being then about compiling those tables which have since gone by his name, gave no small encouragement to the *Jewish* rabbies; many of whom he found well versed in that science, and who by that means easily insinuated themselves into his favour. Among them *Judah de Toledo* translated by his order the astronomical works of *Avicenna*, and improved them by a new division of the stars, which he di-

to dispute with them (49). On the other hand, our *Jewish* doctor (50), who published an account of that conference, pretends that the king was so well satisfied with their rabbi's conduct, that he gave him 300 crowns to defray his charges. He hath been since cried up and quoted by those of his nation, as a learned defender of the *Jewish* religion, and affirmed to have lived in great esteem at *Jerusalem*, and to have retired thither, merely on a religious account; tho' it appears plainly enough, even from their very account, that he made but a poor answer to his antagonist, about the time of the Messiah's coming, and that the only advantage he had against him, was owing to the absurd manner which that monk took to prove the Trinity of persons against him.

There is indeed some reason to suspect this relation, from several circumstances, to have been written, not by that rabbi, but by some *German Jew* some time after, there being several *German* idioms in it, which shew it could not be written by a native of *Gironna*. And even this conference made so little noise, that the pope above-mentioned, who was a native of *Arragon*, had heard nothing of it, tho' the *Jews* represented it as so much in their favour, that he blamed the king for having permitted, and friar *Paul* for having held it. As to the *Pugio Fidei*, it hath been much cried up since it first appeared, as the best thing written against the *Jews*; but that was not till the last century, it having lain dormant till then (1). We shall not take upon us to pass a judgment on that work, from which *Porchetto*, *Galatino*, *N. de Lyra*, *Finus Ricci*, *Jerom de St. Fido*, and others among the *Roman* Catholics, and *Du Plessis de Mornay* among the Protestants, have drawn most of their *Jewish* learning, but in which there are several arguments against the *Jews* very jejune and inconclusive. As for the author, he was so well versed in the *Hebrew* and the *Jewish* books, that it hath given occasion to several learned men to think that he was a convert from the synagogue; tho' if he had been so, it is not likely that his *Jewish* antagonist *Nachmanides*, above-mentioned, would have forborn upbraiding him with it, in the relation he gave of their conference.

(49) *Codex leg. antiq. ap. Lindembrok, fol.* 235. (50) *Disp. Nachmanid. ap. Wagenseil. tela ignea. Satanæ. tom.* ii. *p.* 24, *& seq.* (1) *Basnag. ub. sup. c.* 17. § 9, *& seq.*

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vided into forty-eight conſtellations P. The moſt conſiderable of the *Jews*, who aſſiſted that prince in the compiling of his tables, were *Aben Raghel*, and *Alquibits de Toledo*, whom he ſtiled his maſters, *Aben Muſio*, and *Mahomad de Sevillia*, *Joſeph Ben Hali*, and *Jacob Abvena* of *Cordoua* (U). He likewiſe made uſe of them in ſome other caſes, which the reader will ſee in the laſt note; and proved ſo generous a patron to them, that it excited the jealouſy of the zealots, and put them upon hatching new plots and accuſations againſt them. For it was probably about this time that three villains, of the city of *Orſana* in *Andaluſia*, threw a dead corpſe into the houſe of a *Jew*, and accuſed him of having murdered him: upon which the populace roſe up and maſſacred a great number of them, whilſt others went and took ſanctuary in the houſes of ſome Chriſtians of their acquaintance. It was then the Paſſover, and they finding nothing there but levened bread, which is forbidden during that whole ſolemnity †, many of them were like to have been ſtarved, they chuſing rather to faſt than to break the law q. The inhabitants of

Some of them great aſtronomers.

Maſſacred at Orſana.

P Higuera, Hiſtor. Toletan. lib. xxi. c. 8. MS. & lib. xxii. c. 12. † De hoc vid. Anc. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 24. q Solom. Ben Virg. p. 78 ad 92.

(U) Beſides thoſe abovenamed, *Alphonſo* ſent for about 50 more learned men from *Gaſcony*, *Paris*, and other places, to tranſlate the tables of *Ptolemy*, and to compile a more correct ſett of them. All theſe great men were lodged in a palace near *Toledo*, which they made their obſervatory. The king himſelf preſided over them; and in his abſence, *Aben Raghel* and *Alquibitz*. They continued making their obſervations from *an.* 1258 to 1262 (2), and when their work was finiſhed they were diſmiſſed with the greateſt tokens of his royal munificence.

He cauſed likewiſe a treatiſe to be publiſhed by them, intitled *Libro de las Armillas*, or a treatiſe on circles, the manuſcript of which is ſtill preſerved at *Sevil*. He made uſe likewiſe of ſome of the moſt famed aſtronomers, among which were ſome *Jewiſh* rabbies of the firſt claſs. It was finiſhed in the 25th year of his reign, *an.* 1276.

About the ſame time flouriſhed, in the kingdom of *Granada*, *Moſes Ben Tibbon*, who tranſlated *Euclid's Elements*. A *Jewiſh* writer (3) makes him to have been a profeſſor at *Montpelier* when he wrote it; that is, according to him, *an.* 1330; tho' it is plain he lived in *Spain* in the reign of king *Alphonſo*, that great encourager of learned men of all religions, about *A. C.* 1270 (4).

(2) *Id. ibid.* (3) *R. Ghedal. Shalſhel. Hakkabal.* (4) *Gantz Tzemach. An. ſext. milliar.* 30. *ſeu Chriſti.* 1270.

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At Palma. *Palma* likewiſe fell foul and killed many of them; upon which they ſent to deſire their brethren to ſend a deputation to court, to obtain the ſuppreſſion of a maſſacre which was like to prove a general one. But the deputies were ſo cloſely purſued by their enemies, that they were forced to quit the high-way, and ſhelter themſelves in a wood, to avoid being murdered by the way; by which means theſe laſt were got to the court, and had laid their accuſation, before they could reach it. *Joſeph*, who was at the head of the deputation, and chief of the *Jewiſh* council, however, pleaded his cauſe ſo well, that he was admired by all the court, and the *Jewiſh* nation abſolved from the pretended murder. But the king took occaſion from thence to charge them with ſeveral other abuſes, by which they made themſelves juſtly odious to the Chriſtians (W). Their accuſers ſtill inſiſted that the *Jew* ſhould be put to the torture, to know whether he had committed the murder; but he eſcaped that puniſhment, by cauſing the tomb to be opened, out of which the body had been taken, and flung into that houſe [r].

Acquitted by the king.

AMONG thoſe learned *Jews*, that flouriſhed in the reign of king *Alphonſo*, was the famed *Mithridos*, as he is called by *Gantz*, though he was the ſon of *Theodore*, prince of the *Levites* at *Burgos*. There was at the ſame time another *Meir* at *Narbonna*, with whom he is often confounded, who was likewiſe a great doctor, and had, like him, a great number of diſciples (X). The king of *Arragon*, *James* I. tho' a devout

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[r] SOLOM. BEN VIRG. ibid.

(W) Theſe were their grievous extortions, and exceſſive uſury, the richneſs and finery of their dreſs, the ſtate and grandeur with which they appeared in the ſtreets. He aſked them likewiſe, why they learned to ſing, when they ſhould rather mourn? why they taught their children to fence and fight, ſince they did not go to the wars? "If you will needs follow "ſome of the ill cuſtoms of my "ſubjects, ſaid he to them, why "do ye not alſo imitate their "good ones, their peaceableneſs, modeſty, &c. I do not "ſpeak theſe things out of any "hatred to you: for why "ſhould I hate a people whom "God loves? Neither do I "pretend to diſpute with you, "I know that you have always ſome vain excuſes and "pretences ready at hand; only make a right uſe of what "I have ſaid to you."

(X) This of *Toledo* was a great cabbaliſt, and wrote a treatiſe which he intitled לפני ולפנים, *Liphne Ulephanim*; which may be properly rendered *within and without*, *on this and that ſide*, or *before and behind*; to ſhew that he was maſter

devout man, was ſo far from following the reigning zeal againſt the *Jews*, that he is affirmed to have called them to his aſſiſtance, to have learned moral leſſons from them, and even to have borrowed ſome of their prayer-books, and uſed them in his private devotions (Y). So that though they were hated by the populace, and the ignorant among the clergy; the great and the learned not only protected, but admired and encouraged them. However, this happineſs was clouded again, by ſeveral accidents and misfortunes which befel them ſome time before the cloſe of the 13th, and the beginning of the 14th century. *king* James *of* Arragon, A. C. 1264.

THE firſt was occaſioned by two impoſtors, who went hand in hand in a deſign to impoſe upon all the ſynagogues of *Spain*. The principal of them, named *Zachariah*, did not indeed ſet up for the Meſſiah, but pretended he had found out, by his ſkill in the prophets (Z), the time of his appearing, which he told them was juſt at hand. He named the very *Jews in* Spain *deceived by an impoſtor* A. C. 1258.

ter of every branch of the moſt ſubtle cabbalah, and had ſtudied and turned it over on every ſide. He likewiſe wrote a volume of letters againſt *R. R. Nachmanides* and *Maimonides*; and had a number of diſciples who became the glory of the *Jewiſh* nation (5).

(Y) Rabbi *Jonah*, who flouriſhed under that prince, wrote a letter to another of the ſame name, at *Gironna*, to deſire his advice in what manner he ſhould beſt comply with his majeſty's deſire, who had enjoined him to compile a treatiſe on piety and the duties of religion; and it is to him, and not to his correſpondent, that the treatiſe on the fear of God, which hath been tranſlated into ſeveral languages, ought in all likelihood to be aſcribed.

It muſt be owned, that ſome of the *Jewiſh* offices are inimitably fine and ſeraphic, and the prayers conceived in the moſt elevated and extatic ſtrains. That in particular which they uſe on expiation day, is a maſter-piece of the moſt affecting devotion, and ſuch as the moſt pious Chriſtians might uſe to advantage. No wonder then, if in an age in which the clergy rather applied themſelves to controverſy than devotion, ſuch a pious monarch ſhould expreſs a deſire after the *Jewiſh* prayer-books.

(Z) We have formerly taken notice of a ſuperſtitious belief of the *Jews*, that if any man could attain to the true pronunciation of the *Hebrew* name of God, he would be able to work the greateſt miracles, and dive into the deepeſt counſels of God †. This fellow not only pretended to have found it out, but inſtead of concealing it, as had been done till then, publiſhed and diſperſed it among all the *Jewiſh* ſynagogues of *Spain*; and it was by that means that he ſo eaſily gained credit with them.

(5) *Bartoloc. tom.* iv. *p.* 18. *Wolf Bib. Hebr. N.* 1380. *p.* 748. (†) *See Ant. Hiſt. vol.* iii. *p.* 356, *ſub not.* (T).

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day, and the *Jews*, who had prepared themselves by fasting and alms, went on that day to the synagogues cloathed in white, and in high expectation of him. A *Jew*, who since turned monk, and wrote against his nation, *an.* 1458, adds, that they were greatly surprised to find not only their garments all covered with red crosses, but likewise the linen they had in their houses [s]. It is indeed more likely, that the only cross was the shame of being deceived, and exposed to the laughter and insults of the Christians. They were deceived in a different way, about thirty years after, by a poor rabbi, named *Moses de Leon*; who, not being able to maintain his numerous family by the small income of his synagogue, took it into his head to sell complete copies of the book *Zohar*, which till then could only be had by piece-meal [t]; and which he had supplied out of his own head. At length, the learned found a sufficient difference between the old and the new, to convince them of the cheat: and this was a new subject of shame and insult, not only on the rabbi, but on the nation.

By a rabbi, A. C. 1290.

Irruption of the shepherds, A. C. 1320.

BUT the most dreadful of all their disasters was that which happened to them about the beginning of the fourteenth century, and was occasioned by the irruption of a band of enthusiastick shepherds, who pretended to work miracles; and, being swelled into a numerous army, carried fire and sword into many provinces, and were not suppressed till after a dreadful effusion of blood (A). The *Jews* in particular bore their

[s] ALPHONSO DE SPINA, Fortalit. Fidei, titul. iii. [t] BARTOLOC, ub. sup. tom. iv. p. 82.

(A) The origin of these shepherds is variously related (6). The *French* historians affirm, that it began in *France* under the reign of *Philip the Long*; and that the pretence for their rising was the conquest of the *Holy Land*. They had a degraded priest and a runaway monk at their head, who, by their pretended sanctity and miracles, so imposed on the credulity of the common people, that they left their flocks, farms, &c. to follow them; whilst the noblemen, being hurried away by the stream, protected them, till they found themselves obliged to destroy them, to avoid being plundered by them. They ravaged several of the southern provinces, broke open the prison doors, and listed all the malefactors they found into their society; by which means they had made themselves masters of several cities, and committed the vilest outrages and cruelties, but more particularly against the *Jews*. To avoid which, a con-

(6) *Vid. Basnage, lib.* ix. *c.* 18, *& auctor. ab eo citat.*

siderable

their ſhare of the cruelties which thoſe enthuſiaſts committed where-ever they came; which laid the foundation for a long train

ſiderable number of them retired into a caſtle, under the protection of the *French* king; in which they were ſoon after cloſely beſieged by the ſhepherds, with a deſign to deſtroy them all. After a ſtout and deſperate defence, the beſieged, finding their arms to fail, began to fling their children over the walls, in hopes to move their compaſſion, but in vain; for the beſiegers ſet fire to the gates, and entered the place, where, to their great diſappointment, they found nothing but the carcaſſes of the beſieged, and ſome children that had been left alive: for they had butchered one another, to prevent falling into the hands of thoſe mercileſs barbarians.

The *Jews* indeed give us a different account of them, which they pretend to have taken out of ſome *Spaniſh* chronicle which they tranſlated into *Hebrew*, and is as follows: A young *Spaniſh* ſhepherd, named *Roar*, was often viſited by a dove, which, as ſoon as he went to catch it, turned itſelf into a young man; and, at length, ordered him to put himſelf at the head of the populace, and raiſe an army of them to drive the *Saracens* out of *Spain*; and, to gain him the greater credit, had imprinted the figure of the croſs on one of his arms; on which ſome of the moſt expert or credulous could read a promiſe of ſucceſs. *Roar* ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of an army of 300,000 men, which was deſigned againſt the *Saracens*; but, the fear he conceived of being defeated by a nation ſo well inured in war, made him alter his reſolution, and turn his whole force againſt the *Jews*.

A fierce quarrel which happened ſoon after, between a *Jew* and one of his ſhepherds, determined him wholly to it; and his whole army having taken fire at the pretended inſult, fell a plundering of their ſynagogues. The *Jew* was not only killed upon the ſpot, but his death was followed by the maſſacre of all of that nation who were found in that neighbourhood. They paſſed thence into *Navarre*, where they found them more numerous, and where they committed the greateſt cruelties againſt them. Six thouſand of them were butchered in the ſingle town of *Eſtella*; none eſcaped but ſuch as could retreat into ſome of the fortified caſtles belonging to the nobility. Only *R. Menahem*, then a youth, but ſince a learned chief of the ſynagogue of *Toledo*, found means to ſave his life by the help of a young ſoldier, who, being moved with the groans which he uttered for the loſs of his father, mother, and four brothers, who had all been butchered juſt before, and were left naked and covered with wounds on the floor, carried him into his own houſe, and got him cured of his hurts.

The ſhepherds paſſed thence, ſome into *Languedoc*, *Provence*,

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Jews *doubly persecuted* A. C. 1321.

train of misfortunes, which attended them during the remainder of this century. Happy were they that could save their lives at the expence of their religion and wealth; but those that refused to do so were inhumanly butchered everywhere, as we have seen in the last note. The pestilence, which spread itself from the shepherds army to the neighbouring countries, proved also the source of new disasters to the *Jews*, who were accused of having bribed the peasants of *Mesura* to poison the waters of the river, and having furnished them with the poison; upon which vast numbers were clapt in prison, and informations were lodged against them. They did indeed clear themselves of that imputation after a long imprisonment; but the king, who had no mind to condemn the injustice which he had done to them in detaining such great numbers so long a time in gaol, pretended that he had only done it with a view of converting them; and, upon their refusal of baptism, caused 15000 to be burnt alive [u].

Alphonso's *edict against them*, A. C. 1333.

ALPHONSO XI. their friend and protector, who was wholly guided by one *Joseph* a *Jew* of *Astigi*, then intendant of his finances, was nevertheless prevailed upon by his mutinous subjects to issue out an edict against them, on account of an indignity, pretended to have been committed by a *Jewish* boy, to the sacrament, as it was carried through the streets. And the complaints of the zealots against them were grown to such a height, that a council was called on that very night, to deliberate whether they should be massacred or banished; and, the latter being preferred, they were ordered to depart the kingdom in three months. Happily for them, the prince royal obtained a revising of the process; by which it was found that it was a young Christian, whose curiosity had brought him to the window to see the procession, and

[u] Solom Ben Virg. p. 181, & seq. Vid. & Basnag. l. ix. c. 18. §. 8.

and other parts of *France*; whilst others spread themselves farther through *Spain*, and ravaged and plundered where-ever they came, Christians as well as *Jews*; but the latter were every-where more cruelly used. The pope, then at *Avignon*, thundered in vain his excommunication against them; and the princes in both kingdoms tried in vain to suppress them. The kings of *Aragon* and *France*, with the nobility and choicest of their troops, marched at length against them, and so closely beset them, that one part of them perished by the sword, and the other by a pestilence which raged among them. Thus ended that dreadful inundation after having caused a prodigious effusion of blood, and an infinite variety of other disasters (7).

(7) *Vid. Bossuet. ub. sup. c. 18, & seq. Solom. Ben Virg. p. 181, & seq.*

had

had by chance overturned a pot of water upon the chalice; upon which the king recalled his edict (B), to the great mortification of the zealots, who gave out that the young Chriſtian had been bribed to make that friendly depoſition in favour of the *Jews* [w]. This did not hinder them however from carrying on their reſentment againſt them in another town, where they maſſacred ſome of them under the ſame pretence; and might, in all likelihood, have gone a much greater length, had not the king cauſed ten of the mutinous ringleaders to be hanged. *Recalled.*

THEY had ſcarcely eſcaped this danger, before they found themſelves involved in a more dreadful one, from a freſh inſurrection made againſt them at *Toledo*; in which they behaved in ſuch a deſperate manner, as can hardly be read without horror. *R. Aſher* had ſome time before fled thither from his own native place of *Nothemburgh*, with eight ſons, one of whom, perceiving the zealots breaking into the houſe with an intent to maſſacre them all, was ſeized with ſuch fury and deſpair, that he killed all his relations who had taken ſhelter in his houſe, together with his own wife, and that of his Jews *maſſacred at* Toledo. *Their deſpair,* A. C. 1349.

[w] SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 181, & ſeq. MARIANA. hiſt. Hiſp. tom. ii. lib. 15. p. 38.

(B) The king had, we are told, dreamed, that he ſaw ſome wolves aſſembled to demand of a ſhepherd to murder his flock, to make them reparation for the damages they had ſuſtained from it; and that the frighted ſhepherd was juſt on the point of doing of it, but was happily diverted from it by a young lion; upon which the wolves came ſome days after, deſtroyed a number of his ſheep, and fled. The dream ſeemed too ſingular and uniform not to have ſome momentous meaning; and the interpretation, which a favourite of that prince gave him, was, that his mutinous ſubjects would one day demand of him to baniſh the *Jews* out of his kingdom; but that his ſon, pointed out by the young lion, would diſſuade him from ſuch an unjuſt proceeding; which was actually verified by the event (8). Whether the dream and interpretation were real, or a fiction in favour of the *Jews*, the whole ſtory plainly ſhews how powerful they were then at that court. And it is not unlikely, that the evidence of the young Chriſtian's ſpilling of the water upon the chalice was trumped up by their friends to ſave them. For the *Jews*, whether young or old, were always forward enough to affront the Chriſtians, whenever they thought they might do it with impunity.

(8) *Mariana, hiſt. Hiſp. lib.* xv. *page* 38. *Solom. Ben Virg. p.* 184, *&* *ſeq.*

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brother *Jaacob* (C); and last of all dispatched himself, to prevent falling into the hands of those butchers. *Alphonso* XI. who was still alive, and a great friend to them, was forced to suffer that sedition, which he found impossible to suppress. His son and successor *Peter*, surnamed *the Cruel*, who mounted the throne on the next year, being some time after killed, at the taking of *Toledo* by his natural brother *Henry de Tristemar*, this last went and besieged *Burgos*, where the *Jews* had fortified themselves in their quarter, and refused to surrender to him; alleging, that *Peter* was their lawful king (not knowing of his death), and vowing, that they would sooner sacrifice their lives than receive any other master than the true heir to the crown. This singular instance of loyalty so affected *Henry*, that he granted them much better terms when they came over to his side [x].

Fidelity to king Peter.

Meir tortured for poisoning the king.

Accordingly *Tristemar*, being come to the crown, made *Don Meir* his physician: but dying some time after, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, *Meir* was put to the torture, and confessed that he had killed the king [y]. But other *Spanish* authors, such as *Gusman* and *Mariana*, think that he was rather poisoned by a *Moor*, whom the king of *Grenada* had sent thither for that purpose. But as his death was occasioned by a weakness in his nerves, there is no great probability that he was poisoned, especially by his physician, to whom he had been so good a friend, as well as to his nation [z]. However, that did not hinder the *Jews* from being hated and insulted on that account. They complain accordingly, that, towards the latter end of the fourteenth century, the monks, from a principle of zeal, declared them-

[x] Cardoso, Las Excellentias, p. 371. [y] Fortalit. Fid.
[z] Cardoso, ub. sup. p. 373.

(C) This last was not only a very learned, but a very generous doctor, who commonly taught his disciples *gratis*. He was the author of a famed treatise, intituled, ארבע טורים, *Arbah Thurim*, or the four orders or rows, alluding to those mentioned *Exod.* xxviii. 17, *&c. seq.*; and of some other works which the reader may see in the authors quoted below (9).

Some place this persecution in the year 1340, but others, more rightly, nine years after; seeing, according to *Gantz* and the *Shalsheleth*, *Jaacob* was still in *Germany*, *an.* 1340, and was then writing the book above-mentioned; which is a kind of collection of civil and ecclesiastical laws, out of the *Gemarrah*, and other *Jewish* writings.

(9) *Bartoloc, ubi sup. Wolf. ub. sup. N.* 1023. *p.* 582.

selves

ſelves their irreconcileable enemies; and had obtained, by the queen's means, an edict for expelling them the kingdom; but that princeſs, being told that it was not right to root up a vine that bare good fruit, ſuffered herſelf to be bought off by a ſum of 50,000 crowns.

THEY ſuffered much more under the reign of *Henry* III. of *Caſtile*, when *Martin*, archdeacon of *Aſtigi*, went preaching through the ſtreets of *Seville* and *Cordova*, and ſo exaſperated the people, that they maſſacred the *Jews* in both places. The fire ſpread itſelf to *Toledo*, *Valencia*, and *Barcelona*, where they plundered ſome, and murdered others; whilſt the more artful ones changed their religion, to eſcape their violence. The great and populous ſynagogues of *Seville* and *Cordova* became, in ſome meaſure, deſert; the young king ſtill purſuing them. Thoſe that retired into *Andaluſia*, and other provinces, were murdered by the inhabitants [a] (D). His ſon *John* proved no leſs cruel to them; inſomuch that thoſe who had concealed themſelves under his father's reign, periſhed under his, being deprived even of the neceſſaries of life, and obliged to wear a red mark of diſtinction, by which they were eaſily known. Thoſe of *Arragon* did not fare much better than theſe of *Caſtile*, that kingdom being torn by inteſtine wars, which could not be maintained without heavy taxes; with which the *Jews* were not only the heavieſt loaded, but expoſed to continual vexations and proſecutions, which reduced them to the loweſt degree of miſery [b]. All this did not prevent their having ſeveral learned men during this century; the moſt eminent of whom the reader will find in the margin (E). But it is now time to ſee how they fared in other parts of *Europe* during theſe two centuries.

Perſecuted by Henry III. A. C. 1394.

In Arragon.

Learned men.

FRANCE

[a] SOLOM. BEN VIRG. MARIANA. BZOV. & al. [b] MARIAN. ub. ſup. tom. i. p. 134.

(D) *Solomon Ben Virga* places this perſecution in the year of the world 5130, anſwering to that of Chriſt 1390. *Spondanus* in 1391. and *Mariana*, *an.* 1392. But as *Henry* III. did not come to the crown till *an.* 1393, *Bzovius* hath rightly placed it in the year 1394 (10).

(E) We may place at their head the famed *Iſaac Sciprut*, or rather *Sprott*, one of the bittereſt enemies and violent writers againſt the Chriſtians. Authors are not indeed agreed about the time in which he flouriſhed, though they all place him in the fourteenth century; ſome *an.* 1374, and others 1390. But *Bartolocci* tells us, he had

(10) *Bzov. Ann. ſub an.* 1394. *Baſnag. lib.* ix. *c.* 18. §. 13.

ſeen

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Jews persecuted in

FRANCE was not more favourable to them. We saw them in the twelfth century banished and recalled by king Philip;

seen a manuscript of his work against the Christian religion; at the beginning and end of which it was said to have been compiled at *Turiasso*, a city of ancient *Castile*, *an.* 1340, which was the very year, wherein, as we lately took notice, *R. Jaacob Ben Asher* was writing his *Arbah Thurim* (11).

His son, *Shem Tob*, or good name, inherited all his father's hatred against the Christians. He flourished, *an.* 1375, and translated St. *Matthew*'s gospel into *Hebrew*, and gave it the title of אבן בוחן, *Eben Bochen*, or the touchstone, probably to render it more contemptible to his nation; the gospels being esteemed by Christians, the touchstone or rule of their faith. He wrote afterwards his disputes against the Christian mysteries; to which he added, the contradictions of his antagonist, master *Alphonso* the apostate. Who he means by him is somewhat doubtful; for *Alphonso de Spina*, who wrote against the *Jews* after he had turned Christian (12), did not live till *an.* 1458; by which time *Shem Tob* must in all likelihood have been dead. *Bartolocci* mentions another *Alphonso* (13), who confuted all the objections against the Christian religion; and which *Kimchi* collected in his book of the *Wars of the Lord*; but it is uncertain whether he lived in this century. However that be, *Shem Tob* published another treatise on Paradise, in which he endeavours to shew, that most of the stories in the the thalmud ought to be understood allegorically (14).

We must here take notice, that there have been several rabbies of his name; particularly *Shem Tob* of *Leon*, who wrote a treatise against the Eucharist, in order to reduce a young *Jew*, who was retired to *Avignon* where the pope then resided. He wrote likewise his *Derek Gadol Emunah*, or highway to truth, in which he pretended to prove the truth of the *Jewish* religion by philosophical demonstrations. There was a third of that name, the son of *Joseph Pallera*, who lived in the sixteenth century; he was not only a celebrated preacher, and printed his sermons on the Pentateuch, and the great festivals of the year, but was the author of a letter, or dispute, whether piety is to be preferred to the study of the law, or this to that; which letter is held in great esteem.

Another learned rabbi of this century, was *Solomon Ben Chamok* (15), who came from *Constantinople* to *Burgas*, that he might *display the depths of the divine law*. For that was the title of a book which he wrote; and in which he explained the most difficult texts of the Penta-

(11) *Bartol. tom.* iii. *p.* 927. *Conf. Wolf. Bibl. Rabbin. N.* 1082. *p.* 695, *& N.* 1023. *p.* 582. (12) *Fortalit. fid.* (13) *Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom.* iii. *p.* 927. *Wolf. ub. sup.* (14) *Bartol. ub. sup. tom.* i. *p.* 366. *& tom.* iv. *p.* 508. *Wolf. Bibl. Rabb. N.* 2157, *& seq. p.* 1127, *& seq.* (15) *Id. ibid. N.* 1976. *p.* 1054. *Bartoloc, ub. sup. tom* iv. *p.* 376.

teuch,

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Philip; and they were no ſooner ſettled in it, than they re- France.
ſumed their old uſury and extortions; by which they not only A. C.
grew powerful and wealthy, but bought lands and eſtates, 1218.
and grew ſo inſolent and tyrannical, whilſt the *French* nation became daily more and more impoveriſhed, that the government was again obliged to make new laws to ſuppreſs the monſtrous abuſes which were daily committed by them (F). But, as thoſe laws did not prove ſufficient to put a ſtop to that evil, St. *Lewis*, in the beginning of his reign, called a council at *Melun*; in which a new law was made, expreſly forbidding all his ſubjects to borrow any money from the *Jews* [c]. But the moſt remarkable of all was that which *John le Roux*, duke of *Brittany*, publiſhed againſt them, in the *In* Britta-
ny,
A. C.
1239.

[c] Vid. DECRET. PHILIP AUGUST. de Judeis, an. 1218. SPICILEG. DACHERII, tom. vi. p. 471. Stabiliment. ap. Melend. Ibid. p. 473. BASNAG. lib. ix. c 20. §. 2.

teuch, and the *Rabbinic* gloſſes, which were either too metaphorical or hyperbolical. *Zerachiah* the younger flouriſhed about the ſame time with *Shem Tob* (16), and is therefore different from one of the ſame name, who lived in the twelfth century, and was a native of *Lunel* in *Languedoc*, and hath been mentioned in his proper place. To theſe we may add, the two phyſicians of the *Caſtilian* king, both men of note, eſpecially *Meir Alguadeſh*, who was alſo chief of all the ſynagogues in *Spain*. He tranſlated *Ariſtotle*'s Ethics, and flouriſhed till *an.* 1405 (17). At this time *Ariſtotle*'s works were in ſuch eſteem among the rabbies, that *Shem Tob*, another learned *Jew*, inſerted them in his treatiſe on the Excellence of the Law; Which is the more remarkable, becauſe, as we have frequently hinted in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, they commonly expreſſed a ſingular contempt for all foreign learning.

(F) That the reader may gueſs at the one by the other, we have here ſubjoined ſome of thoſe ordinances of the council: as, 1ſt. That it ſhould not be lawful for them to lend money to monks or prieſts, unleſs the latter had a permiſſion in writing from the monaſtery or chapter they belonged to; nor to take in pledge any of the utenſils or ornaments of the church; nor the tools of any tradeſman. A trooper had liberty to pledge his horſe; but the artiſt, huſbandman, and labourer, were not allowed to borrow any money from them; if they did, it was to be loſt to the *Jew*. In *Normandy*, the laws were ſtill more ſevere againſt them; where the lender was bound to ſummon the borrower before the magiſtrates, and thoſe debts to be declared null that were not regiſtered before them (18).

(16) *Wolf. ub ſup. N.* 581, *& ſeq. p.* 361. (17) *Id. ibid. N.* 1368. *p.* 744. (18) *Phil. Aug. Decret. de Judeis, an.* 1218. *Spicil. Dacherii, tom.* vi. *p.* 471.

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year 1239. They were then very numerous, and dispersed through that province, and every-where such great usurers, that the people were almost ruined by them; upon which the nobility and merchants joined in a complaint to the duke, who immediately summoned all the states of that duchy; and in that assembly was passed that law, the substance of which the reader will find in the margin, and which was prefaced, among other things, with these words; "At the "request of the bishops, abbots, barons, and vassals of *Brit-* "*tany*, all the *Jews* shall be for ever banished from it (G)."

Council of Lions, A. C. 1240. THE famed council of *Lions*, which excommunicated the emperor, passed a decree, enjoining, under pain of excommunication, all the Christian princes, who had any *Jews* in their dominions, to oblige them to refund to the crusaders all the usury they had got by lending to their subjects, under penalty of being deprived of all the privileges of civil society. The *Jews* were likewise forbidden by it to demand any debts due from the crusaders till their return, or till an authentic certificate was received of their death [d]. The council of *Vienna*, held in the same century, found itself obliged likewise to defend the Christians against the vexatious suits, as well as extortions of the *Jews*. Notwithstanding all which decrees and precautions, the *Jews* still found means to maintain themselves; insomuch that in some provinces of *France*, particularly in *Languedoc*, they

Of Vienna, A. C. 1267.

[d] Conc. Lugd. can. xvii. tom. ii. p. 656.

(G) It was farther enacted by it, 1st. That all the debts due to the *Jews* should be discharged; and that those who had received any pledges from them, should keep them. 2d. That all that should kill a *Jew*, should be deemed guiltless; and a prohibition was made to the judges to take cognizance of any such facts. 3d. That the king of *France* should be desired to do the same in his dominions; that is, to banish them, to strip them of their property, and to permit his subjects to butcher them. 4th. The duke did then engage for himself, and his successors, for the time present and to come, to maintain the same law against them inviolate; in default of which the bishops were not only impowered to excommunicate him, but to confiscate all the lands he had in their respective dioceses, without regard to any privileges then annexed, or hereafter to be annexed, to them. 5th. Lastly, he declared, that no vassals of *Britany* should be admitted to pay homage, till they had sworn before two bishops or barons to conform to this law, and not to suffer any *Jews* to live in their territories (19).

(19) *D'Argentre, Hist. de Bretagn. lib.* iv. *c.* 23. *p.* 207. *Vid. & Basnag. ub. sup. lib.* ix. *c.* 20. §. 19.

had

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had the privilege of being raiſed to the magiſtracy (H), and, in moſt places of the kingdom, to have Chriſtian ſlaves; which was attended with very great inconveniences, and often with enormous abuſes (I).

Their privileges in Languedoc *ſuppreſſed.*

BUT the greateſt perſecution that befel them, during this interval, was that which was raiſed againſt them by the *Pariſians*, in the reign of St. *Lewis*, on account, as was pretended, of their ſacrificing ſome Chriſtian children on *Good Friday*, and uſing their blood on their Paſſover-ſolemnity; and for which many of them were cruelly butchered at that metropolis. It did not ſtop there, but ſpread itſelf into the provinces of *Brie*, *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, and *Maine*, where above 2500, who refuſed to turn Chriſtians, were put to the moſt torturing deaths; and would, in all likelihood, have gone much farther, had not the pope interpoſed, and ſent a letter to deſire that monarch to let them have liberty of conſcience [e]. But though this put a ſtop to their miſery at preſent, it did not prevent their ſuffering greatly under the cruſade of ſhepherds, which was raiſed during his impriſonment in the *Holy Land*, in order to go thither to releaſe him; and which was carried on with the ſame enthuſiaſtic fury as that which we have mentioned in ſpeaking of *Spain*, and which happened in the ſubſequent century. The head of

Perſecuted under St. Lewis, A. C. 1236.

[e] INNOCENT III. epiſt. 155.

(H) The city of *Montpelier* in particular had been frequently in danger of ſeeing a *Jew* at the head of the magiſtracy: upon which account, *William* IV. lord of it, found himſelf obliged to forbid it by his laſt will, as his grand father had done about fifty years before. Nevertheleſs, to diſcharge his conſcience, he bequeathed a conſiderable ſum to one *Bonet* a *Jew*, from whom he had received ſingular favours (20). This ſhews in what credit they were ſtill in theſe ſouthern parts.

(I) The continuators of *Baronius* give an inſtance of a young Chriſtian woman, who had been by her *Jewiſh* maſter inſpired with ſuch contempt of the Chriſtian myſteries, that, having communicated on *Eaſter-day* as uſual, ſhe conveyed the conſecrated wafer to her maſter in a handkerchief; and adds, that, upon clapping it into his purſe, in which were ſeven pieces of ſilver, he found them all turned into wafers. It was well that his avarice did not provoke him to offer ſome great indignity to thoſe miraculous ſymbols; but he was ſtruck with ſuch a reverence for them, that he acknowleged his crime, and deſired to become a Chriſtian (21).

(20) *Teſtament Guillelm. Monſpel. Spicil. tom.* ix. *p.* 145, & 161. (21) *Bzov. Ann. ſub. A. C.* 1213. *N.* 19. *Spondan. ſub eod. an. N.* 25. *p.* 53.

that

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that mobbish army was an *Hungarian* named *James*, first a *Mohammedan*, then a *Cistertian* monk, and now a deserter from that order. He led them first to *Orleans*, where he massacred all the priests and friars he could find; thence marched to *Bourges*, where he caused all the *Jewish* books to be seized, in order to burn them; and so went on committing the vilest disorders, till they were at length overpowered, and a great many of them put to death [f]. We are told of a conference which was held on the year following, between *R. Jechiel*, a learned cabbalistical *Jew*, and *Nicholas Donin*, a famed convert from *Judaism*, before Queen *Blanche*, then regent of the kingdom, and a private encourager of this new crusade. The Christians and *Jews* give us different accounts of the success of it (K); but that St. *Lewis* was no friend to the *Jews*, plainly appears from the edict, which he sent whilst under his confinement, to have them banished out of *France*, which his queen regent punctually executed, and died on the year following [g]. The *Jews* however pretend, that it was the king himself that banished them after his return.

Banished out of France, A. C. 1253.

Recalled, A. C. 1275.

They were recalled in the next reign by *Philip the Bold*, a prince of a sweet disposition, who was moreover induced to it from their known usefulness in promoting trade, making

[f] Vid. gest. S. Ludovic. per Guillelm. de Nangiaco, Hist. Franc. script. tom. v. p. 359. Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. Henr. III. p. 530. Solom. Ben Virg. p. 417. [g] M. Paris, ibid. p. 576. Solom. Ben Virg. ibid. & seq.

(K) The *Jews*, who make him a great favourite of St. *Lewis*, and his prime minister, give him by far the victory in this conference. But, whatever may have been the success of it, it is absurd to suppose him to have been raised to that height of power by a prince that was so great an enemy to his nation. The *French* authors, on the contrary, pretend, that he was so overpowered by his antagonist, that he had not a word more to say; and, through shame of his defeat, left that kingdom, and retired into the *Holy Land*; tho' it may as well be that devotion, such as reigned at this time among Christians as well as *Jews*, for pilgrimages thither, and not his defeat, was the motive that sent him thither.

However, one may guess how numerous the *Jews* were then in *France*, since their banishment did so depopulate the country, that they were obliged to send for artists, workmen, &c. to supply their place; and, at length, to permit such *Jews* as would turn merchants or tradesmen to stay. And we read moreover of a city near *Paris* which was called the *Jewish* city (22).

(22) *De hac vid. Basnag. ub. sup. c. xx. §. 19.*

money

money circulate, and thereby improving his finances which were almoſt exhauſted. This recall admits of no contradiction, nor their becoming powerful and wealthy under his reign; ſince they were afterwards wholly baniſhed in great numbers by *Philip the Fair*, as will be ſeen in its proper place. Towards the latter end of this thirteenth century flouriſhed the famed rabbi *Levi Ben Gerſhom*, and grandſon, by a daughter, of *R. Nachmanides*. He was born in *Provence* [h], which being then ſubject to *Spain*, both *French* and *Spaniards* claim him as their countryman (L). *Gaſcony* had likewiſe a great number of *Jews*, who had gained ſuch an aſcendant there, that complaint was made to *Edward* I. then in poſſeſſion of it, by an *Engliſh* knight, who, having mortgaged ſome lands to one of them, and ſummoned him before a judge, refuſed to appear or releaſe the mortgage. The king gave him ſuch an anſwer as gave the *Jew* to underſtand that he muſt comply; and that, though he had ſuffered them to enjoy all the privileges which his father had granted to them, yet, if he found they had abuſed them, he would himſelf be judge, and ſhew, that he did not deſign to give them the preference over the Chriſtians; upon which the *Jew* ſubmitted to the law. But the king having ſoon after eſcaped being killed by a clap of thunder which paſſed over his bed, and killed two of his officers in the ſame chamber, thereupon baniſhed them out of *Gaſcony*, and all his other dominions in *France* [i]. There had, by this time, crept ſuch abominable abuſes among the Chriſtians, as well as the *Jews*, in all thoſe *Gallic* parts (M), that

Levi Ben Gerſhom, A. C. 1290.

Jews in Gaſcony baniſhed by Edward I. A. C. 1288.

[h] Gantz Tzemach, p. 145. Bartoloc. ub. ſup. Wolf. ub. ſup. N. 348. p. 726. [i] Walsingham, vit. Reg. Angl. p. 53.

(L) He wrote a comment on the Pentateuch, which he finiſhed in the year 1330, wherein he affirmed that the angels there mentioned to have appeared to *Abraham*, *Balaam*, &c. were only viſions and dreams; and would never be prevailed on to admit of the different interpretations of the thalmud concerning them. Eight years after, he publiſhed his comment on *Samuel*, and ſome other works, which the reader may ſee in *Bartolocci* and *Wolf* above quoted; and lived to ſee the ruin of his own nation in *France*.

(M) Among the former, there were many that had turned to the *Jewiſh* religion; and theſe were circumciſed in ſome peculiar manner, by which they might be known from the original *Jews*. Others judaized only in part, obſerving the Sabbath, going to their ſynagogues, lighting of candles, and offering their prayers and oblations there;

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Great abuses among them.

that pope *Nicholas* IV. was obliged to send orders to all his inquisitors there to be more watchful over them both, and to suppress all those scandalous practices; which they did accordingly with great exactness as well as severity. However, it is not unlikely, that our king *Edward*, being then on the point of going to the holy war, had, like the rest of the crusaders, given into the notion, that the persecution of those enemies to Christ was the most effectual means of obtaining a blessing on that enterprise.

Banished by Philip,

His example was, not long after, followed by *Philip the Fair*, who wholly banished them out of his dominions (N); and

there; though, in other cases, they conformed to the established religion. The *Jews*, on the other hand, not only had from these instances been industrious in unhinging and perverting the Christians, but in reclaiming the converts which those had made upon them; insomuch, that there was a new order of *Rejudaizers*, as they were called by them, or Relapsed, as the Christians stiled them, who were readmitted into the synagogue by washings and other ceremonies; and these commonly went with their crowns shaved like the monks (23).

We are told of another kind of abuse under that pontif (24): a woman, who had pledged her best cloaths to a *Jew*, went to desire the use of them for the *Easter* holidays; which he refused, unless she brought him a consecrated wafer: this she did; and, he having pierced it in several places, and, perceiving it bleed abundantly, he flung it into boiling water. Some Christians coming in at that instant, to borrow money of him, perceived it, and went and indicted him for it. He was accordingly condemned; all his effects were confiscated, his house demolished, and the church of *St. Saviour* built upon that spot. The reader is at liberty to believe or reject this story; but we shall find in the sequel, that very many of their persecutions and sufferings in these late centuries were founded upon such abuses and miraculous discoveries.

(N) The *Jews* have greatly exaggerated their sufferings, as well as the number of the banished, which they make to exceed that of the *Israelites* that took possession of *Canaan* under *Joshua* (25); tho' it is scarcely credible that ever they amounted to half that number in all *France*. Some authors attribute this persecution to much such a miraculous discovery of a wafer pierced by a *Jew*, as we mentioned in the last note; and add, that he was condemned to be burnt alive for it, but saved himself from the flames, by holding the thalmud in his

(23) *Vid. Basnag. ub. sup. c.* xx. §. 10. *Wolf. Bartol. ub. sup.* (24) *Id. ibid. Walsingh. ub. sup. Naucler. Chron. gener.* xliv. *tom.* ii. *p.* 875. *Basnag. ub. sup.* §. 15. (25) *Ganz. ub. sup. p.* 148. *Raynius, sub A. C.* 1306, *p.* 83.

hands

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and though ſeveral cauſes are aſſigned for their expulſion, yet it is commonly allowed that he did that good deed from a bad principle, that is, in order to enrich himſelf by their plunder; and ſacrificed the whole nation to his extreme avarice [k]. For he ſeized on all their wealth and effects, and ſuffered them to take only their cloaths, and as much money as would conduct them out of the kingdom: by which means great numbers periſhed in the way, and the reſt happily reached *Germany*. And hence it is, that the generality of the *German Jews* look upon themſelves of *French* extract. Thoſe only ſaved themſelves from baniſhment, who embraced Chriſtianity; among whom was the famed *Nicholas de Lyra*, who wrote more learnedly and ſtrongly againſt the *Jews* than any did either before or ſince (O). But of thoſe that were baptized, few were ſo ſincere, and many of them relapſed, and ſhewed their reſentment by ſpitting upon the images of the ſaints, and other ſuch indignities; and one of them was burnt alive four years after this edict [l]; and yet the *Jews* pretend, that *Philip* died ſuddenly by a fall in hunting, as a puniſhment for this injuſtice to them [m]; which is manifeſtly falſe. A. C. 1300.

[k] Contin. Chron. GUIL. NANGIS, ſub. A. C. 1310. DACHER. Spicil. tom. xi. p. 637. ap. Baſnag. ub. ſup. §. 6. [l] Continuat. Chronol. ub. ſup. [m] SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 149.

hands (26). One of the continuators of *Baronius* owns the miracle of the wafer, but ſays, it happened ſixteen years earlier, and ſo could not be the cauſe of their preſent baniſhment; which *Platina* attributes to their exerciſing of the magic art (27).

(O) There is ſome controverſy about his native country, as well as about his being a convert from *Judaiſm*; though with reſpect to the latter, his great ſkill in the *Hebrew* and rabbinic learning, will not ſuffer us to doubt of his having been of *Jewiſh* extract and education. However, after his converſion, he ſtudied ſome time in the univerſity of *Paris*; after which he entered into the *Franciſcan* order, and wrote his treatiſe againſt the *Jews*; and applied his whole life in commenting and expounding the ſacred books, which he divided, as the *Jews* and Proteſtants do, into canonical and apocriphal. He ſeems indeed to have been too fond of *Ariſtotle*'s philoſophy, then in vogue; but, in the main, he was juſtly eſteemed one of the beſt and moſt judicious commentators of that age, as may appear by the monkiſh verſe in praiſe of him;

Si Lyranus non lyraſſet,
Totus mundus aberraſſet.

He died in his convent of *Verneuil, an.* 1340 (28).

(26) *Spondan. Ann. Eccl. ſub. A. C.* 1306. (27) *In vit. Clement.* (28) *Vid. Wolf. ub. ſup. N.* 1697, *p.* 912. *Baſnag. ub. ſup. c.* 21. §. 5, *&c.*

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Recalled, A. C. 1314. THEY were however recalled eight years after, by his ſucceſſor *Lewis*, ſurnamed *the Hutin* or *Mutin*, in order to repleniſh his empty coffers, recover his finances, and make trade flouriſh. He exacted alſo great ſums of them for their liberty, which they readily granted; and, in conſequence of it, lived very peacably during his reign; but that proving ſhort, they were again expoſed to new troubles [n]. We have already taken notice of what they ſuffered in *Spain* and *France*, under the ſecond invaſion of the enthuſiaſtic ſhepherds. This miſfortune was ſoon followed by another, pretended to have been occaſioned by their ſuffering themſelves to be bribed by the *Saracen* king of *Granada* to poiſon all the rivers, wells, and reſervoirs of water; which they not daring to do, as being too much ſuſpected, committed the execution of it to a number of lepers, whom they hired by dint of money, and the proſpect of the rich ſpoils of the dead (P). The waters were

Perſecuted afreſh, A. C. 1330.

[n] SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 149, & ſeq.

(P) This accuſation appears from many circumſtances, with which it is tranſmitted to us, to be altogether falſe. Such as, that the lepers convened four general councils of the deputies from every lazaretto in Chriſtendom, in which they diſpoſed before-hand of all the dignities, eſtates, &c. of thoſe that were to be poiſoned by thoſe waters; the depoſition made by one of them, before the lord of *Pernay*, in which was contained the receipt for poiſoning them, *viz.* human blood and urine, three ſorts of weeds, and a conſecrated wafer, which were to be tied in a bag, and flung into them; and ſome others equally ridiculous and incredible. Beſides, if the *Saracen* king had hired any *Jews* for ſuch a black deed againſt the Chriſtians, he would, doubtleſs, have ordered it to be done in *Spain*, where they were moſt obnoxious to them, and not in *France* and *Germany*, where he had nothing to fear.

It muſt be owned, that there reigned then ſuch a mortality in both theſe countries, as carried off more people than any peſtilence had ever done. It began, we are told, at *Rheims*, and ſpread itſelf through *France* and *Germany*; and, as the phyſicians were unable to diſcover the cauſe of it, they had everywhere recourſe to the old ſuperſtitious notion of the waters, &c. being poiſoned by magic, and of the *Jews* being the authors of it; which was eaſily credited by the reſt, who were always fond of the notion of wizards and magicians being the authors of ſuch public calamities. However a late author of theirs hath undertaken to confirm the ſtory of the waters being poiſoned, and to juſtify the ſeverities which were uſed againſt the *Jews*; though he hath done it in ſuch a manner as will convince

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were accordingly found poiſoned in *France* and *Germany*; and a leper having depoſed, that a certain rich *Jew* had hired him to it, the information was ſent to court, and the lepers were all either impriſoned, or confined to their lazarettos; and the people in ſeveral provinces, eſpecially in *Languedoc*, without ſtaying for farther orders or proceedings, fell foul on the *Jews*, and maſſacred them in ſuch a barbarous manner as cannot be read without horror; whilſt the pretended criminals marched to the flames, and other cruel executions, with ſuch intrepidity and joy, as if they had gone to a wedding. Thoſe of *Paris* were uſed with more equity, where they only put the guilty to death. Others were baniſhed, and the rich ſort impriſoned till they had diſcovered all their treaſures and effects; by which *Philip*, ſurnamed *the Long*, proved a very conſiderable gainer [o]. Great numbers of them were likewiſe maſſacred in *Dauphine*, and their effects confiſcated, and yielded to the dauphin of *France* [p]. *in* Languedoc, &c. Dauphine.

CHARLES, whilſt dauphin of *Viennois* and duke of *Normandy*, was forced afterwards to recall them, during his father's impriſonment, and the diſorders that reigned in his dominions; and, upon his mounting the throne, confirmed their former privileges, and only obliged them to wear ſome mark of diſtinction [q]. But being afterwards grown ſenſeleſs, or, as ſome affirm, having been bewitched, the *Jews* began again to be accuſed of committing ſome murders, and other outrages [r]; for which ſome of them were hanged, others whipt, and the ſynagogues fined; which obliged many of them to turn Chriſtians. At length came out, two years after, that edict which for ever baniſhed their whole nation from the *French* dominions; and it is from that ſad epocha, *Recalled*, A. C. 1356. *Baniſhed for ever out of* France.

[o] Continuat. Chron. GUIL. DE NAUGIS, ub. ſup. p. 691, & ſeq. [p] Memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire du Dauphine, ap. BASNAGE, ub. ſup. §. 7, & ſeq. [q] Id. ibid. [r] DU HAILAU, Hiſt. de France, lib. xvii. ſub. an. 1395. JUVENAL DES URSINS, Hiſt. de Charl. VI. p. 129. BASNAG. ub. ſup. & ſeq.

vince very few of his readers, unleſs they are as partial as he (29); as thoſe that read him in the place above quoted will eaſily own. He likewiſe there affirms, that the *Jewiſh* nation were for ever baniſhed that kingdom, and never ſettled there more by authority; tho' we ſhall ſee preſently that they were recalled in the next reign.

(29) *P. Daniel Hiſt. de France ſub Philip le Long, an.* 1321. *p.* 414, *& ſeq. ap. Baſnag. ub. ſup.* §. 13.

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Obtain their privileges at Metz.

that they have since reckoned their years (Q). We must, however, except the city of *Metz* in *Lorrain*, in which they have preserved their ancient privileges and synagogue; that city being then an imperial one, where they had therefore the same liberty as in all others of the empire. This was afterwards confirmed to them by *Lewis* XIII. and an edict granted in their favour, by which all criminal causes relating to them, were to be referred to the council; and their ancient privileges confirmed: which edict, given at *St. Germain*, bears date 1617.

(Q) But for all this edict, they still kept a considerable interest in the nation, by means of the money which they lent to private persons; the management of which they committed to one *Nicholas Flamel*, a citizen of *Pontoise*, allowing him half the profit; by which he became so rich, that he was supposed to have found out the philosopher's stone; built several churches in *Paris*, particularly that called *St. Jaques de la Boucherie*, where he and his wife *Prenella* lie buried, and their tomb is still to be seen. He is said to have been a philosopher, painter, and poet.

We read moreover of some eminent *Jews* that were since then tolerated in *France*, tho' they had not the same full liberty as formerly; and among them *Profanus*, a celebrated astronomer, who taught at *Montpelier* about the middle of the 15th century. *Montallo*, another famed *Jew*, was sent for to *Paris* to be physician to *Mary de Medicis*, who obtained of *Henry* IV. full liberty of religion for himself and family; insomuch that being sent for by some great patient at some distance, they furnished him with fresh relays, that he might reach him before the Sabbath began (30).

They have been since, in great numbers in *Gascony*, whence *Isaac Castro de Tartas* being gone into *Brasil*, and taken by the *Portuguese*, was condemned to the flames. A *Jewish* writer adds, that it was upon his account, that the law for burning them alive was abrogated in *Portugal*; for that all the time he continued alive in the flames, he was heard to say, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord!* which so surprised those that heard him, that they repeated the same words after him, and became *Jews*, without knowing how (31).

We could instance in many others; but it is sufficiently known, that they still live there, though in disguise, to avoid the severity of the laws against them; insomuch, that they have got admittance into some of the highest places in church and state, as we shall have farther occasion to shew towards the end of this chapter.

(30) *De hoc vid. Barrios. Relacion de los poetas, p.* 55. *Bassompierre. Memoirs of Montalto, an.* 1615. *Bajnag. ub. sup. lib.* ix. *c.* 21. §. 20, *& seq.* (31) *Cardoso, Las Excellencias, p.* 324.

It

IT is now time to paſs into *Italy*, and other parts of *Europe*, during theſe two centuries. We begin with *Italy*, where we find the pope ſtill very favourable and kind to them, both in his own territories, and where-ever his authority reached (R). We have ſeen theſe pontifs receive with open arms thoſe whom *Ferdinand* X. and other zealous princes, had baniſhed out of their dominions; though at the ſame time they ſeemed to commend their zeal againſt them. *Gregory* IX. now on the papal throne, followed the ſteps of his predeceſſors; and, tho' he was a zealous promoter of the holy war, yet obſerving, that the cruſaders began their pious work in divers places with the maſſacre of the *Jews*, took all the proper methods of preventing ſuch butcheries. They were grown very numerous alſo in the kingdom of *Naples*, particularly in that capital, and the city of *Trani*; where they had very learned rabbies and good poets, who were protected and careſſed by the king, on account of ſome ſignal ſervices they had done him. He likewiſe recommended them at his death to his ſtates; but theſe thought it a greater kindneſs to try to convert them, than to give them the full enjoyment of their religion; ſo that, to avoid the impending perſecution, they promiſed to turn Chriſtians, with a permiſſion included to marry the daughters of the richeſt and nobleſt families in the kingdom. Every body was ſurpriſed at ſuch a compromiſe (except the clergy, who were willing to convert them at any price); and much more ſtill to ſee ſuch marriages permitted in favour of converſions ſo little to be depended upon: for thoſe who could not thus marry to ad-

Jews *in* Italy, *during the* 13*th and* 14*th centuries, favoured by the pope.*

By the king of Naples.

Maſſacred at Trani.

(R) Thus we find pope *Nicholas* interpoſing with the emperor *Rodolphus* in favour of *R. Meir*, a *German*, whom he had cauſed to be impriſoned, in hopes of extorting a large ſum from him; and told that prince, that if *Meir* had been guilty of no other crime, than that of ſtiffly adhering to his religion, he deſerved no puniſhment for it; and therefore expected, that he ſhould ſet him at liberty. We have ſeen a little higher, how *Gregory* IX. put a ſtop to the perſecution raiſed againſt them in *France* and *Spain*. And though there was then a miſunderſtanding between him and the emperor *Frederic*, yet he made no heſitation to write a letter to him, in which he allowed the *Jews* indeed to be turned over to the ſecular power for crimes of ſtate; but added, that ſuch puniſhments ought to be confined within due bounds, and not extend to what was barely matter of religion and conſcience. And we may add, that few popes were ever againſt giving them full liberty of conſcience; and many of them have even raiſed them to dignities of authority and truſt in the dominions under them.

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vantage, made no scruple to relapse. It was therefore upon this last account, that a monk of *Trani* took it into his head to punish them; and having buried a cross in a dunghill, charged a *Jew* of that city with the fact. This was enough to raise the fury of the zealots, who immediately butchered all the *Jews* they could lay hands on. The riot passed from thence to *Naples*, where they would likewise have been murdered, had not the chief of the nobility interposed, and concealed the most wealthy, and consequently the most obnoxious, in their houses, and thereby saved them from the fury of the populace. Pope *Alexander* IV. who then seiged at *Rome*, was so far from being suspected to encourage that persecution, that he endeavoured to suppress it; but his interposition proved fruitless, and he died soon after. However, as the nobility had done it so effectually, there was the less need of his intervention.

At Naples.

Peaceable at Ancona. A. C. 1280.

THE marquisate of *Ancona*, though not then in the pope's possession, had likewise been very favourable to them, and allowed them full liberty of conscience (S). And here it was that the famed *R. Menahem*, a native of *Ricina Nova*, did, by some kind of miracle, from a most stupid dunce, become one of the greatest cabbalists of that age (T). We have lately seen, how *Clement* V. who had moved the papal seat to *Avignon*, strove to stop the persecution of the shepherds against them, as far as his anathemas could do it; he was no less industrious to promote their instruction; and ordered that every university should have professors to teach the *Hebrew* tongue, and to bring up men that should be able to dispute with and convince them by their own books [s].

A. C. 1320.

[s] SOLOMON BEN VIRG. p. 123.

(S) The popes did not become masters of this territory, till *an.* 1532; when *Clement* VII. sent his troops to seize on it, in order to protect it against the *Turks*.

(T) The *Jews* tell us, that he fell asleep one day in the synagogue, where he saw, in a dream or vision, a man who offered him a vessel full of water, of which he had scarcely drank a draught, before he found himself as learned as he had been before ignorant. He is commonly known by the name of *Recanati*, from the place of his birth; and wrote several learned treatises in the cabbalistical way (32). We do not vouch for his miraculous change, but mention it chiefly to shew, that the *Jews* flourished in this age in most parts of *Italy*.

(32) *Shalsheleth, p.* 61. *Bartoloc, ub. sup. Wolf, N.* 1457. *p.* 775. *Basnage, & alib.*

His

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His ſucceſſor indeed, *John* XXII. took a contrary method, being induced thereto by a zealous ſiſter, and much more ſo by ſome of his biſhops, whom ſhe had brought with her, and who had accuſed the *Jews* of having ſhewn ſome indignity to the croſs, as it was carried in proceſſion before them.

THIS produced an edict, by which they were to be baniſhed from all the territories of the church; which cauſed ſo much the greater conſternation among them, as they were grown very numerous and rich under the favour of his predeceſſors. They applied themſelves to *Robert*, king of *Jeruſalem*, a good friend of theirs, and a favourite of that pontif, who ſoon after prevailed upon him to revoke his edict; which he promiſed to do, provided his ſiſter could be ſatisfied about it; and accordingly abrogated it as ſoon as ſhe had received 100,000 florins from them (U). It is plain, therefore, that this edict was iſſued out againſt his inclination, ſince he was ſo eaſily prevailed upon to recall it [t]. We have ſeen already how *Clement* VI. endeavoured to ſuppreſs the perſecution which was raiſed againſt them in *Spain*, *France*, and *Germany*, on the abſurd pretence of their poiſoning the rivers there; and made no difficulty to give as many as could come a ſafe ſanctuary in his dominions. Some hiſtorians have indeed accuſed him of doing it out of covetouſneſs; but he eaſily retorted the charge againſt them, by ſhewing, that theſe perſecutions were only raiſed againſt them with a view of plundering them of all their riches. His very inquiſitors, who exerciſed ſuch ſeverities againſt the *Albigenſes*, a kind of ancient Proteſtants, ſuffered the *Jews* to live in peace, and ſeldom gave them any diſturbance, but when they found them guilty of ſome ſuch enormous abuſes as thoſe we have lately taken notice of.

An edict againſt them; revoked.

Protected by Clement VI.

THEY were no leſs numerous and powerful at *Bologna*, where, beſides their old ſynagogue, which was too ſmall to contain them, they built a new one much larger and finer, and erected a kind of academy in that city. This laſt owes its erection to one of the family of the *Hannaharim* (children)

Jews at Bologna, A. C. 1394.

[t] BASNAG. ub. ſup. lib. ix c. 19. §. 8.

(U) Our authors do not name the pope who iſſued and revoked this edict, but mention his ſiſter *Sanguiſa*, who is ſtill more unknown. But ſince they affirm, that this tranſaction happened under *Robert* king of *Jeruſalem*, and there was then a king of that name of *Jeruſalem*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, whoſe chancellor *John* XXII. had been, and lived ever after in perfect friendſhip with him; he is moſt likely to be the pontif meant by them, eſpecially as his ſucceſſor *Benedict* XII. had no ſiſter.

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who was then going from *Rome* thither. This family, which deduces its original from thoſe *Jews* whom *Titus* tranſplanted from *Jeruſalem* to *Rome*, had continued there till the latter end of the fourteenth century, and was both numerous and conſiderable; but about this time went and ſettled at *Bologna*, where they grew ſo wealthy that they built ſtately houſes, and the ſynagogue above-mentioned, which is the nobleſt in all *Italy*. They became ſtill more famous for the many learned rabbies which came to teach in it; which is a freſh proof of what hath been ſaid of the popes protecting and favouring them (W). But it is time to paſs on to other countries of *Europe*.

We

(W) This city did then belong to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and pope *Boniface* IX though ſo much dreaded by his ſubjects, did nevertheleſs permit them to erect the academy above mentioned, and to build that grand ſynagogue, which, for its largeneſs and beauty, is juſtly admired by all travellers (33).

The *Jews* here did likewiſe preſent *Emeric*, the pope's inquiſitor (who flouriſhed about the middle of the fourteenth century, and compiled the directory of the inquiſition), with a bible ſaid to have been written by *Ezra*; which is ſtill carefully preſerved in the library of the Dominicans there. It hath the following inſcription in *Hebrew*, at the end of the Pentateuch;

This is the book of the law of Moſes, *which* Ezra *had wrote, and which he read on a wooden deſk to a numerous aſſembly both of men and women.*

But there is added another *Latin* one, which more fully explains it; and in which it is affirmed, that that roll of the law was written by *Eſdras*'s own hand at his return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity: 2. That it is aſſuredly the original from the teſtimony of the ancient *Jews*, who received in their ſynagogues, where it was kept: 3. That the *Jews* believed it ſuch from one generation to another; and as ſuch preſented it to *Emeric*: 4. That the learned rabbies, who had examined it before witneſſes, had acknowleged it as ſuch, from ſome peculiar characters and ſtrokes which are not to be met with in the modern manuſcripts: 5. It is there affirmed to have been the manuſcript which was ſhewn to the people on feſtival days; whence it is concluded, that it ought to be held in great veneration, and as a book dictated by the Holy Ghoſt, after all the other ſacred ones had been burnt (34).

They likewiſe ſhew you there a *Megillath*, or roll of the book of *Eſther*, ſtill more ancient than that of *Ezra*; and a bible written for the uſe of *R. Menachem*;

(33) *Baſnag. ub. ſup. c.* xix. §. *ult.* p. 400.

(34) *Montfauc. Diar. Ital. c.* xxviii.

the

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WE do not read any thing worth mentioning concerning the *Jews* in *England*, till the time of king *John*; except that they were invited into this kingdom by *William the Conqueror*, and came from *Rouen* hither; and where, even ſo early as the reign of king *Stephen*, *an.* 1145, they were accuſed of crucifying a young Chriſtian, in contempt of Chriſt and his religion, and were accordingly puniſhed for it. They were again proſecuted for the ſame atrocious fact at *Glouceſter*, in the reign of *Henry* II. *an.* 1160. And for a third committed at *St. Edmondſbury*, *an.* 1181. More of ſuch perſecutions there may have happened in other places, which *Matthew Paris* hath not mentioned; and theſe he hath accompanied with ſome circumſtances which we ſhall paſs by at preſent, becauſe we ſhall have perhaps more frequent inſtances of them in the following centuries, than the generality of our readers will be inclined to believe; though we ſhall be obliged to mention the moſt remarkable of them, as they were always, if not the true cauſe, yet at leaſt the pretence and forerunners, of the moſt ſevere puniſhments inflicted on that unhappy nation.

Jews in England.

Invited by William the Conqueror.

Accuſed of crucifying Chriſtian children.

WE paſs on therefore to king *John*, whoſe reign was ſo troubled with inteſtine feuds, that he was forced to maintain himſelf by the hardeſt exactions; the heavieſt of which fell of courſe on the *Jews* in his dominions, whom he cauſed to be impriſoned, and put to moſt violent tortures, when they refuſed to pay ſuch taxes as he laid on them (X); and, at length, we are told [u], confiſcated all their effects, and baniſhed them by a public edict. They did not fare much better under the long reign of *Henry* III. during which many of them choſe to turn Chriſtians, to avoid the ſeverity of his government; but, being afterwards detected, were juſtly puniſhed for their diſſimulation. This did not diſcourage that prince from endeavouring their converſion; to promote which the more effectually, he cauſed a ſeminary to be founded

Baniſhed by king John, A. C. 1210.

under Henry III. 1233.

[u] Trivet. MATH. PARIS, Chronic. an. 1210, p. 159.

the inſcription of which was, that it was finiſhed in the month of *Adar*, *an.* 953 (anſwering to *A. C.* 1187), *to the end, that* Menachem, *and his poſterity, and the poſterity of his poſterity, might be inſtructed out of that book.*

(X) Our author (35) mentions one of them at *Briſtol*, of whom the king demanded ten thouſand marks; and who ſuffered his fleſh to be torn off his bones, and ſeven of his teeth to be drawn out, one each day, till he complied; but paid the ſum, rather than looſe the eighth.

(35) *M. Paris, ſub. an.* 1210, *p.* 159.

for

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for the maintenance of *Jewish* converts, and where they might live without labour or usury; which soon induced great numbers of them to come into it: and that house, we are told, subsisted a considerable time [w].

Jews *at* Norwich *punished*, A. C. 1235; *at* London, 1243.

THE *Jews* of *Norwich* were some time after accused of having stolen a Christian child, and of having kept him one year, in order to circumcise and crucify him on the ensuing Passover; but, the fact being timely detected, they underwent a due punishment (Y). Some years after, those of *London* were indicted for the same crime, but with some difference in the manner; the child having been sold to them by his parents, and crucified, and the fact discovered by some miraculous circumstances not worth relating; so that he was canonized for a martyr, and his relicks wrought strange wonders. However, the murderers could not be found out; only some *Jews* having left *London* about that time, were shrewdly suspected [x]. Their whole nation was still more alarmed on the following year, when the shepherds made such havock of them in *Spain*, *France*, and *Germany*; and they had reason to fear the storm would fall next upon them here: to prevent which, they purchased an edict from the king, forbidding any one to hurt them in any of his dominions [y]. But, as that prince's minister was still craving for more money,

[w] MATH. PARIS, Chronic. an. 1210, p. 159. [x] Id. sub an. 1244, p. 436. [y] Id. ibid. Vid. BASNAG. ub. sup. c. 22. §. 9.

(Y) They are charged by the same author (36), with having repeated the same crime three times in that city, with very little variation of circumstances. On the first, they were brought to the king's court at *Westminster*, and there confessed the fact; for which they were only confined, and their lives left at the king's disposal. The same accusation was laid against them on the following year; and four of the wealthiest of them were hanged, and their effects confiscated. Lastly, they were accused of the same fact before the bishop, *an.* 1239, at which time it was that the child's father found him in the *Jews* house, after he had been lost a whole year. The accused in vain appealed to the king; the bishop maintained, that the crime, being of a religious nature, was cognisable only by the spiritual court; upon which four of them were dragged at the tail of so many horses to a gibbet, where they were put to death. So that they must have been very incorrigible to dare commit the same crime so many times within the space of five years, and after having been so severely punished for it.

(36) *M. Paris, an.* 1235, *p.* 231, 280. & *an.* 1236, *p.* 359.

and

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and they refuſed to pay it, they were accuſed of ſome murder committed in *London*, where, after various vexations and ſufferings, they were obliged to pay one third of all their wealth [z] (Z).

THE holy war, to which *Henry* was preſſingly invited by the pope, proved another pretence for ſqueezing money out of his ſubjects, and eſpecially from the *Jews*, whom he made no ſcruple to ſtrip of all they had left. The next was the pretended *Spaniſh* war, to which the nobility and gentry refuſed to contribute till it was actually declared. The *Jews* were again called upon for new ſupplies, but being quite exhauſted, begged leave they might leave the kingdom for ſome more propitious country (A); but that was refuſed to them, and they were forced to pay the ſum, only with ſome alleviation. On the next year he demanded 8000 marks of them; and upon their pleading inſolvency, ſold them to his brother *Richard*, who paid him that ſum for them, and would in all likelihood have made them refund it double, had he not been convinced of their real poverty and miſery. *New taxes*, A. C. 1252. 1254. 1255.

THOSE of *Lincoln* were about the ſame time accuſed of having crucified a young Chriſtian, with ſeveral circumſtances of inhumanity, which the reader may ſee in the margin (B). One *Copin*, at whoſe houſe the fact was committed, not *A child crucified at* Lincoln, A. C. 1255.

[z] Id. ſub. A. C. 1243, & 1250.

(Z) Our author tells us of one ſingle *Jew*, named *Aaron*, who paid at different times, to extricate himſelf out of priſon, and other vexations, about 200 marks of gold, and 30,000 of ſilver. The reſt fared no better, being proſecuted ſometimes for coining falſe money, at others, for counterfeiting the king's ſeal, and ſuch-like; from which they found no other way to eſcape than by bleeding freely to that monarch, or bribing, as they did in ſeveral inſtances, their judges to be favourable to them (37).

(A) *Elias*, one of their brethren, undertook to plead for them before the council; and in a pathetic ſpeech, which was accompanied with a flood of tears, repreſented the impoſſibility of their paying ſuch an exorbitant ſum as was demanded of them; and begged they might be rather baniſhed the kingdom, than be thus inhumanly oppreſſed; profeſſing, that if they were to be flayed alive, they were not able to raiſe the money. He ſwooned away, or pretended to do ſo, at the concluſion; but the council, who probably gave no credit to him, obliged them to produce the greateſt part of the ſum demanded (38).

(B) Theſe are, that they fed him ſome time before with milk, to make him more ſuſceptible

(37) *M. Paris, ibid. A. C.* 1250, *& ſeq.* (38) *Id. ſub. an.* 1254. *p.* 596.

of

not only confeſſed it before the lord *Lexington*, upon promiſe of having his life ſpared, but owned it to be an uſual cuſtom among them to do ſo every year, if they could procure any ſuch children. The king, upon his coming from the north of *England*, being informed of all, highly blamed that nobleman for promiſing to ſpare ſuch a villain's life, and revoked his pardon; upon which *Copin* was dragged at a horſe's tail, to the place of execution, where he was hanged in chains, or, as our author words it, *his body and ſoul were made a preſent to the dæmons of the air* [a]. Their condition was ſtill more deſperate all the time of the league and civil wars which happened during that prince's reign; wherein, let which ſide ſoever get the better, they were ſure to be cruſhedby it; at leaſt we find that the leaguers ſeized on their ſynagogue at *Lincoln*, and from thence paſſed into the *Iſle of Ely*, and made dreadful havock among them. And it is likewiſe pretended that *Henry* III. did at length baniſh them by a perpetual edict (C).

Their ſynagogue ſeized, A. C. 1267.

IT

[a] TRIVET Chron. A. C. 1267. Specil. tom. viii. BASNAG. ub. ſup. §. 18.

of pain: that they convened an aſſembly of the moſt conſiderable *Jews* in *England*, to aſſiſt at his execution: that they appointed one of them to act the part of *Pontius Pilate*, and pronounce ſentence of death againſt him; that they cauſed him to be whipt till the blood guſhed out, to be crowned with thorns, buffetted, ſpit upon; that every one of them plunged his knife into him; that they made him drink vinegar, and crucified him by the name of *Jeſus*: that they pierced his heart with a ſpear, and after he was dead, took out his entrails, to uſe in their magic operations, and flung the reſt of his body into a well belonging to that houſe, where the ſorrowful mother, after a long ſearch, found it (39).

(C) This baniſhment is variouſly related by hiſtorians, as well as the motives of it. The *Jews* affirmed it to have happened *A. M.* 5020 (of *Chriſt* 1260); which our learned *Selden* (40) juſtly looked upon as a palpable miſtake, and that the former date ought to be 5050; which would be more probable, if that error had not been in more authors than one; but as it is the ſame in moſt of them (41), it is more likely that they have either deſignedly or inadvertently antedated the diſaſter by 30 years.

Accordingly, an inſcription was found ingraven, in *Hebrew* letters, on a ſtone in *Wincheſter* goal, where probably the *Jews* of that county had been confined to this purpoſe (42): "The commonalty of the *Jews* were ar-

(39) *M. Paris, ſub. A. C.* 1255. *p. ibid.* (40) *De Jure Gent, lib.* ii. *c.* 6. *p.* 190. (41) *Sbalſheleth Hakkabalah, fol.* 112. *Solem. Ben Virg. p.* 139. *Gantz Tzemach, p.* 142. (43) *Selden, ub. ſup.*

"reſted

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IT is however, agreed by moſt Chriſtian authors, that this edict was publiſhed againſt them about the latter end of the 13th *Their final expulſion by king*

"reſted and impriſoned *A. M.* "5047." So that they could not have been baniſhed either in the year of the world 5020, or 1260. Beſides, the leaguers being defeated by king *Henry*, ſeized on the ſynagogue of *Lincoln* above-named, *A. C.* 1267. From which it is evident that they were ſtill in the kingdom, and had their public meetings about the latter end of that monarch's reign. We may add, that none of our *Engliſh* annaliſts have made any mention of the perpetual edict, but, on the contrary, obſerve that his ſon *Edward* I. cauſed the *Jews* to be impriſoned *A. C.* 1287, and to be all baniſhed three years after. The annals of the Dominicans of *Colmar* affirm, that this happened *an.* 1291 (43); which is the more probable, becauſe the council that was held in *London*, and cauſed their baniſhment, bears date 1291.

The occaſion of the baniſhment is likewiſe variouſly related. One *Jewiſh* writer pretends, that they had been falſely accuſed to king *Henry* of counterfeiting his coin, and by thoſe very rogues who had done it; and that the proſecution was carried on with ſuch vehemence againſt them, that the king, who ſaw through it, ordered them to be baniſhed, to ſave them from a more cruel puniſhment (44). Another tells us, that a prieſt being fallen in love with a beautiful *Jeweſs*, and not being able to obtain her by any other means, ſubmitted himſelf to be circumciſed, and abjured Chriſtianity; which being ſoon after known, the zealots inſiſted that all the *Jews* in *London* ſhould be burnt alive; but that the king only cauſed thoſe to be burnt who had a hand in that fact, and baniſhed the reſt (45). But in neither caſe is it credible that he would, for the crime of a few private perſons, baniſh a whole nation which had ſo often filled his coffers.

A third pretends that his ſon *Edward*, ſeeing the country almoſt ruined by famine and peſtilence, was eaſily perſuaded that the incredulity and wickedneſs of the *Jews* had drawn down thoſe two dreadful puniſhments on the whole nation; upon which they were all called upon to turn Chriſtians. But that not having removed the famine, they began to aſcribe the continuation of it to the violence they had offered to their conſciences. Upon which the king ordered two pavilions to be reared near the ſea-ſide, the one with a red croſs over it, into which the ſincere proſelytes, and the other with the law of *Moſes* in it, into which the diſſatisfied converts, were bid to repair. But many of the latter, ſuſpecting ſome private deſign againſt them, forbore to go to the *Moſaic* booth; and well it was for them; for thoſe that did

(43) *Ap. Vurſt. Hiſt. Germ. tom.* ii. *p.* 2c, *Vid. Baſnag. ub. ſup. l.* ix. *c.* 22. §. 18. (44) *Solom. Ben Virg. p.* 140. *Shalſheleth, fol.* 113. (45) *Id. ibid.*

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Edward, A. C. 1291. 13th century †, which is farther proved by public records, found in some chanceries. *Trivet* affirms, moreover, that king *Edward*, who baniſhed them out of his kingdom, granted them money to tranſport them into *France*, and afterwards confiſcated their effects [b]. *Walſingham* ſays much the ſame thing [c]; and *Polyaore Virgil* tells us, that this edict was enacted by a council that ſat at *London*, *A. C.* 1291, and being deſirous to *ſever the goats from the lambs*, ordered the *Jews* to leave *England* in a few days, but with a permiſſion to take their effects with them [d]. He adds, *that they obeyed, and that the nation, which was then very numerous in* England, *took their final leave of it, and ſtill removed from place to place till they all periſhed*; *whoſe loſs*, ſays he, *needs not be much regretted, provided they leave behind thoſe ſacred books, without which it would be difficult for us to preſerve our religion for the future* (D). It is plain our author had no great belief in thoſe prophecies which aſſure us that they will be actually recalled before the end of the world. However that be, it is plain they never more appeared in a body in this kingdom, from that time, till they were recalled to it, in the time of *Oliver Cromwell*, as will be ſeen in its proper place. It is therefore time to paſs on to thoſe of *Germany*, *Hungary*, and other northern regions.

Jews *in* Germany, &c. A. C. 1222. WHETHER the *Jews* were really more wicked in *Germany* than in other countries, or the people more ſuperſtitiouſly zealous againſt them, there is hardly a kingdom where they have been accuſed of more enormous crimes, and of greater number and variety of them, during theſe two centuries. We have already taken notice of their having encouraged the invaſion of the *Perſians* and *Tartars*, under a falſe Meſſiah, and of the joy with which they, eſpecially thoſe of *Cologn*, were ready to receive them, had not their project proved abortive. Notwithſtanding which diſappointment, and the bad effects it brought upon them, they ſeem to have been no leſs fluſhed at

A. C. 1241.

† Vid. SELDEN, ub. ſup. lib. ii. c. 6. [b] Chronic. ſub. an. 1290. [c] Hypodigm. Neuſtr. per T. WALSINGH. [d] Hiſt. Angl. lib. xvii. p. 327.

were immediately maſſacred, and their bodies flung into the ſea. Thus far our *Spaniſh Jew* (46).

(D) The reader may remember that *Edward* had given the ſame decree againſt them in all his *French* dominions, on account of their corrupting the faith and practice of the Chriſtians there *.

(46) *Cordoſo Las Excellencias, p.* 382. * *See before, p.* 319.

a freſh

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a freſh irruption of *Tartars*, who had already penetrated into *Hungary*, inſomuch that the emperor *Frederic* himſelf was beyond meaſure alarmed at it. But what ſeems to juſtify them from the imputation, was that even that monarch was ſuſpected, as well as they, of having invited thoſe barbarians; which ſcandalous ſurmiſe was, it ſeems, invented by the pope and his clergy, whom he had diſobliged, and was ſoon after wiped off by the effectual repulſe which he gave them. They were perhaps more juſtly accuſed, in the ſame year, of having obſtructed the converſion of a young man of their nation; for in ſuch caſes the *Jews* loſt all patience, and the ſeeing of their children or relations taken from them, and abjure their religion, ſeldom failed of driving them into ſome extravagant violence. On the other hand, the zealots who were extremely fond and proud of ſuch converſions, could not brook the leaſt oppoſition, without double retaliation. This is what happened at *Francfort*, upon ſuch an occaſion, and where their fury on both ſides ran to ſuch a height, that they took up arms; ſeveral Chriſtians loſt their lives, and about 180 *Jews* periſhed in the flames they had kindled. Half of the city was conſumed by them, and the *Jews* all in danger of being ſacrificed to the reſentment of the populace; to avoid which, ſome of the moſt politic, to the number of 24, turned Chriſtians, and among them the chief of their ſynagogue, whom our author [c] abſurdly calls their biſhop: for the *Jews* had no dignity which anſwered to that.

Accuſations againſt them.

A ſad fire and ſlaughter at Francfort, A. C. 1241.

THEY were likewiſe often accuſed of murdering and crucifying the children of the Chriſtians: the firſt time was at *Haguenau*, in *Lower Alſatia*, where three of them were found dead in a *Jewiſh* houſe. Complaint of it was made to the emperor, who not being inclined to believe thoſe idle ſtories, diſmiſſed the plaintiffs with an illuſory anſwer (E), which

[c] Addition. ad LAMBERT SCHAFNABURGH, German. PISTOR. tom. ii. p. 257. BASNAG. ub. ſup. §. 4.

(E) He told them, it ſeems, that thoſe children muſt be buried, ſince they were dead; for which our author, a zealous monk, makes no ſcruple to accuſe that monarch of having been bribed by the *Jews*, and to damn him into hell for it (47). But another, of more candour and temper, tells us, that *Frederic* convened an aſſembly of learned divines, and enquired whether it were indeed true, that the *Jews* thought themſelves obliged to ſhed ſome Chriſtian blood on *Good-friday*?

(47) *Richen. Chronic. Senon. lib.* iv. *c.* 32, & 33. *Specil. tom.* iii. *p.* 401.

But

which ſtill more exaſperated the people; but as the fact could not be proved, they obtained, by means of a conſiderable ſum, a favourable judgment from him. They did not meet with ſo kind a judge at *Munich* in *Bavaria*, where an old woman having confeſſed that ſhe had ſold a child to the *Jews*, whoſe blood they had drawn for ſome ſacrifice or ſorcery, the people, without ſtaying for a farther trial, maſſacred all that came in their way. The town officers having in vain endeavoured to ſuppreſs the tumult, adviſed the reſt of the *Jews* to retire into their ſynagogue, which was a ſtone building; which they did, but were all burnt and deſtroyed in it, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the duke himſelf, and all his officers, to appeaſe and diſperſe them [f]. Much ſuch another accuſation was brought againſt the *Jews* of *Wurtzburgh*, and *Bern*, where they were maſſacred in the ſame manner, and the two children killed by them canoniſed for martyrs, and miraculous ſaints [g].

Maſſacred in Bavaria, A. C. 1286.

At Bern, &c.

Learned rabbies in Germany.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe perſecutions, and bitter zeal againſt them, *Germany* produced ſeveral great and learned rabbies, during theſe two centuries. The town of *Germerſheim* gave birth to two of them, who took their ſurname from it, as it began about this time to be the cuſtom to do; *viz. Baruc* and *Eliezer de Germerſheim* (F). That of *Vienna* produced the famed *R. Iſaac*, author of *The light ſown*, and a great tranſcriber of *Jewiſh* books, which he diſperſed among the ſynagogues of *Germany*, more exact and correct than the common ones. He had ſeveral learned diſciples particularly *R. Meir de Rottemburgh*, who exceeded him in learning, and became the judge and chief doctor of the *German Jews* (G). They likewiſe

[f] AFENTIN, Ann. Bojor. lib. vii. p. 441. Ann. RENON ſub. an. 1288. Hiſt. German. tom. vi. p. 396. [g] Id. ibid. vid. & Faſcicul. Tempor. Ætas vi. Hiſt. Germ. Piſtor. tom. iii. fol. 83.

But as they could produce nothing certain about it, he ſuffered the proſecution to go no farther (48).

(F) They were both great cabbaliſts; and the latter is affirmed (49) to have written a famed treatiſe in that ſtrain, ſtiled the *Mantle of the Lord*, *an.* 1240. But he ſhould rather be of older date, ſince he is ſaid to have taught the *Cabbalah* to *Moſes Nachmanides*; who, as hath been formerly mentioned, died *an.* 1260, aged 66 years.

(G) This rabbi was at length taxed by the emperor in a large ſum, and impriſoned for non-payment; whereupon one of his diſciples became bound for

(48) *Auct. incert. Fragm. Hiſtor. ante Albert Argentinenſ. Chron. ap. Urſt. tom.* ii. *p.* 91. (49) *Gantz Tzemach, ſub. an.*

him,

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likewiſe extol their *R. Amnon* for his learning, riches, and handſomeneſs, as well as for his miraculous recovery of all his fingers and toes, which the biſhop of *Mentz* had cauſed to be cut off, for declining a conference with him, which he had promiſed three days before; but this laſt may well paſs for a *Jewiſh* legend.

THEY flouriſhed no leſs in *Lithuania*, during the 13th century; king *Boriſlas*, ſurnamed *the Chaſte*, having granted them full liberty of conſcience, and ſeveral other conſiderable privileges, which they have preſerved ever ſince. This ſeems, indeed, to have been in a great meaſure their caſe thro' all thoſe northern tracts, where the high ones favoured and protected them for their ſervices, and the large ſums they brought to them; whilſt thoſe of the inferior rank, eſpecially the zealots among the clergy, beholding their proſperity with an envious eye, and being, as is moſt likely, often provoked at their inſolence, and the contempt they ſhewed for their ſuperſtitions, were ever and anon raiſing ſome accuſation to diſturb their peace, and render them odious to the world. This doth but too plainly appear to have been the caſe, by what paſſed in the council of *Vienna*, which was held about this time. It was there obſerved that the *Jews* were grown ſo numerous and powerful, that the clergy's income was conſiderably leſſened; for which reaſon it was decreed, that they ſhould reimburſe them in proportion to what they might have been intitled to, had their families been Chriſtian (H). They

Council of Vienna held, A.C. 1267.

him, but he died before he could get his liberty. On which account we muſt obſerve a groſs miſtake, which ſome authors have made (50), who pretend that he died in a city called *Beith-Sohar*; whereas thoſe two words mean only a priſon-houſe; and ſuch was that in which he died of grief.

Another thing we obſerve, is that *Buxtorf* has miſtaken him for another *Meir Cohen*, who wrote againſt *Maimonides*, of whom we have ſpoken elſewhere. And 3dly, thoſe are likewiſe miſtaken, who affirm that *Rodolphus* was the emperor that impriſoned him, *an.* 1305; for that prince died *an.* 1292; ſo that it muſt have been either his ſucceſſor *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, or perhaps rather *Robert* archduke of *Auſtria*, and the ſon of *Rodolphus*. There is likewiſe a book attributed to him called *Hatti Sbatz*, which he had indeed begun, but was afterwards finiſhed by his diſciples, and is a collection of his deciſions.

(H) It was farther objected that they prevented the converſion of their ſons, daughters, wives, *&c.* and brought over many Chriſtians to their religion, inſomuch, that their ſyna-

(50) *Bartoloc. Bibl. Rabbin, tom.* iv. *p.* 25.

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They farther decreed that they ſhould be obliged to pull down the new and ſtately ſynagogues which they had built, and be contented with their old ones [h].

ALL theſe decrees, however, could not but prove abortive, whilſt the princes and great ones publicly protected thoſe that refuſed to obey them, and obliged their officers to ſhelter thoſe who ſhould implore their aſſiſtance. So that the evil grew up to ſuch a height, that the clergy was obliged to take more violent meaſures, and to excommunicate all thoſe that ſhould protect the *Jews*, and refuſe to execute thoſe decrees, which had been enacted againſt them. They were forced ſoon after to make freſh ones at *Augſburg*, on account of the improper oaths which were till then adminiſtered to them, and which they made no ſcruple to break (I); and to oblige them to ſwear by the name of God, and the law of *Moſes*, holding their hand on the Pentateuch [i]. The misfortune is, that even this laſt kind of oaths is held by them to be annulled on the grand expiation day; ſo that at the moſt they can be of force but one whole year. And we may add, that they have their caſuiſts likewiſe, who allow them to equivocate, and to tell officious lies, according to that conceſſion of the thalmud, that *it is lawful to diſſemble for the ſake of peace* [k].

At Augſburg, A. C. 1285.

ABOUT this time the diſpute between the talmudiſts and *Caraites* aroſe to ſuch a height, that *R. Aaron*, head of the latter, and a man of great learning, wrote a treatiſe to expoſe the extravagances of the thalmud (K), in order to ſuppreſs a certain

Diſputes with the Caraites.

[h] Concil. Vienn. ap. Caniſ. lect. Antiq. tom. i. p. 621. [i] CRUSIUS Annal Suevor, c. 8. p. 3, & ſeq. [k] MANASS. Conciliator queſt. in Gen. queſt. 37. p. 48, & ſeq.

gogues multiplied, the new ones were made larger and more ſumptuous, to the great decay of their churches and congregations.

(I) The cuſtom, it ſeems, was, before that time, to make them ſwear by the ſaints, by the Bleſſed Virgin, and even by the Son of God; which oaths they made no difficulty either to take or break (1).

(K) This treatiſe, which he intitled *Moreh Aharon*, or *Doctor Ahareu*, is an explication of the articles of their faith, to which he gave the title of *Hetz Hachajim*, or *Tree of Life*, becauſe he did not believe any man intitled to eternal life that did not believe them. And therefore, tho' he acknowleged a reſurrection, yet he confined it only to the true believers of the houſe of *Iſrael*.

Bartolocci pretends that he rejected all the ſacred books, except the Pentateuch (2); but

(1) *Cruſius, Annal. Suev. c. 8. p. 3, & ſeq. Baſnag. ub. ſup. c. 23. §. 14.* (2) *Bibl. Rabb. tom. i. p. 29.*

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certain fondneſs which thoſe of his ſect began to betray for that book, inſomuch that *R. Niſſi*, the ſon of *Noah*, another *Caraite*, had been obliged to expound the *Miſhnah*, at the earneſt requeſt of his diſciples. *Aaron* in vain ſtrove to oppoſe himſelf againſt the current, for a time; but he was at length obliged to follow *Niſſi*'s ſteps, for fear of diſguſting his diſciples, and to give an allegorical ſenſe to divers places of ſcripture. The thalmudiſts were not a little pleaſed to ſee their antagoniſts make ſuch ſteps towards them, but that did not reconcile them the more to each other; on the contrary, their hatred and animoſity continued as fierce as ever †.

THEY underwent ſoon after a much greater misfortune during the conteſt between *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, and *Albert* of *Auſtria*, who had been both choſen emperor, when a peaſant named *Raind Fleiſh*, took the advantage of the war then raging to ſet up for a preacher in the high *Palatinate*, *Franconia*, and other provinces, and to pretend that God had ſent him to exterminate all the *Jews*. His pretence was, their having ſtolen a conſecrated wafer; and the people taking him at his word without farther enquiry, fell upon them at *Neurembergh*, Jews maſſacred, A. C. 1264.

† De his vid. Anc. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 7.

that is a miſtake, ſince he wrote comments on the Pſalms, and on the prophecies of *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah*, which are ſtill preſerved in MS. in the library of *Leyden* (3).

We muſt here obſerve that there were two famed *Caraite* rabbies of that name; *viz.* this who was the ſon of *Joſeph*, and ſtiled himſelf *Aaron Cohen* (*Aaron* the prieſt), and flouriſhed about the end of the 13th century; and *Aaron* the ſon of *Eliah*, who lived about fifty years after him. The former, whoſe commentary was found in the library of the fathers of the oratory at *Paris*, by *Morinus*, and brought thither from *Conſtantinople* by Mr. *Sanci*, hath made ſome learned men think that he had written it in the Eaſt. But as he oppoſes in it the rites of the *German Jews*, he muſt be ſuppoſed at leaſt to have lived ſome time amongſt them, and to have deſigned his work for the ſynagogues of that country (4). He was likewiſe the author of another work which he intitled *Miklol Joppi*, or *The Perfection of Beauty*.

As for *Aaron* the ſon of *Eliah*, he lived in the Eaſt, *an.* 1362, and attacked the great *Aben-Ezra*, and other traditionaliſts, with great zeal and reaſoning, in a book which he intitled *The Crown of the Law*, which is a literal comment of the Pentateuch, after the method of the *Caraites*; and in another work, the MS. of which was brought from *Buda* into *Germany* (5).

(3) *Freji excerpt. Akuronis explan. in Pentateuch. Baſn. ub. ſup.* (4) *Id. ib.* §. 16. (5) *Id. ibid.*

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At Nuremberg, 1292. *Niewmark, Rottemburgh, Amberg,* and other towns of *Franconia* and *Bavaria,* and burnt as many as fell into their hands; whilst many of the rest chose rather to burn themselves, with their wives, children, houses, *&c.* than to be dragged into the flames by the Christians. Duke *Albert* would fain have suppressed those butcheries, but was afraid lest *Raind Fleish,* who was looked upon as sent from God, should draw the people over to his competitor. The persecution was at length suppressed, probably by him, and the city of *Nuremberg* laid under a severe fine, besides having been above half burnt by the fire which the oppressed *Jews* had set to their houses (L). This did not hinder it from resuming its hatred against them, 10 or 12 years after, and hanging the famed *R. Mordecai,* who had written some learned comments on the thalmud, and on the works of *R. Isaac Aphez,* which are highly esteemed by the *Jews* (M).

Mordecai hanged, A. C. 1310.

SOME

(L) Some place this transaction after the death of *Adolphus,* and add two circumstances to it; *viz.* 1st. That this tumult was raised on account of the blood which came out of the consecrated wafer, whilst the *Jews* were braying it in a mortar. And, 2dly. That a great number of Christians joined themselves with the oppressed, and made so stout a defence, that the populace was forced to besiege and pursue them into their retreat (6). But these two facts explode each other; for it is by no means credible that such numbers of Christians would have sided with the *Jews,* if they had been convinced of the miracle of the bloody host; and much less that the archduke would have put himself at their head. So that this was no other than a popular uproar, which the better sort condemned; for there was no man put to death at *Francfort* on that accusation, after the magistrates had taken full cognizance of the affair, and proceeded on it according to their laws.

(M) He was hanged soon after his return into *Nuremberg,* after having retired some years to *Triers,* where he taught in company with *Isaac* of *Dijon.* The *Jews* have made a martyr of him (7). But the mischief did not stop there; for soon after, *A. C.* 1338, one *Armleder* put himself at the head of a troop of peasants, and made a sad havock and slaughter among them; but being taken, was beheaded by the order of the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; upon which the rest dispersed themselves (8). *Bzovius* adds, that the *Jews* were then accused of having stolen an host, and that upon piercing it, they were so alarmed to see rivulets of blood issuing from it, that they fled out of the house. Information being made of it to the duke of *Au-*

(6) *Stenon, Annal. Hist. Germ. tom.* v. *p.* 402. *Histor. Austral, ap. Reub. Hist. Germ. tom.* v. *p.* 341. *vid. Basnag. lib.* ix. *c.* 23. (7) *De hoc, vid. Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom.* iv. *p.* 47. *Gantz Tzamach, p.* 147. (8) *Spond. sub. an.* 1338. *p.* 433.

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SOME years after the council convened at *Vienna*, by pope *Clement*, againſt the *Templars*, likewiſe condemned the uſury of the *Jews*, and thoſe as heretics who approved of them; which was a freſh cauſe of vexatious law-ſuits and other miſchiefs to them, eſpecially in *Germany* [1]. They were, however, in ſome meaſure relieved by *Menicho* biſhop of *Spire*, who forbad them to be moleſted on that account in his dominions, alleging that law could not concern them, ſeeing *the church doth not judge thoſe that are without* [m]. A few years after which they were quite baniſhed by *Lewis* I. king of *Hungary*, who had lately ſubdued the *Moldavians*, out of all his dominions [n]. *Protected by the biſhop of* Spire, A. C. 1339. *Baniſhed by the king of* Hungary, A. C. 1344.

ABOUT five years after, a great number of them were plundered and burnt by the newly-ſtarted up fraternity of *Flagellants* (N), at *Spire*, *Straſburgh*, and other places [o], eſpecially at *Thuringen*, where they exaſperated the people againſt them; but the worſt of all happened at *Francfort*, where, after ſome diſorders committed againſt them, and their being at length come to ſome kind of accommodation, a *Jew* named *Cicogne*, whoſe family was very numerous in that city, not ſatisfied with it, threw a piece of fire-work into the town-houſe, which conſumed both it and all the records preſerved in it. The flame ſpread itſelf to the cathedral, which was likewiſe reduced to aſhes, and burnt quite as far as *Saxenhouſe*. The crime did not go unpuniſhed, for not only the *Perſecuted by the* Flagellants, A. C. 1349. *at* Francfort.

[1] CLEMENT lib. v. p. 510. NAUCLER Chronol. p. 3003.
[m] SZENTIVANY Soc. Jeſu Diſſertat. Paralipomenic. rer. memorabil. Hungar. Catalog. p. 236. ap. BASNAG. lib. ix. c. 23. §. 22.
[n] Id. ibid. [o] Hiſt. Landgr. Thuring. c. 105. p. 941.

ſtria, he refuſed to act in it without conſulting the then pope, *Benedict* XII. who only ſent him word that the hoſt ought to be reverenced, and thoſe who had pierced it to be puniſhed (9).

(N) So called from their aſſembling and ſtripping themſelves ſtark naked, twice a day, and whipping themſelves with cords, armed with barbed iron, and accompanying that ceremony with pſalms ſung to mournful tunes, and ſome prayers which they repeated aloud. This ſect, which had been almoſt ſuppreſſed, took freſh vigour about this time, under ſome new chiefs, and pretended to have received a letter from heaven, by an angel, by which they were ordered to inflict thoſe macerations on themſelves, to relieve the ſouls which languiſhed in purgatory, and to put a ſtop to the ſins which then reigned in *Germany*; which letter was read aloud every time they met.

(9) *Ann. lib.* ix. 1338. *N.* 20.

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incendiary, but all the *Jews* of that city, except some few that retired into *Bohemia* (O), were put to death [p].

A NEW accusation was brought against them, which hath been already mentioned in speaking of those of *France* and *Spain*; *viz.* of poisoning the wells and spring-heads of rivers: tho' upon no other foundation than that they escaped from the common mortality which happened in most parts of *Europe*. This caused a fresh massacre in most provinces of *Germany*, the very year after that which had happened at *Francfort*. In some places they were burnt alive, in others most cruelly butchered. Those of *Mentz*, however, resolved to stand in their own defence, and having seized on about 200 unarmed Christians, massacred them in a most barbarous manner; upon which the incensed populace came in shoals, and fell so furiously upon them, that they murdered about 12,000 of them on that single occasion. After this, they set fire to their houses, which spread and burnt with such vehemence, that the great bell, glass and grate of the cathedral were melted down †. Their rage spread itself all over *Germany*; the imperial cities demolished all their houses, and built castles and towers with the materials, and the populace was the more eager to pull them down, because they found money and other rich things among the rubbish. The then count *Palatine*, and his ministers, strove in vain to suppress their violence, and to give shelter to them: they were opposed by some of the nobility, as well as by the common people, and accused of having been bribed by large sums to take their part. All the inhabitants of *Ulm* were burnt alive [q], with their wives, children, and effects; and in a word, the whole *Jewish* nation saw themselves without friends or place of retreat, the princes not daring to interpose, in their favour, at so critical a juncture. *Lithuania* was the only country where they enjoyed any tranquility; which was chiefly owing to a beautiful *Jewess*, named *Esther*, with whom

Revenge on the Christians severely retaliated.

[p] BASNAG. ub. sup. † NAUCLER. Chronol. gener. 45, p. 1009. ap. eund. [q] CRUS. Antiq. Suevor. lib. v. p. 253.

(O) And even these met but with a short respite; the citizens of *Prague*, displeased to see them celebrate their Passover, chose that time to burn their synagogue; and those that were then at their devotions in it, which they did without any opposition, so that not one of them escaped. This misfortune proved so much the more grievous, as it was unexpected, as well as undeserved, and the *Jews* of *Prague* have preserved a regretful sense of it in a prayer which was composed some time after, in memory of that event.

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Caſimir the Great was enamoured, and at whoſe requeſt he had granted them ſeveral conſiderable privileges.

THOSE who had taken refuge in *Bohemia*, did not fare much better than thoſe in *Germany*, as appears by what we ſaid in the laſt note. Two years after which cataſtrophe, *Vincenſlas*, emperor, and king of *Bohemia*, deſirous to ingratiate himſelf with his ſubjects, to whom his exceſſive love of wine and women had rendered him odious, diſcharged all his nobility of the debts they owed to the *Jews*[t]. The people thereupon looking upon them as diſcarded from his protection, began to make a ſad maſſacre of them at *Gotha*, which became ſtill more dreadful, as the peaſants joined the populace in it. Thoſe of *Spire* put them all to the ſword, without regard to age or ſex, ſome few children excepted, which were ſpared, and hurried away to the font to be baptiſed (P). But as ſuch violent perſecutions are not only odious, but ſeldom fail of unpeopling a country, they found it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this, by the puniſhment of ſome of the ringleaders. *Maſſacred in* Bohemia, A.C. 1391.

THEY were ſoon after accuſed afreſh, of having poiſoned the wells, ſprings, *&c.* and puniſhed for it by the moſt ſevere deaths, not only all over *Germany*, but in *Italy*, *Provence*, and other parts. The *Jewiſh* hiſtorians, however, tell us, that the emperor being fully convinced of their innocence, repreſented again to his council, the impoſſibility of poiſoning ſprings, which have a continual run of water [u]; but that the people pretending to have ſeen them throw the poiſon into them, and muttering ſome words all the time, made the emperor reſolve to baniſh them, to the no ſmall diſappointment of the ſeditious zealots, who cried out, that no puniſhment was too ſevere for them. His edict came out accordingly againſt them, either to flee or be baptiſed; and the *Jewiſh* writers above-quoted, highly extol the perſeverance of thoſe of their nation, who, notwithſtanding the great miſery which then reigned among them, not inferior in their account to that which followed the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, yet few, if any, were thereby driven to apoſtatize, or, as they word it, to forſake the glory of their God. But for this we *Baniſhed the empire*, A. C. 1400.

[t] CRUS. ibid. lib. vi. c. 3. Hiſt. Landgr. Thuring. c. 132. p. 948. PISTOR, Hiſt. Germ. tom. i. ÆN. SYLV. Hiſt. Bohem. c. 3. BASNAG. ub. ſup. [u] SOLOM. BEN VIRG. ſub. A. 160. p. 151. GANTZ TZEMACH, ſub. eod. an. p. 146.

(P) The pretence for this cruelty was, that they had inſulted a prieſt, as he was carrying the viaticum to a ſick perſon.

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have only their bare word, and with it we now close these two centuries and pass on to the 15th.

Jews in the 15th century banished out of Spain.

In running thro' which, we shall not, as formerly, begin with the eastern *Jews*, for reasons which will more visibly appear in the sequel; but pass now from *Germany* into *Spain*, where we shall find them (after a long and peaceable abode there, during which their synagogues and learned men flourished, and their nation was greatly multiplied) banished at length from that country, excepting those who preferred dissembling to a mortifying exile; which fatal revolution hath ever since excited the complaints of the *Jews*, as well as the pity of the more moderate Christians for them; but as it did not take place till the close of this 15th century, and was ushered in by several considerable events, it will be necessary to give our readers an account of them before we pass on to their final expulsion. The first step towards it was promoted by the anti-pope *Benedict* XIII. who was then in *Arragon*, the only province left that owned his authority, and was trying to ingratiate himself with the rest of the *Spanish* nation by his zeal for the conversion of the *Jews*. He accordingly appointed a conference with them (Q) in which, as he defrayed all their charges, they treated him with unusual complaisance and respect; tho' they expressed themselves with some bitterness

A conference held between the Christ-

(Q) He was induced to it by one *Hieronymo de Santa Fé*, who had forsaken the synagogue to turn Christian, and was then his physician, and promised that he would convince all the *Jews*, from express passages out of the thalmud, that *Jesus Christ* was the Messiah. Accordingly he and one *Bertrand*, a native of *Valentia*, another proselyte, and then *Benedict*'s almoner, together with one *Garcias Alvares d'Alarcon*, a man well versed in the *Hebrew*, challenged the *Jews* to a disputation. All the learned rabbies in *Spain* were summoned to it, and one *Dom. Vidal* chosen to manage it on their side. This last must not be confounded with another of that name, surnamed *de Toloſa*, who flourished in *Catalonia* forty years before this conference.

As to the title of *Dom*, which is an abbreviation of *Dominus*, the *Jewish* rabbies had begun about this time to take it, in imitation of the *Spanish* doctors, among whom it was then a mark of high honour; but is since become much cheaper, and commonly given to abbots, priors, and other heads of convents. The *Jewish* writers do indeed likewise give it to some of their ancient rabbies; and *Gedaliah* calls one of his ancestors by it, whom he places in the 10th century; but it is plain, it did not come into use among them till after the end of the 14th (10).

(10) *De hoc, vid. Basnag. lib.* ix. *c.* 24. §. 3.

against

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againſt his phyſician, who was the chief promoter as well as conductor of it againſt them [t]. *tians and them,*

THE tenor and ſucceſs of this conference is variouſly related by the *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian hiſtorians that have tranſmitted it to us, tho' they were both preſent and bore a ſhare in it [u]. Both ſides pretend to have gained the victory, as is uſual in ſuch caſes (R). But as neither the arguments on one ſide, A. C. 1413.

[t] SOLOM. BEN VIRG, p. 227—246—264. [u] Shalſheleth Hakkabal. p. 113. HIERONYM. DE S. FE. Cont. Jud. lib. i. c. 2. in Bibl. patr. tom. iv. pt. i. p. 750.

(R) The *Jews* pretend that they bribed ſeveral of the biſhops to perſuade *Benedict* to break off the conference as ſoon as poſſible, being afraid leſt it ſhould exaſperate the Chriſtians againſt them; but that the pontif inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on *Hieronymo*'s making good his promiſe againſt them. They add, that their rabbies came off with honour, and that the *Jews* were only ordered to refund ſome part of their exorbitant uſuries on the Chriſtians; which they, however, evaded; by applying to *Martin* of *Florence*, who was choſen pope after the depoſition of *Benedict*, and reſided ſome time in that city, and revoked the edict of that anti-pope againſt them. We omit ſeveral blunders and anachroniſms which thoſe authors (11) have been guilty of, and content ourſelves with ſtating the time and fact as they are related on both ſides.

The Chriſtians, on the other hand, pretend not only to have gained the victory, but likewiſe that, in that very year, *Hieronymo de S. Fé* preſented to *Benedict* a writing, which expoſed the dangerous doctrines contained in the thalmud, againſt the law, againſt the Meſſiah, and againſt the Chriſtians; and that rabbi *Aſmuth* preſented another ſoon after to the cardinal *de S. Angelo*, in which he owned that the paſſages extracted out of that book appeared ſhocking and erroneous to him; and that it was true, indeed, they might be capable of a better ſenſe, which yet he did not pretend to know. For that reaſon he declares that he neither pretends to defend or juſtify them, and diſowns any anſwer he may before have made uſe of to elude them. This was likewiſe aſſented to, and ſigned by all the rabbies there preſent, except *Joſeph Albo* and *Ferrarius* (12). This would be indeed a ſignal triumph againſt the *Jews*, and a ſufficient, as well as ſolemn condemnation of their thalmud, by thoſe who were the profeſſed defenders of it, if the MS. out of which our author hath taken it, could be depended upon. But as neither *Hieronymo de S. Fé* takes notice of any ſuch recantation in the book which he wrote ſoon after againſt the

(11) *Shalſheleth Hakkabalah, p. 113, & ſeq. Cantæ Chron. p. 144.* (12) *Bartoloc, ub. ſup. tom. iii. p. 177.*

thalmud,

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side, nor the answers on the other, have any thing particular in them, we shall, for brevity sake, refer our readers for the further account of the whole, to the historian often quoted by us[w], and only add, that tho' *Benedict* XIII. was present at some of the sessions of it, yet he soon left his room to be filled by the general of the *Dominicans*[x], and that it was begun *February* 7, 1413, and lasted till *May* 10, 1414. On the 10th of *November* following, *Hieronymo de Santa Fé* presented that pontiff with his relation of it, which was confirmed on the 12th of *December*, and was afterwards published at *Francfort*, *an.* 1602, in the *Bibliotheca patrum*. With relation to the fruits of this conference, we are told that about 3000, or, according to others, 5000 *Jews* were converted upon the reading of *Hieronymo*'s relation of it; for which he grew into such esteem, that *Joseph Albo*, fearing lest their synagogues should be forsaken, compiled his *Articles of faith*, by which he endeavoured to confirm the wavering belief of the rest (S). As for *Benedict* XIII. he published in the year following his constitution against the thalmud, and the usury of the *Jews*[y],

Benedict XIII's bull, A.C. 1415.

[w] Basnag. lib. ix. c. 24. §. 4, & seq. [x] D'Aguira Bibl. Hisp. tom. ii. c. 1. ap. eund. ibid. [y] See his bull in Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom. iii. p. 731—797.

thalmud, nor *Astroch*, who sent an account of this conference to *Girona*, it may be justly called in question. Especially, considering that all the rabbies assenting to it, except the two above-named, the declaration ought rather to have been drawn up by *R Vidal*, who was at the head of the rest, than by *Asmuth*. However that be, the former wrote against the conference itself, his *Kadesh Kadoshim*, or *Holy of Holies*; and *R. Isaac Nathan*, his censure of the *Seducer*; tho' the latter did not appear in public till after the death of *Hieronymo de S. Fé* (13).

(S) These he reduced to three, *viz.* the existence of God, the law of *Moses*, and the rewards and punishments of belief and disbelief. Whether, therefore, he found his brethren too closely pressed on the article of the coming of the Messiah, it is plain he struck it out of his confession, as not necessary to salvation; and censures *Maimonides*, without naming of him, for having made the belief of his coming an essential article of the *Jewish* faith.

This work of his, published at such a juncture, was held in such esteem, that the *Polish Gedaliah* hath written a comment upon it, which he intituled *The Planted*, or *Complete Tree*, and of which his notes are the roots, the indexes to the places of scripture, the branches; and the allegorical explanations, the leaves (14).

(13) *Hottinger, Bibl. Orient.* (14) *Vid. Juchasin. p.* 134. *Cantz, p.* 147. *Wolf Bibl. Hebr. N.* 453, & 862. *Hottinger. ub. sup. Basnag. & al.*

but

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but as he was depoſed ſoon after, and all his ordinances were revoked, they felt not the effects of them. Neither do we find that his ſucceſſor, *Martin* of *Florence*, followed his ſteps againſt the *Jews*.

BUT the greateſt converter of them at this time was *Vincent Ferrario*, ſince canonized and extolled to the ſkies for his great zeal and miraculous exploits (T). The Chriſtians reckoned that he converted about 8000 *Moors*, and about 30 or 35,000 *Jews*. And theſe laſt, willing to raiſe his character ſtill higher, or, which is more probable, to diſcredit what the former ſay of him, allow him to have made about 200,000 converts out of their nation, beſides near 100,000 of bad Chriſtians. But whatever be the number of theſe *Jewiſh* converts, their ſincerity was far enough for paſſing unſuſpected, and not without good grounds; for the greateſt part of them, after having diſſembled as long as they ſaw occaſion, made no ſcruple of throwing off the maſk, as ſoon as opportunity offered; by which one might ſee that they had only given way to neceſſity, and merely to avoid a more

Vincent Ferrario's *numerous converſions*, A. C. 1415, & ſeq.

not ſincere.

(T) He is ſtiled by their martyrologiſts (15), *the bright ſtar of* Spain, *the light of* Valentia, *the prodigy of the univerſe*, *the pattern of the* Dominicans, *and the glory of the glorified ſaints*. They tell us moreover that he was heard to bark in his mother's womb, as a preſage that he would become a celebrated preacher; and that tho' he only underſtood his own mother tongue, yet by a prodigy greater than that which happened to the apoſtles, every nation could plainly underſtand him. His credit was become ſo great that he was raiſed to the higheſt dignities in church and ſtate, and particularly to that of confeſſor to the anti-pope *Benedict*.

It is not agreed whether or no he was a convert from *Judaiſm*; the *Jews*, by calling him *Meſkumad*, or apoſtate, ſeem to allow it; but others pretend that he was deſcended of an illuſtrious Chriſtian family in *Valentia*. However that be, we are told that he converted more by his miracles than by his eloquence; inſomuch, that being once got into a ſynagogue, with a croſs in his hand, the men's garments, and the women's linen, were all covered with red croſſes; which obliged them to acknowlege Chriſt crucified, and to turn their ſynagogue into a church, for which it has been called ever ſince the *Church of the holy Croſs* (16).

(15) *Tamaio Salazar, Martyrol. Hiſpan. tom.* ii. *p.* 509. *Sauſſay. Martyrol. Gal. tom.* i. *fol.* 190. *Legend. Manuſcr. Lect. lib.* iv. *ap. Tamajum. p.* 510. *Biſn. ub. ſup.* §. 11. (16) *Bzov. ſub. A. C.* 1412. *N.* 11. *Ægid. Gonzaal Albuſenſ. Hiſtoriogr. Philip* III. *lib.* iii. *c.* 15.

ſevere

severe treatment (U); for they themselves complain, that he was a great persecutor and calumniator [z]; so that it is no wonder that they only conformed to outward appearance, but privately and within doors, lived intirely like *Jews*, circumcised their children, observed the Passover, and all other *Jewish* festivals and rites [a].

The inquisition ordered to suppress their relapses.

THIS dissimulation did not go long unobserved by the clergy, who acquainted the king *(Ferdinand)* and the pope *(Xistus* IV.) with it; upon which the tribunal of inquisition was strictly charged to watch more closely over those delinquents, and Christian princes were exhorted to assist it in the punishment of them. This decree, which was published in most cities of *Spain*, so alarmed the *Jews*, that 17,000 immediately returned to the church, and submitted to whatever censures or penance it should impose upon them. Two thousand of them were burnt alive, some of whom, nevertheless, acknowleged *Christ* to be the Messiah. A great number of others were thrown into dungeons, where they continued a long time; and those that were let out were declared infamous, and ordered to wear two red crosses on their upper garments, in acknowlegement that they had deserved the flames. They did not even spare the dead, but took up and burnt their bones, confiscated their effects, and declared the children incapable of succeeding their parents. These great severities made several of them flee into other countries, notwithstanding the watchfulness of that tribunal; whilst the rest took care either to dissemble more closely, or to be better instructed before they turned, that they might be less exposed to the punishment of apostacy (W). These conversions

The punishment inflicted on them.

[z] CARDOSO las Excellencias & auct. ab eo. citat. [a] BZOV. ann. ub. sup.

(U) We have a pregnant instance of this in a MS. letter, preserved in the *Vatican* library, written from a *Jewish* rabbi named *Duran*, who after having embraced Christianity, artfully strove to dissuade his son *from imitating his forefathers*. The whole tenor of it was equivocal, and seemed, at first reading, as intended to persuade him to continue stedfast in the religion he had embraced; but upon closer reading, the whole mystery was soon unraveled, and the design found to be to persuade him to return to *Judaism*, which he himself owned he had forsaken at the instigation of *Vincent Ferrario* (17).

(W) Among them who are esteemed sincere converts, was

(17) *See the letter in Bartolocci, tom.* i. *p.* 404.

Solomon

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ſions did not hinder the populace from often inſulting and oppreſſing them, and from attributing every misfortune or calamity that befel them either to the obſtinacy of the recuſant, or to the diſſimulation of the conforming *Jews*; witneſs the inſurrection they made againſt them at *Toledo*, on a pretended infringement of their privileges, and laying a new tax on that city, which, tho' ſmall and light, was at the time of war very neceſſary; on account of which, the inhabitants vented their reſentment on the *Jews*, without ſparing even the poſterity of thoſe that had been converted, and after having broke into and plundered their houſes, and murdered all that oppoſed them, as ſoon as the city had reſumed its tranquility, enacted ſome laws againſt the new converts, whether from *Judaiſm* or *Paganiſm*, by which they were excluded from all offices of honour and truſt [b]. The clergy, however, more equitable to thoſe neophites, took them under their protection, and condemned thoſe laws as unchriſtian, and had their cenſure ſoon after ratified by the pope (X).

An inſurrection at Toledo, A. C. 1445.

ALL

[b] MARIANA ub. ſup. lib. xxii. c. 1.

Solomon the ſon of *Levi*, who having read the *Summ.* of *Th. Aquinas*, was convinced of the truth of Chriſtianity, and took the name of *Paul* of *Burges*. He was ſoon after raiſed to the biſhoprick of that city, which was his native place, and afterwards to the patriarchate of *Aquilea*. He hath left behind ſome additions to *N. Delyra*, formerly mentioned, but doth ſo often take upon him to correct him, that himſelf wants a freſh corrector, having been guilty of ſome egregious blunders in his criticiſms. He was accordingly criticiſed by *Simon de Girona*, but with little credit or ſucceſs, ſince that rabbi is often forced to give up the authority of the thalmud, tho' of ſuch great weight among the *Jews*.

Paul left a ſon, who ſucceeded him in his biſhoprick, and wrote the hiſtory of *Spain* that goes by his name. He had a ſecond, who was raiſed to the ſee of *Placentia*; and a third, who married into an illuſtrious *Spaniſh* family, and became preceptor to the king of *Caſtile*. But in the midſt of all his preferments, he declared that no dignities either in church or ſtate ought to be given to any of his nation, becauſe they were too much accuſtomed to diſſemble. May not he have been one of that claſs?

(X) The dean of that city was the firſt who fulminated his anathema's againſt thoſe laws, and ordered public theſes to be held, in which they were condemned; and to give the greater weight to his defence, mentioned a good number of families of high rank, who had intermarried with the *Jews*, and were likely to be deprived of their public employments by them. All his endeavours and ſtruggles would, however, have proved fruitleſs,

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A conference before Alphonso.

ALL this while the *Jews* were still protected and loved by king *Alphonso the Great* and his grandees; and it is under his reign that one of their writers [c] places a conference which happened between that monarch and one *Thomas*, surnamed *the subtile philosopher* (Y), who came so much the more opportunely thither, as one of the bishops had preached a severe sermon against them, in which he imprudently affirmed that they could not celebrate their Passover without shedding of some Christian blood; which, if true, he said, he was resolved to drive them out of his territories; whereupon the king was glad to have so learned a man to confute that absurd notion; which he accordingly did, tho' not with that strength and energy which might be expected from a person of his character. *A second.* The same author mentions another conference that passed between *Alphonso* of *Portugal* and the *Jews*, on the subject of the 22d Psalm, and the application which the Christians make of several pregnant passages of it to *Christ*, but which

[c] SOLOM. BEN VIRG.

fruitless, had not pope *Nicholas* I. published a thundering bull against them, by which he excommunicated all those who were for depriving these proselytes of any place either civil or ecclesiastical, or from the priesthood and government, whether they were converts from *Judaism* or *Paganism*. This bull meeting but with a cold reception, that pontif was obliged to send a second to confirm it; and *Mariana* is almost the only *Spanish* writer who hath vouchsafed it a place in his history, so displeasing was it to that whole nation (18).

(Y) One might be apt to think, by the name and character, that this must have been the famed *Thomas Aquinas*, especially as he flourished in the reign of king *Alphonso*, the then great favourer of the *Jews*. But as it doth not appear that he ever was in *Spain*, and in this conference quotes *Nich. de Lyra*, and *Abravanel*, who both lived after the *subtile* doctor, our author must have either jumbled some persons together that were not cotemporary, or mean *Alphonso* V. of *Portugal*, who reigned about the middle of the 15th century. However that be, this conference, which lasted several days, concluded in favour of the *Jews*; and *Thomas*, by quoting *Abravanel*, who acquits the Christians of idolatry, and telling that he, the king, was lineally descended from king *David*, easily engaged him to protect and favour their nation; whilst at the same time he counselled him to make some laws against their usury and luxury, which were the two main things that rendered them odious to his subjects.

(18) *Mariana. Hist. Hisp. lib.* xxii. *c.* 1, *& seq.*

these

theſe denied to relate to him; but as he hath not told us how that diſpute ended, we ſhall ſay no more of it, there being nothing extraordinary urged on either ſide.

AMONG the learned rabbies who flouriſhed during this 15th century, beſides thoſe we have already mentioned at *Arragon*, *&c.* we may name their celebrated *Shammai*[d], one of the greateſt cabbaliſts of the age (Z). *Joel*, the ſon of *Sciocu*, was no leſs famed a preacher, whoſe ſermons, tho' too long and diffuſe, had ſome very judicious expoſitions of certain ſections of the Pentateuch. The family of *Alcaleb* produced two excellent aſtronomers, the uncle and the nephew, who both compiled aſtronomical tables[e]. The firſt was named *R. Iſaac Ben Tzadic*, and the other *R. Iſaac Ben Solomon Ben Tzadic*. We ſhall by-and-by have occaſion to mention ſeveral others of their learned men, who were unhappily included in the edict of condemnation and baniſhment, and involved in the ſame misfortunes with the reſt of that unhappy nation, of which we are going now to ſpeak (A). *Learned Jews, A. C. 1482, & ſeq.*

[d] BARTOLOC. Bibl. Rab. tom. ii. p. 840. [e] Id. ibid. tom. iii. p. 290, & 925. WOLF Bibl. Hæbr. N. 1263, & ſeq.

(Z) Among other cabbaliſtical ſecrets, he publiſhed that of begetting more boys than girls in the married ſtate, by placing the bed from the north to the ſouth. And the rabbies, who abound with ſuch kind of ſuperſtition, affirm, that the Divine Majeſty reſides from eaſt to weſt, and that it is a diſhonour to it to place one's bed in that point. But when, out of reſpect to it, men plant it from north to ſouth, God recompenſes them with a breed of boys, which the *Jews* prefer to the girls. But one would rather think they did it in imitation of, or conformity to, the notion of the old philoſophers, who believed that the cold north winds contributed to the procreation of boys.

(A) We muſt here once more obſerve that *R. Abraham*, prince of the *Jewiſh* nation, and tutor to the great *Aben Ezra*, had foretold 200 years before, that the ſame configuration which *Moſes* their great law-giver was born under, namely, the conjunction of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, would bring in the Meſſiah. It was to happen, according to his calculation, 2859 years after the former; that is, *A. C.* 1464. And there actually happened ſuch a conjunction twice within this 15th century, *viz.* 1444 in *Cancer*, and 20 years after in *Piſces*. But inſtead of that glorious train of miracles, which was to accompany the birth of that long expected prince, and exalt the *Jewiſh* nation above all the reſt, they met with nothing but diſaſters, and a general baniſhment out of all the *Spaniſh* dominions, which proved the ruin and deſtruction of the greateſt part of it.

THIS

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Jews banished out of Spain, A. C. 1492.

THIS dreadful edict was issued out against them by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, soon after he had happily ended his war with the *Moors*, and obliged the whole *Jewish* nation to quit *Spain* in four months after the date of it (in *March*, *A. C.* 1492). *Turre Cremata*, who was the soul of this persecution, advised the king to shorten that term, and forbad the people, under the severest penalties, to afford either victuals, or any other assistance, to such as were found in the kingdom after the month of *April*. Some historians likewise think that they were forbid, by a new order, to carry away either gold or precious stones, or any thing but a few cloaths, wine, and such other merchandize (B). If so, it is plain that order was not punctually executed, since they found means, we are told, to convey away thirty thousand millions of ducats [f]. The *Spaniards* tell us, that 70,000 families, or 800,000 persons, left the kingdom pursuant to this edict; and the *Jews* make them to amount to 160,000 families, or 600,000 persons [g], and even some of those who had been most in credit at court, (among whom was the learned *Abravanel*, who had been a long while a favourite of the king and queen (C),) were obliged

The number of them,

[f] BASNAG. ub. sup. c. 25. §. 1. [g] ABRAVAN. CARDOSO las Excellencias, &c.

(B) We are told that many of them who had courage enough to leave the country, found themselves obliged to stay and be sold for slaves for want of a few ducats, which every one that embarked was obliged to pay to the captain of the vessel; and to such a degree of strictness were the king's orders executed, that two vessels, loaded with *Jewish* families, not having been able to sail before the time prefixed, set them on shore again, where they were unmercifully seized and sold, and all their goods confiscated.

(C) We took notice lately that this learned rabbi pretended to be lineally descended from king *David*, and as such was in great esteem among his nation, as well as for his learning, riches, and employment; notwithstanding which he had been often forced to flee from one country to another. He appeared even from his younger years at the court of *Alphonso* king of *Portugal*, and was in great credit with him; but upon his death, not finding the same favour from his son and successor, *John* II. he privately retired into *Castile*, where *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* intrusted him with the care of their finances, which gave him an opportunity of getting an immense treasure in a short time.

Being obliged to leave *Spain*, with the rest of his nation, he embarked for *Naples*, where he soon recommended himself to the favour of the king, and did him considerable service. But that

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liged to embark for foreign countries; and none permitted to ſtay, but thoſe who preferred Chriſtianity to baniſhment, which were likewiſe very numerous.

THE

that prince dying, and *Charles* VIII. having ſeized on that kingdom, he was forced to flee into *Sicily*, with *Alphonſo* II. who had ſucceeded his father. His faithfulneſs to him, in the midſt of his misfortunes, which had deprived him of his riches and crown, obliged him again, after his death, to leave that iſland, and ſail to *Corfu*, and thence into *Puglia*; where having reſided ſome time, he went and died at *Venice*. His corpſe did not reſt there, but was conveyed to *Padua*, and there interred.

He was no leſs eſteemed for his learned works, and we may truly ſay that he is, of all the *Jewiſh* doctors, the moſt clear and uſeful for the right underſtanding of the ſacred text. His ſtile is pure, and eaſy to be underſtood; and only ſometimes rather too ſwollen, and more like that of an orator than a commentator. He explains the literal ſenſe of the ſacred volumes, and learnedly handles thoſe queſtions that fall in his way in thoſe books he hath commented upon. He was moreover of a ſweet and affable diſpoſition, and lived in a friendly and familiar manner with the Chriſtians. One fault, however, is commonly found in his writings, that he frequently inveighs againſt them, particularly againſt the pope and his clergy; on which account ſome are of opinion that the *Jews* ought to be debarred from the reading of them (19).

Among other learned *Jews* that followed *Abravanel*'s fate, were *R. Iſaac Ben Aruma* a great philoſopher and cabbaliſt, whoſe expoſition of the *Moſaic* law is highly eſteemed by the *Jews*, though ſome critics (20) think it too diffuſe, allegorical, and full of a moral altogether *Jewiſh*. He took with him his ſon *R Meir*, one of the greateſt rabbies of that age, and author of a comment upon *Job*, which *Buxtorf* hath attributed to his father.

Another was *Joſeph Gigatella*, ſurnamed *the divine Cabbaliſt*; and *Taumaturgus*, who, during his exile, applied himſelf to the expoſition of the *divine Attributes and Names*, and of the ten *Sephiroth*; that is, of the moſt myſtical, and at the ſame time of the moſt admired part of the *Jewiſh* theology.

Iſaac Karo was another learned exile: he retired at firſt into *Portugal*, and thence to *Jeruſalem*, but loſt his children and books in his paſſage. He lived a perfect recluſe there, and compiled his book of generations (or of the ſons of *Iſaac*, to comfort himſelf for the loſs of his own) which is only a comment or clear ſolution of ſome doubtful queſtions on the Pentateuch, partly cabbaliſtical, and partly literal (21).

(19) *De hoc, vid. Bartoloc. vb. ſup. tom.* iii. *p.* 857. *Simon Critic. Ant. Teſt. lib.* iii. *c.* 6. *Baſnag. ub. ſup c.* 25. §. 4, *&c.* (20) *Simon ub. ſup.* (21) *Bartol. ub. ſup. Wolf Bibl. Hæbr. N.* 1266. *p.* 689, *&ſeq.*

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and grievous misery.

THE misery of those who imbarked is almost inexpressible. In some the vessels took fire, and they either perished in the flames, or were drowned; others were so loaded that they bulged and sunk with them to the bottom. Others were shipwrecked on some foreign coasts, and either perished with hunger and cold, or were exposed to some new disasters. In some the plague began to rage, and they were set down at the next shore, where those that outlived it perished with want; others reached the city of *Fez*, where the inhabitants, being frighted at their vast number and misery, shut their gates against them; so that they were forced to spread tents in the fields, and to live upon such few herbs as that dry and barren ground afforded. And this might even pass for a mercy, in comparison of the insults and horrid hardships which they were forced to undergo from some barbarians there, who thought they might impunely commit any inhumanities against those unfortunate fugitives. The reader may see some instances of it in the margin (D). All this while

Learned men banished.

Abraham Zacchut flourished likewise about the same time. *Bartolocci* hath confounded him with *Abraham the Jew*, who translated an *Arabic* treatise on the virtue of remedies. Both of them were good astronomers, and published a perpetual almanac. *Zacchut* was a native of *Salamanca*, and taught at *Saragossa*; but being obliged to leave the country, pursuant to *Ferdinand*'s edict, retired into *Portugal*, where king *Emanuel* made him his historiographer. And here it was that he compiled his famed book of *Juchasin*, or genealogies from the creation to the year of *Christ* 1590. We omit many more, for want of room; but these are the most celebrated ones that underwent this dreadful exile.

(D) One of these wretches, we are told, ravished a *Jewish* virgin before her parents; and returned presently after and cut her throat, for fear she should have conceived, and should bring forth a *Jew*. A seaman seized on a number of *Jewish* children, who were gathering of cockles and other shell-fish on the shore, at low water, and brought them to his ship, where he gave them some bread; which brought many more thither, with whom he sailed away, and sold some of them to persons of quality, and the rest he made slaves of. The captain of a vessel that was transporting a number of them, took one day a resolution to murder them all, and thereby, as he pretended, revenge the death of *Christ*, whom they had crucified; upon which they represented to him that the blood which *Christ* had shed was for the sins of mankind, and did not want to be revenged; and that he did not desire the death but salvation of the sinner. The brutish sailor being somewhat softened by this reply, forbore indeed murdering

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while the king and queen were highly blamed by all ſober Chriſtians, not only for depopulating their dominions, but for running the riſque of involving them in a civil-war; for whatever precaution he might have taken againſt it, the reſentment and deſpair of 800,000 ſubjects, ſo cruelly uſed, might, not unlikely, have defeated all his meaſures; and *Abravanel* had reaſon to extoll their ſubmiſſion and fidelity, for not oppoſing ſo ſevere and unjuſt a decree. What induced that monarch to it, whether avarice, and proſpect of ſeizing upon their immenſe riches, or religion and the notion of gaining heaven by the perſecution of the enemies of *Chriſt*, or the hopes of ingratiating himſelf with his clergy, we leave to our readers to gueſs. However, he ſoon after received the title of *Catholic* for it, from pope *Alexander* VI. who probably laughed at his zeal, whilſt himſelf received thoſe fugitives which he had baniſhed. Ferdinand *ſtiled* Catholic.

BUT a good part of them met with a much nearer refuge from *John* II. king of *Portugal*, who had already done him ſome great ſervice (E); and tho' he did not love them, yet, found it his intereſt to receive them into his dominions; and tho' upon very hard conditions, yet ſuch as they choſe to ſubmit to, rather than expoſe themſelves to new misfortunes. His ſon *Received in* Portugal *upon hard conditions.*

ing them, but cauſed them to be ſtript naked, and ſet down on the next ſhore; where part of them periſhed with hunger, others were torn in pieces by lions, that came out of a neighbouring cavern; and the reſt were ſaved by the humanity of a maſter of a veſſel, who ſeeing them in that diſmal plight, took them in, and cut his ſails to cover their nakedneſs. Thoſe who ſailed for *Italy*, being arrived at *Genoa*, found that country afflicted with a ſore famine, which made all victuals exceedingly dear. The *Genoeſe* beholding them ſo macerated by ſufferings, and deſtitute of money to buy food, met them in the ſtreets, with bread in one hand, and a croſs in the other, and gave the one to thoſe that would worſhip the other; which temptation proved ſo powerful, that thoſe poor famiſhed wretches, who had had the courage to abandon their country, riches, *&c.* could not now be proof againſt it.

(E) That monarch had formerly ſent ſome of them, particularly *Abraham de Beja* and *Joſeph Zapatero*, to make new diſcoveries along the coaſts of the *Red Sea*, of which they had made an exact and faithful report to him. They had likewiſe been aſſiſting the *Portugueſe* adventurers in the diſcovery of the *Eaſt-Indies*; and could be made ſtill more uſeful to him in other matters. However, as he privately hated them, he found means at once to ſatisfy his averſion and policy, by laying them under very ſevere conditions.

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ſon and ſucceſſor *Emanuel*, ſeemed indeed at firſt to pity them, but was ſoon induced to ſacrifice them and the *Moors* to his intereſt, and the alliance he made with *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*. He accordingly baniſhed both nations by an edict; and as he feared reprisals from the *Moors*, he ſuffered them to go with their effects; but doubly broke his promiſe to the *Jews*, firſt, by detaining their children that were under 14 years of age, which piece of treachery drove them into ſuch deſpair, that ſome of them killed themſelves, and others, ſacrificing their natural affection to religion, became the executioners of their own children: and, ſecondly, by reducing the three ports which he had aſſigned them to embark in, to one, by which many of them were forced to make a kind of double journey, to take quite new meaſures, and exhauſt their purſes; to which we may add, the delay which was cauſed to their embarkation, which increaſed their poverty and miſery. Thoſe that had the good fortune at length to embark, were nevertheleſs obliged to bear very ſevere hardſhips and inſults from the ſhip-captains and ſeamen, even to the deflowering of their wives and daughters, or exacting large ſums to preſerve them from being ſo. Even among thoſe that turned Chriſtians, to avoid ſuch a train of miſeries as they ſaw before their eyes, many of them were very harſhly uſed from a too juſt miſtruſt of their ſincerity, and a great number of them were maſſacred upon the firſt, tho' but ſlight, occaſion that offered itſelf (F). All which ſeemed but too well encouraged by the cruelty

The king's treachery to them,

and their ſad miſeries.

Theſe were, that every perſon was to pay him eight crowns of gold for his protection; and that at the end of a certain term by him prefixed, they ſhould be obliged to quit his dominions, under the penalty of being made ſlaves. They complain, moreover, that he ſent great numbers of them to the iſles *de los Ladrones*, lately diſcovered, where they came to a miſerable end; whilſt the reſt comforted themſelves with the notion that God puniſhed him for his ſeverity to them, by the diſaſters which happened to him and his family (22).

(F) there was, it ſeems, in a church at *Liſbon*, a crucifix, the bloody wound of which was covered with a glaſs, out of which ſome fanciful devotees thought they ſaw an extraordinary light emanating; which made them cry out, a miracle! One of theſe converts having imprudently denied the fact, gave occaſion to this bloody uproar, which laſted three days; during which, the zealots, headed by two *Dominican* friers, ſtirred up the populace, and maſſacred above 2000 of them. They broke into their houſes, plundered and unmercifully

(22) *Cardoſ. las Excellencias*, p. 388.

butchered

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cruelty and treachery with which king *Emanuel* had uſed them. But tho' this action of his hath been ſo highly applauded by ſome of his flatterers [h], it hath been no leſs condemned by ſome of their more candid and equitable hiſtorians [i].

An account of thoſe that ſtaid.

We have now ſeen the *Jews* baniſhed out of four kingdoms of *Europe*, viz. *Great-Britain*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; but before we paſs into the eaſtern parts, it will be very proper to ſay ſomething of thoſe which ſtill remain in the two laſt-mentioned kingdoms, in great numbers, tho' under the cloak and title of new Chriſtians, and under the maſk of zealous catholics, tho' in their hearts as firmly attached to *Judaiſm*, as thoſe who make open profeſſion of it where they are tolerated. It is indeed ſurpriſing, to ſee how ſo impious a diſſimulation hath been able to ſupport and propagate itſelf thro' ſo many generations as it has done; ſo that the grandees of thoſe two nations have in vain made new alliances, changed their names, and have taken up ancient coats of arms; they are ſtill known to be of *Jewiſh* extract, if not ſtill *Jews* in their hearts. The monaſteries and nunneries are full of them, and the greateſt parts of their prebends, prieſts, inquiſitors, and even biſhops, are deſcended from the ſame ſtock [k]. This ought to make both clergy and laity tremble, to think that ſuch eccleſiaſtics do only abuſe and prophane their ſacraments, and moſt ſolemn part of their worſhip and religion. And yet, *Orobio*, who relates the fact, was not only perfectly acquainted with thoſe diſſemblers, and had been himſelf of the number †, but gives pregnant proofs of what he ſays; in-

Their diſſimulation.

The number and danger of them.

[h] Leguira Nouvel. Hiſt. de Portug. lib iv. p. 8. [i] Osorius, lib. i. Marian. lib. xxvi. c. 13. [k] Vide Limborg Collat. cum Judeo, p. 102. † Ap. Basnag. l. ix. c. 25. §. 11.

butchered them, and ſnatched them even out of the churches, and from the foot of the altar; whilſt the magiſtracy, inſtead of ſuppreſſing, encouraged the butchery. At length the king himſelf put a ſtop to it, and upon full enquiry into the cauſe of it, condemn'd the two friers to be burnt, and the magiſtrates to be degraded. Some foreign authors have indeed pretended that theſe converts had been found celebrating their Paſſover after the *Jewiſh* manner; but *Mariana*'s teſtimony (23) ought to be of more weight than that of *Germans* or ſtrangers, who relates the fact as we have done. Tho' it muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that the greateſt part of thoſe who ſtaid both in *Spain* and in *Portugal*, were rather diſſemblers than ſincere proſelytes; and ſuch muſt prove all converſions which are wrought by violent means.

(23) *Hiſt. de Reb. Spanic. lib.* xxviii. *tom.* ii. *c.* 17. *p.* 593.

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ſomuch that he mentions in the very ſynagogue of *Amſterdam*, *Jews* and *Jeweſſes*, which are brothers, ſiſters, or near relations to ſome of the beſt families in *Spain* and *Portugal*: as likewiſe others that have heretofore been friers and nuns of almoſt every order, the *Jeſuits* not excepted, who came thither to do penance and reparation for their former apoſtacy.

Some of their learned turn Jews *again.*

We may add that among thoſe who being at length tired with ſuch impious diſſimulation, have returned to *Judaiſm*, ſeveral of them were men of great learning, and appear by their works to have been better verſed in the *Jewiſh* law than in the goſpel. Of that number was *Joſeph* the ſon of *Jehoſhuah*, who hath continued his chronology down to *A. C.* 1554. He was a *Spaniard* by birth, and perhaps the beſt hiſtorian that the *Jewiſh* nation hath had ſince the great *Joſephus*. Such was alſo *Joſeph Ben Sheveth*, or *the ſon of the rod*, another *Spaniard*, who hath written a collection of ſundry neceſſary rules, for the right underſtanding of the *Gemarrah*. The laſt we ſhall name was the famed *Iſaac Cardoſo*, deſcended from ſome of the falſe converts of *Portugal*, and became one of the firſt phyſicians in *Caſtile*, one of whoſe works we have often quoted in this chapter (G). For theſe reaſons the

(G) He wrote two treatiſes in *Spaniſh*, one on the uſefulneſs of common and ſnow-water, and of drinking liquors hot or cold. The other on the then excellencies or prerogatives belonging to the *Jewiſh* nation, and which ought to be eſteemed an honour to it, in ſpight of all the misfortunes and diſperſions which have happened to them for the puniſhment of their ſins. He therein obſerves, that God choſe them for his peculiar people; that they alone are ſeparated by him from all other nations; that they received the Sabbath and Circumciſion from him; and that they were taught his law by men inſpired by him. This work is followed by a kind of ſecond part, which he ſtiles *Las Calonias de los Hebreos*; wherein he confutes ten accuſations which the Chriſtians object againſt them. This laſt treatiſe was written after he had left *Spain*, and his name of *Ferdinand*, which he had received at his baptiſm, and retired to *Venice* and *Verona*, where he took that of *Iſaac*, about the middle of the laſt century. He wrote likewiſe a treatiſe at *Madrid*, concerning fevers; and another of the origin and reſtoration of the world; both learned and curious in their kind (24). It is ſurpriſing that *Bartolocci*, who was ſo well verſed in *Jewiſh* learning, and their writings, ſhould have made no mention of the treatiſe *de las Excellencias* above-mentioned.

(24) *De hoc. vid. Baſnag. ub. ſub. c.* 25. §. 18. *Wolf Bibl. Hæbr. N.* 1265. p. 689.

inquiſition

inquiſition always keeps a watchful eye over all thoſe new Chriſtians; and the leaſt cauſe of ſuſpicion given by them, is ſufficient to bring the ſevereſt puniſhments upon them; and both *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* are ſtill ſo ſuperſtitiouſly prejudiced againſt them, that there ſcarcely happens any public calamity, but they look upon them as the cauſe of it, and make them ſuffer for it, as they formerly did the profeſſed *Jews*. *Cardoſo* laſt-mentioned, hath given us a flagrant inſtance of it, which happened towards the beginning of the laſt century, when a *Dominican*, at the head of a numerous populace, on ſome ſuſpicious pretence, fell upon thoſe new converts, and plundered and maſſacred between four and five thouſand of them [1].

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe cruel ſeverities both on ſtaunch *Jews* and falſe converts, they made once more a bold puſh for getting a freſh ſettlement in *Spain*, as ſoon as they heard that *Charles* V. was come to that crown. They ſent ſome of the moſt conſiderable of their nation to him into *Flanders*, to repreſent to him, *that they groaned under the yoke of a religion, which had they been forced to embrace, and were daily expoſed to the rigorous proſecutions of the mercileſs tribunal of the* inquiſition: *that they carried on with honour the whole commerce of the nation, and were the moſt uſeful and perhaps the moſt faithful ſubjects of the kingdom; on which account they truſted in his juſtice and goodneſs, that he would grant them the free exerciſe of their religion; and engaged, on that condition, to give him all the aſſiſtance they could, and to make him a preſent of* 800,000 *crowns in gold, in return for his kindneſs.* They met with a very gracious reception from that monarch; and the council of *Flanders* was likewiſe of opinion, that he ought to accept of their offer, and grant their requeſt. But cardinal *Ximenes* no ſooner heard of this reſolution, than he ſent a courier with all ſpeed to inform him, *that it was not lawful for him to make a traffic of religion, and to barter the blood of* Chriſt *for money; and that the tribunal of the holy* inquiſition *had been inſtituted for very good and wiſe ends; that he ought therefore to follow the ſteps of king* Ferdinand the Catholic, *who, in his greateſt need, had refuſed the* 600,000 *crowns which thoſe very* Jews *had offered to him for the liberty of continuing peaceably in his dominions: that thoſe who had rejected* Chriſt *from reigning over them, were unworthy of the protection of a Chriſtian prince.* Our author adds [m], *that* Charles *yielded to theſe reaſons, and pre-*

Addreſs Charles V. *for liberty.*

Gracious reception.

Cardinal Ximenes *oppoſes them.*

[1] CARDOSO las Excellencias, ſub. an. 1605. p. 383. [m] Vid. FLECHIER's Life of Cardinal Ximenes, lib. vi. p. 772.

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ferred the wholsome council of the cardinal to the perſuaſions of his ſelfiſh miniſters. This was their laſt effort; which proving ſo ſucceſsleſs, they have had recourſe ever ſince to diſſimulation, and by pretending to a greater zeal than ordinary for a religion which they abhor, do for the moſt part paſs unobſerved, if not unſuſpected.

The hard fate and puniſhment of the judaiſing converts.

We need not here give an account of the inquiſition's proceedings againſt ſuch as are indicted for apoſtacy, nor of their dreadful puniſhment when found guilty. It will be ſufficient to ſay, that in ſuch caſes they are delivered up to the ſecular power to be put to death, tho' with a ſtrict and ſolemn charge not to ſhed their blood; to prevent which they are condemned to be burnt alive. The *Jewiſh* authors do bitterly complain that theſe ſeverities are ſtill continued in full rigour againſt them, at *Cordoua*, *Liſbon*, *Conimbra*, *&c.* and even in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*; and for want of better reprifals, do in their return canonize all thoſe ſufferers for ſaints and martyrs, and embelliſh their ſufferings with legends of miracles wrought in their favour, that is, either to ſave them from, or to revenge their deaths: the reader may ſee a ſpecimen in the margin (H). In the mean time, in order to honour and

(H) Thus they tell us of one *Sylva* a phyſician, who had been kept a priſoner at *Lima*, during the ſpace of 13 years, where he circumciſed himſelf, forbore eating of fleſh and drinking of wine, and became a perfect *Nazarite*, under the name of *Heli Nazareno Indigno Siervo de Dios al. Sylva*. Being at length condemned to the flames, he was no ſooner flung into them, than a prodigious ſtorm aroſe, which overturned the houſe in which he had received his ſentence, to the great aſtoniſhment of the very *Indians*, who owned they never had ſeen any thing like it (25).

Another that was burnt in *Portugal*, beheld his chains fall off in the midſt of the flames, and was no more ſeen; which made his executioners ſay that the devil had fetched him away; but the *Jews* believe that he was miraculouſly preſerved.

One *Sobremont*, a phyſician at *Lima*, was there burnt alive, after an impriſonment of 22 years. *Dom. Lope de Vera*, of a noble and Chriſtian family, having ſtudied ſometime at *Salamanca*, turned *Jew*, and circumciſed himſelf in priſon, and gave himſelf the name of *Judah the believer*. He was likewiſe burnt alive at *Valladolid*, *An.* 1644, and died with ſuch ſurpriſing conſtancy, that the chief of the inquiſition was forced to own, that *he had never ſeen ſuch an ardent deſire to die, ſuch a firm aſſurance of ſalvation, and ſuch an intrepidity, as he beheld in that young man, who died in the flower*

(25) *Cardoſo las Excellent. c.* 10. *p.* 322.

of

and perpetuate their memory, they have taken the method of writing martyrologies of them in ſome places [n]. A ſketch of which may likewiſe be ſeen in the ſame note. But it is now time to paſs over into the eaſtern parts.

Mademar-tyrs by the Jews.

WE begin with thoſe that were ſettled in *Perſia*, *Media*, *Armenia*, under *the Great Mogul*, *&c.* where, to avoid the frequent breaking off the thread of their hiſtory, as well as the ſcarcity of materials, we ſhall continue their hiſtory thro' the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. They had hardly recovered themſelves from the long and fatal diſaſters which they ſuffered during the wars of the great *Timur Bekh* † and his ſucceſſors, during which thoſe in *Perſia* and *Media* were not only greatly attenuated and impoveriſhed, but their academies, learning, and learned men, had totally diſappeared (I), before they received

Jews *in the Eaſt during the three laſt centuries.*

[n] At Amſterdam, vid. BARRIOS GOUVIRNO popular. Judaico, p. 42. MENASSEH. Eſperanza d'Iſrael, p. 99. † See the hiſtory of that conqueror in vol. v. p. 215, & ſeq.

of his age (26). Thus they preſerve their memory to poſterity; and affirm, that God ſuffers theſe frequent executions, becauſe he is willing to have ſuch faithful witneſſes of his unity in all ages and nations of the world.

(I) We are told, however, that one of the provinces of *Cochemir* was filled with *Jews* which had come thither ever ſince the time of *Solomon*, or of *Shalmanezer*. Mr. *Thevenot* deſired a correſpondent of his there to enquire of them whether they had the holy ſcriptures, and whether they were the ſame with ours; but was anſwered, that if there had been any *Jews* there formerly, there were none of them left then, and that all thoſe inhabitants were either *Mohammedans* or heathens (27). That author tells him, however, that there were ſome in *China*, who ſtill preſerved the Old Teſtament, and had never heard of *Jeſus Chriſt*. He mentions a jeſuit's relation concerning one part of that ſpacious empire, *juſt upon entering it, and paſſing the mountain called* Pire Penjale, *where moſt of the inhabitants appeared to be* Jews, *both by their air and complexion, by their making uſe of the name of* Mouſa *or* Moſes, *and a tradition they have, that* Solomon *came into that country, cauſed that mountain to be cut acroſs to make a conveyance for the waters. They add, that* Moſes *died at* Cachemir, *and that his tomb was about a league from it; and laſtly, ſhew a ſmall edifice, built on a high mountain, at ſome diſtance, which they ſay was built by* Solomon, *and was ſtill called* Solomon's throne. All which are too fabulous to deſerve farther mention; tho' we readily own that many *Jews* may have paſſed into thoſe

(26) *Carta del Inquiſidor Moſcoſo a la Condeſa de Monterey. ap. Baſnag. lib. ix. c. 25 ad fin.* (27) *Bernier Voyag. tom.* ii.

parts,

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Ishmael's conquests, A. C. 1500. ceived a new mortification from the conqueror *Ismael Sophi*, chief of the family of the *Persian* kings, who reigned there ever since, till the late great revolution that drove them from the throne *. The *Jews* who were very numerous in *Media*, where *Ishmael* had begun his conquests, were so surprised at his wonderful and swift success, that they began to look upon him as the Messiah; in which they seemed moreover confirmed, because he gave himself out to be a prophet sent by God to reform the *Mohammedan* religion. But that prince, who despised them in his heart, refused all their homages and proffered services, and treated them with greater severity than any of his subjects. He died in the year 1523; and was succeeded by his son *Thahamasp*, and he by *Ishmael*, a blind prince, and father of the famed Shâh *Abbas*, who became a great persecutor of them. The fact, as it is commonly related, being in some cases very improbable, may be seen in the margin (K). However, according to our author °, it did not take

Jews rejected.

Persecuted A. C. 1577.

* De hoc, vid. sup. vol. v. p. 420, & seq. ° Hist. of the three impostors, p. 114.

parts, and may have easily settled themselves there *, as they are commonly given to traffic, and have many good physicians and astronomers among them; tho' some of them may, thro' length of time, and variety of changes, have so far forgot their religion, as to have adopted all these fables.

(K) Shâh *Abbas* having granted great privileges to all strangers to settle in his depopulated dominions, the *Jews* came in such shoals, and so soon engrossed the commerce and riches from the rest, that complaint was made of it to that prince.

But he being afraid lest his severity to them should make others retire from his dominions, found a lucky pretence to persecute them by the authority of the *Koran*; where it is said, that they were to embrace the *Moslem* faith, 600 years after its publication; and would have destroyed them accordingly, on refusal, if the mufti had not prevented it. However, their chakhams, or doctors, were summoned, and closely examined concerning several parts of their religion; such as the abolition of their sacrifices, and other rites, at the coming of *Isai (Jesus Christ)*, their refusing to believe in him, tho' the *Koran* speaks honourably of him, and what they thought of *Mohammed* and his book; and not being able to give satisfactory answers, had recourse to prayers for mercy, and to protestations that they only settled in his dominions with a design to serve him (28).

After several bitter reproaches, *Abbas* insisted that they should fix a time for the coming

* *See before, vol.* viii. *p.* 134, *& seq.* (28) *Hist. of the three impostors, p.* 114. *Kidder's demonstration of the Messiah, part* iii. *c.* 2. *p.* 435.

of

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take place till *an.* 1642, in the reign of *Abbas* II, who having a more peaceable reign, began to ſearch into the regiſter of the palace, and among others, found that of his father's contract with them, mentioned in the laſt note; and was ſo much more ſurpriſed at it, becauſe *Zabbathai Tzevi* made then a great noiſe, and was looked upon by the *Jews* as the Meſſiah, who came to diſengage them from it.

ACCORDINGLY *Abbas* II. called a great council to deliberate on that important affair, where it was unanimouſly agreed that the *Jewiſh* nation ought to be deſtroyed without delay; which encouraged ſo many cheats, who aimed at nothing but to oppreſs the reſt of mankind. The order was accordingly iſſued out, both to the *Perſians* and ſtrangers, to butcher them without exception of age or ſex, or of any but thoſe that turned *Moſlems*. The maſſacre began at *Iſpahan*, the capital of the kingdom, and was carried on with the ſame ſeverity in the provinces of *Schiras*, *Ghelan*, *Hamadan*, *Ardan*, and *Tauris*, where the *Jews* were ſettled, and laſted three years, or from *A. C.* 1663 to 1666, without intermiſſion or pity; inſomuch that there was not one of them left in all thoſe provinces, where they had gained immenſe wealth. Some few found indeed means to flee into the *Turkiſh* dominions, and others into *India*; and many ſaved

A. C. 1666.

Maſſacred at Iſpahan, &c.

of their expected Meſſiah; and promiſed that they ſhould be tolerated till then; and that if he came accordingly, he and his ſucceſſors would embrace his religion; but that if he did not, they ſhould either turn *Moſlems*, or ſuffer the loſs of their lives, children, and effects: they had ſome time granted to make their anſwer; and after mature deliberation, told the Shâh that the Meſſiah was to appear in 70 years, reckoning from the day on which they had been ſummoned before him; by which they at leaſt procraſtinated the threatened puniſhment till after his death. *Abbas*, who was avaricious, as well as cruel, made them pay dear for their toleration, cauſed the agreement to be regiſtered, and ſigned on both ſides; and taxed the *Jews* at two millions of gold. *Abbas* died in the 63d year of his age (*A. C.* 1620) *; and 115 years elapſed from his reign, before the contract above-mentioned was thought on; the *Perſian* kingdom being all that time diſtracted with wars againſt the *Turks*. *Amurat* IV. who, *A. C.* 1638, made himſelf maſter of *Bagdad*, found great numbers of *Jews* in it; but tho' he maſſacred the *Perſians*, contrary to his promiſe, yet he ſhewed favour to the *Jews*, in hopes they would prove ſerviceable to him (29).

* *See before, vol.* v. *p.* 452, *& ſeq.* (29) *Dom. Miguel de Barrios Hiſt. Univerſ. Judaic. p.* 4. *Baſnag. lib.* ix. *c.* 26. §. 9.

their

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Obtain liberty of conscience.

their lives, &c. by abjuring *Judaism* (L). But as he afterwards observed that most of those conversions were feigned and forced, it is not improbable that they might disgust him from proceeding farther, and induce him to restore to them the full liberty of their religion, as was the custom of the *Persians* to do to all strangers. And we read accordingly that they enjoyed it a long time after, that is, till one of the Shâh's ministers, either out of hatred to them, or with a design to enrich himself by their spoil, prevailed upon his master to persecute them afresh [p]. He spared neither fair nor violent means to gain his end, and even obtained an order from him to forbid the exercise of the *Jewish* religion, in order to make them turn *Mohammedans*. He caused them to be closely watched; and found upon the whole, that whatever shew they might make of a change, they still continued in their old religion; which at length obliged him to let them still remain bad *Jews*, since he could not make them good *Moslems*. However, continues our author, those that are at *Ispahan* are very poor, and in small number, and are obliged to pay a sequin *per* head to the king, and to wear a piece of cloth on their breasts, of about two or three inches, and of a different colour, upon their upper garment, by way of distinction. It is plain moreover, from the traveller who

Their sham conversions.

Distinction of dress in Persia.

[p] Thevenot, Voyag. Engl. part ii. lib. ii. c. 14. p. 110.

(L) It is no less difficult to reconcile our author's chronology above-mentioned with the reign of *Abbas* I. than to reconcile the above contract with the character of that haughty monarch. He did not put his brother to death till an. 1586, 16 months after his father's death; and from his mounting the throne to the last year of this massacre (1666), could elapse but 80, instead of 115 years. Besides, he could not presently make such a treaty with the *Jews*, from the beginning of his reign; nor the *Jews* themselves be grown so wealthy in so short a time. So that the most that can be supposed to have elapsed between the one and the other, is about 60, or at most 70 years. Wherefore it is absurd to say the execution of the contract was suppressed for so long a time, either on account of this *Turkish* war, or of a toleration by virtue of this imaginary treaty with them: for who can imagine that so despotic a prince would treat with his slaves on such terms, and engage to be of their religion, if their promise about the Messiah proved true? It is therefore more likely that he at first persecuted them, to make as many proselytes of them as he could to his own religion; a piece of zeal which all the *Moslem* princes glory in; and in case of recusancy, the confiscation of their riches might be no less powerful a motive to his avarice.

was

was in thoſe parts from *an.* 1663 to 1665; that is, ſome years before the time of the *Jewiſh* maſſacre, that, upon his coming thither, they enjoyed full liberty of conſcience; ſince he adds, that the *Perſians* thought it ſtrange, that one *Eatemad Doulet* ſhould have taken it into his head ſome time before to oblige them to turn *Mohammedans*.

Tribe of Levi at Shiras.

THE tribe of *Levi* pretend to have maintained themſelves in *Shiras*, where the *Perſians* have a famed academy; and we are told, that there are a greater number of *Jews* in it than in *Iſpahan*; but how the *Levitical* tribe, whether it be the deſcendants of thoſe that ſtaid in *Babylon*, or of thoſe that returned with *Ezra* †, ſhould have maintained itſelf there, and ingroſſed the wine and glaſs trade (for that is what they are chiefly employed in) is not eaſy to gueſs. They are ſtill more numerous at *Lar*, the metropolis of one of thoſe provinces; and have a quarter peculiar to them at the foot of the mountain between the town and the caſtle ‡; and extend themſelves into the country, on the ſide of *Ormus* and *Bender Abaſſi*, in order to get ſome part of the *Indian* trade into their hands, which was once carried on by their brethren, who were formerly very numerous in thoſe parts (M). But to return to *Perſia*, and the provinces depending on it.

Jews at Lar, &c.

† De his vid. Anc. Hiſt. vol. x. p. 181, & ſeq. ‡ THEVENOT, voyag. Engl. part ii. lib. iii. c. 4. p. p. 131.

(M) There was a manifeſt difference made there between thoſe who were born *Indians*, and had embraced *Judaiſm*; and thoſe that were deſcended from *Abraham*. And the king of *Portugal*, who had baniſhed them out of his kingdom, ſuffered them to live at *Goa*, and other places, where they were allowed the exerciſe of their religion (30). But, at length, an impoſtor having appeared there, *an.* 1639, who was believed by them to be the Meſſiah; and whoſe fame had reached even to *Portugal*, where ſome of the *Jewiſh* converts betrayed their old leaven, on the hopes of him, the inquiſition took ſuch care to ſuppreſs them, that they were all forced either to flee or to turn Chriſtians (31), in thoſe eaſtern parts that were under him.

They were moreover accuſed there of ſacrificing, like the *Indians*, to the devil, to prevent his hurting them; but, though that accuſation may be falſe, they have learned from them the doctrine of tranſmigration, and ſet up for great foretellers of things to come; which they pretend to do by their cabbaliſtical art, and by the motions of the planets, which the *Indians* are highly pleaſed with.

(30) *Mandeſlo's Voyage into India, lib.* ii. *p.* 272. (31) *Baſnag. ubi ſup. c.* 27. §. 14.

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at Bagdad; *BAGHDAD*, once the residence of the princes of the captivity, is so gradually dwindled, since its being taken by *Amurat* IV. *an.* 1638, that it hath not above 15,000 inhabitants; and among them a good number of *Jews*, who have their synagogue in it, and increase yearly by the concourse of pilgrims, who visit the tomb of *Ezekiel* formerly mentioned; but still they are hated by the *Persians*, and kept very poor, though they enjoy the free exercise of their religion. They *in* Armenia; are said to live more peaceably in *Armenia* [r], though their own writers own no such thing; but tell us, that those of *Masca* having accused them of having killed a Christian, because he was seen to go into a *Jewish* house, and not to come out of it again, an information was immediately lodged *persecuted.* against them; and the murder being confessed by the accused, they crucified some, and burnt others, not even sparing *Abiob*, a celebrated physician, whom they cast into the flames. Three days after the Christian appeared, the accusation was found to have been laid out of hatred to them, and the confession to have been extorted by torture. Complaint being made of it to *Soliman* II. the *Armenian* magistrates were forbidden, from thenceforth, to take cognisance of such criminal cases, and ordered to bring them before the *Sultan*. This story, if true, which is taken from an anonymous writer who lived in *Egypt*, and is intituled, *The Sufferings of the* Jews, shews plainly, that, if they live quietly among the *Armenians*, it is rather owing to the protection of the *Porte*, than to any good liking or conformity between them, hinted at by the author last quoted.

Their number in Media; THEY are still numerous in *Media*, whither they had been transplanted by *Sennacherib* †; but whether they kept footing there ever-since, as they pretend, is hard to guess (N). How-

† Vid. 2 Kings, c. xix. & seq. [r] HERBERT's Voy. into Persia, an. 1677.

(N) Whether *Tauris* be the ancient *Ecbatane*, or rather a new one near it, here is a considerable commerce carried on by the *Jews*. The same may be said of *Chasshbin*, which some geographers believe to be the ancient *Rages* of *Media*, where the *Jews* had been transported, and where *Gabael* lived, whom *Tobit* had intrusted with his ten talents (32). It is still a rich trading place, and advantageously situate to link the commerce between *Hircania*, *Iberia*, and *Media*, with the other parts of the empire. Insomuch, that it was made the capital of *Persia*, and the royal residence for the winter, by *Thahamasp*, and continued so till *Abbas* I. removed it to *Ispahan* *.

(32) *Tobit* iv. 20. *de hoc, vid. sup. vol.* ii. *p.* 379.

ever,

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ever, they are ſaid to have one hundred families againſt forty of Chriſtians. They are not ſuffered to ſettle at *Scamachia*, a trading city on the *Caſpian Sea*; but the *Tartars*, who bring thither boys, girls, and horſes, to ſell, are obliged to tolerate, and intermix with them for the ſake of that commerce. They ſpread themſelves as far as the foot of mount *Caucaſus*; and we are told, that the prince of *Mingrelia*, as well as that of *Imiretta*, pretend to be deſcended from king *David*. The ancient monarchs of *Georgia* boaſted the ſame extract; and the *Cham* of that country, among his other titles, takes that of a deſcendant from that *Jewiſh* king by his ſon *Solomon* [s]. They give indeed no ſolid proof of it, tho' there is a great mixture of *Judaiſm* among them; and there is the ſmall city ſituate at the foot of *Caucaſus* called *Alakzike*, in which they had formerly a ſynagogue built by the *Georgians*; but which the *Turks* have ſince taken from them [t]. This is the ſtate of the *Jews* in *Perſia*, *Media*, *Armenia*, and other provinces of this large part of the Eaſt. They have their ſynagogues, and are very numerous, ſince they are found in all the trading cities from *Baſſora* and the *Indies*, quite to *Mingrelia*, *Georgia*, *&c.* But their tribes have long-ſince been ſo confounded and blended, that they are no longer diſtinguiſhed. What is ſtill worſe, they are very poor and ignorant; and, for the moſt part, get a miſerable living by the loweſt and meaneſt ſervices in life; they have neither commerce nor correſpondence with their brethren in the Weſt, and hardly know any thing of them. But it is now time to ſee how they fare in other provinces of the Eaſt.

in Georgia, &c.

Trade.

Poverty.

AND here one would naturally expect, that *Judea*, their once delightful country, ſhould have a greater number of them than either *Syria*, *Egypt*, *&c.*; but, as all its noble ſtreams of milk and honey have been long-ſince dried up, their love for it hath cooled in proportion. It is indeed frequently viſited by their devotees, who go thither in pilgrimage, as well as the Chriſtians; but few of either ſort care to ſettle in it, ſince they find it ſo difficult not only to grow rich, but even to get a tolerable ſubſiſtence in it.

Why ſo few in Judea.

SAPHETA, or, as the *Jews* commonly call it, *Sephet*, or rather *Tzepheth*, a city in *Galilee*, is the moſt populous and the moſt noted that the *Jews* have in this province. It enjoys ſeveral advantages above the reſt (O); and they are uſed with

The account of Saphet.

[s] CHARDIN's Voyage into Perſia, p. 107, & ſeq. [t] Ibid. p. 168.

(O) It is ſituate in the tribe of *Naphthali*, about nine miles from *Bethſaidah*, and built on a mountain with three heads, and

with greater mildneſs than in any other part of the *Ottoman* empire [u]. A traveller of the laſt century affirms, that none but *Jews* were in it; but he was miſinformed, having only rode by the foot of it [w]; for it hath about one-third *Mohammedans*, and the reſt all *Jews*. It hath an academy which is ſtill famous, and much reſorted to, and hath had ſome learned profeſſors in it; and, though the *Jewiſh* nation have for a good while loſt their reliſh for learning, yet they ſend their children to be inſtructed in the *Hebrew* tongue; for it is their notion, that it can be no-where taught in its purity ſo well as there; and *Sapheta* is now become what *Tiberias* was once. The reader may ſee in the margin an account of their moſt celebrated rabbies and profeſſors (P). All that we need

Learned men.

Rabbies.

[u] FULLER's Piſgah ſight, p. 111. [w] STOCHOVE's Voy. of the Levant, p. 342.

and difficult of acceſs; and conſequently more free from the incurſions of the plundering *Arabs*.

(P) It is plain, from *Benjamin de Tudela*'s not mentioning it, that it muſt have been founded ſince he was in *Judea*; that is, ſince the twelfth century. Accordingly, we do not find any perſons to have flouriſhed in it till the latter end of the thirteenth. The firſt, and one of the moſt celebrated, was *Moſes*, ſurnamed *Cordovero* and *Cordubenſis*, from the city of *Cordova*, his native place, who left it, and retired to this city; and was perhaps one of the firſt founders of that academy. He was reckoned the moſt learned cabbaliſt that hath been ſince *Simeon Joachides*, formerly mentioned. He hath left a work in that kind, intituled, *The Garden of Pomgranates* (33); wherein the paradiſe or garden includes the four different ſenſes of the Old Teſtament; the P is the literal, R the myſtical, D the enigmatical, and S the hidden or concealed (34).

The next was *Dominic* of *Jeruſalem*, who taught ſome time, and had been dubbed *Rav*, or doctor, in it after he had finiſhed his ſtudies and lectures on the thalmud. But he was ſtill more famed for his ſkill in phyſic; for which he was ſent for to *Conſtantinople*, and became the *Sultan*'s phyſician. He lived till the beginning of the laſt century; and, having embraced Chriſtianity, tranſlated the New Teſtament into *Hebrew*, and anſwered ſome objections which the *Jewiſh* rabbies made againſt the martyrdom of St. *Stephen*. *Murſius* ſeems to mention two of the ſame name, both *Jews* by birth, both phyſicians to the *Sultan*, and both new converts to Chriſtianity; but, in all

(33) *See Canticles, chap.* iv. *ver.* 13. *tom.* ii. *p.* 282.

(34) *Bartolac, ubi ſup. tom.* iv. *p.* 230.

like

need add, is, that there is not a city in *Paleſtine*, where they have ſubſiſted ſo long, and even to this day, and with ſo much credit and ſafety. They had likewiſe ſet up here a printing-houſe for *Hebrew* books, as they had likewiſe at *Theſſa-*

likelihood, they have been ſplit into two without any reaſon (35).

But thoſe who have done moſt credit to this academy, were the learned *Moſes Trani* and *Joſeph Karo*, who preſided in it about the middle of the 16th century. The former was a native of *Trani*, a city in *Puglia*, and taught here with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was ſtiled, *The Light of* Iſrael, *the Sinaite of* Mount Sinai, *and the Rooter up of Mountains*; becauſe he takes off all the difficulties that occur in the law. His work is not a ſet of ſermons, as *Buxtorf* hath imagined; for the title of it ſhews it to be a body of *Jewiſh* laws, wherein that author goes back to their fountain-head, and diſtinguiſhes between thoſe penned by *Moſes*, thoſe which have been tranſmitted by oral tradition, and thoſe which are only founded on the deciſions of their *Jewiſh* doctors (36). *Joſeph Karo* was a native of *Spain*, whence he retired into *Galilee*, where he died, *an.* 1575. He wrote ſo well on the rights of the *Jewiſh* nation, that he was called, *The Prodigy of the World* (37).

Beſides thoſe doctors which were ſtrangers, *Saphета* was not without ſome others that were bred up in her boſom. *Moſes Alſheh* was a native of it, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſeventeenth century, not only by his eloquent ſermons, but by his learned commentaries upon ſome part of the law. All the titles of his works are metaphorical. One is called, *The Eye of* Moſes; another, *The Roſe of* Sharon; a 3d, *The Lily of the Valley*; 4th, *Good Words*; 5th, *Comforting Words*; 6th, *The Portion of the Lawgiver*; 7th, *Hundred Gates*; 8th, Moſes's *Burden*; 9th, *The Warrior's Looking-glaſs*; 10th, *The Voice of the Weepers*; 11th, *The Law of* Moſes; and ſome others of the like nature. He is much admired for aiming ſtill at ſomething new in his expoſitions of Scripture, and for his fondneſs for ancient writers above the moderns; and fairly relates their ſentiments, even when they favour the Chriſtians. He doth not, for inſtance, diſguiſe that the Meſſiah was to be a man of ſorrows, *&c.* (38). On the contrary, he proves it, by the threefold diſtinction which the ancients have made of thoſe afflictions, *viz.* 1 Of thoſe which related to the patriarchs: 2. Thoſe that related to the people of God: and 3. Thoſe that related to the Meſſiah. But he is not ſo exact and uniform in the application of theſe prophecies; ſeeing ſome of them, he abſurdly refers back quite

(35) *Nic. Murſ. Relatione della citta de Conſtantinopoli, con. Riti, &c. Del. Ottomano Imperio, p.* 34. *Baſn. ubi ſup. c.* xxvii. §. 4. (36) *Bartol. tom.* iv. *p.* 31. (37) *Ibid. tom.* iii. *p.* 819. *Vid. Wolf, Bajnag.* (38) *Iſaiah* liii. *paſſ.*

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Theſſalonica and *Conſtantinople*, which were afterwards ſuppreſſed by the *Porte* [x].

Few Jews at Jeruſalem.

THE *Jews* are ſtill in much ſmaller numbers at *Jeruſalem*, where there are reckoned only about 100 families, who live moſtly upon *Mount Sion*, and a few of them are employed in the cuſtoms, or by the governor as ſecretaries and clerks; and all the reſt are poor beggars, who live chiefly upon alms ſent to them from their richer brethren in the Eaſt and Weſt (Q). Theſe have hammered out a ſtrange excuſe for their

[x] De his vid. MAITTAIR's Annal. Typogr. ORLANDI ORIG. della Stampa. PALMER's Hiſt. of Printing.

to *Moſes*, which plainly belong Chriſt (39).

R. Samuel Ozida was likewiſe born at *Sapheta*, and was a celebrated preacher. He wrote a commentary on the Lamentations of *Jeremy*, which he ſtiles, *The Bread of Tears*. *Moſes Nagaira* was another native of *Galilee*; though ſome make him a *Portugueze*, on account of his name. He likewiſe taught at *Sapheta*, and hath left a commentary on the Pentateuch, which is much eſteemed by the *Jews*.

The laſt we ſhall mention was the famed *R. Judah Jona*, a native of the place, and maſter of our *Bartolocci*, and who inſpired him with the deſign of writing his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, ſo often quoted in this chapter. *Judah Jona* was deſcended from a *Spaniſh* family, which retired into *Tuſcany* upon the edict of king *Ferdinand*; and being thence again expelled by pope *Pius* V. paſſed into the Eaſt, and ſome of them at *Sapheta*, where *Jona* was born. Here he finiſhed his ſtudies, and took the degree of doctor; and then came to *Amſterdam*, where he rendered himſelf famous for the judgment which he paſſed on the validity of a will in favour of a baſtard ſon, which was afterwards ratified by eighty-ſeven rabbies of *Germany* and *Theſſalonica*. He was afterwards choſen judge by the *Jews* of *Hamburgh*; and ſoon after paſſed into *Poland*, where he turned Chriſtian, and became jeweller to *Sigiſmund* III. He was afterwards ſent by him to *Conſtantinople*, under pretence of buying precious ſtones, and was there ſeized as a ſpy; and would have loſt his life, had not the *Venetian* ambaſſador redeemed him. He ſettled next at *Rome*, where he taught *Bartolocci* the *Hebrew* tongue; and is ſaid to have had ſuch a tenacious memory, that, if the thalmud had been loſt, he could have recovered it. He died *an.* 1668 (40).

(Q) Nothing can be a greater proof of their extreme poverty, than the frequent deputations they ſend to make

(39) *R. M. Alſheb. In Iſai. ex verſ. Conſtant. l'Empereur præfat. & p.* 232, 238, 240. *Baſnag. ubi ſup. §.* 6. *Wolf. Bibl. Hæbr. N.* 1523, *p.* 808, *& ſeq.* (40) *Bartoloc. ubi ſup. tom.* iii. *Wolf. Bibl. Hæbr. N.* 720. *p.* 430.

collections

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their want of zeal, and their averſeneſs to ſettle in that holy city. They tell us, that it is to be reduced to aſhes at the coming of the Meſſiah, by a fire from Heaven, which is to be immediately followed by a miraculous rain that ſhall extinguiſh it; to the end that the holy place may be purified by fire and water, from the pollutions which the Chriſtians and *Mohammedans* have committed in it; their fear therefore of being involved in that dreadful conflagration, they tell you, is the motive that keeps them from dwelling near it. They would doubtleſs ſpeak more ſincerely, if they owned, that the little traffic that is carried on there, the heavy impoſts laid on them by the *Turks*, the extreme poverty which reigns among them that live in it, and the inſults and mortifications they are expoſed to from the *Mohammedans*, who have an equal, if not a greater, veneration for that city, and many Santons living in it, are the real diſcouragements that keep them from ſettling there.

Their pretence for it.

The true reaſon of it.

THERE was the famed *Rabbi Jaacob* in this city at the time that *Selim* took it, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, who compiled a learned work, called, *The eye of Iſrael*, which was a collection of the various expoſitions of the law which are found in the thalmud. Several doctors had already compiled all that concerns the queſtions of *Jewiſh* rights and rites; but *Jaacob* collected thoſe that relate to the law, and are ſcattered in that large volume. He did not live to finiſh his deſign, but left it to his ſon *Levi*, who was no leſs learned than his father; and who completed, publiſhed, and prefaced it with lively tokens of ſorrow for his father's untimely death. And it was on account of this work, that a violent rupture happened among the contemplative profeſſors of *Sapheta*, which laſted during *Levi*'s whole life. But, after his death, the jealouſy which his learning had raiſed, began to cool, his memory to be revered, and his book, which ſaved the reading of ſeveral large volumes, was received with great applauſe (R).

R. Jaacob, A.C. 1517.

A rupture among the rabbies of Sapheta, A. C. 1538.

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collections in other parts for their maintenance. It was upon this errand, that *Jaacob Temerita* paſſed through *Franckford*, *Germany*, and *Holland*, *an.* 1684. His father was one of thoſe, who, on his leaving of *Portugal*, had retired to a ſmall town in *Judea* called *Tomer*, not far from *Sapheta*. The *Jews* there having deputed him to beg ſome relief for them from theſe parts; and it was, upon his return thither, that Mr. *Ludolph* ſent ſome letters by him to the *Samaritans* of *Mount Garizzim*, to whom he was known.

(R) *Leo de Modena*, a learned *Italian* rabbi of the laſt century,

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A great cheat there.

We read of another learned *Jew* of this city, whose avarice or ambition induced him to make such a fair profession of Christianity, that he, by degrees, raised himself to the dignity of patriarch of *Jerusalem* (S), after having gone thro' all the inferior ones with great applause. Not yet satisfied with his good fortune, he removed thence to *Constantinople*, in hopes of obtaining the patriarchate of it, which was then vacant; but being there seized with a dangerous sickness, which made him think himself near his end, he sent for several bishops, and a much greater number of *Jewish* doctors, to his bed-side, to whom he openly declared, that he had always believed the *Jewish* religion to be the best; that he renounced his bishoprick of *Jerusalem*, in order to die in his old faith, which he had never forsaken but in word [y], to the great astonishment of those that heard him; especially of all those whom he had so long deceived in a church, where the intention of the priest is declared necessary for the administering and efficacy of the sacraments.

Confesses his dissimulation.

Jews at Damascus;

The *Jews* in *Syria* are much more numerous and flourishing than in *Judea*. They have always had their synagogues, chakams, and learned men at *Damascus* [z]. Besides which, they have got from the Christians a celebrated spot of ground, pretended to be that where *Elijah* the prophet called *Elisha* to be his servant [a], and where they have reared a sumptuous synagogue instead of the church which the Christians had built. They have likewise a public burying-ground near the city, which is only parted by an alley from

[y] Hilar. continuat. Phil. Cypr. Chron. Eccl. Græc. p. 497, & seq. Ap. Basnag. ub. sup. c. 28. §. ult. [z] Thevenot's Voyage of the Levant, lib. i. tom. iv. p. 50. [a] 1 Kings xix. 19, & seq.

afterwards gave that work the finishing stroke, by adding to it the sentiments of several learned rabbies that were wanting in it, and a table of the chief matters, for the more readily finding them. He intituled his additions, *The House of* Judah; and his table, *The Bread of the House of* Judah; and published both *an.* 1635.

(S) As this patriarch was no friend to the Jesuits, it is still doubtful, whether he was really guilty of such enormous dissimulation, or whether they have not charged him with it only to tarnish his memory. It is not indeed easy, at this distance, to come at the truth of it: however, supposing the fact true, he is not the only *Jew* by a great number that hath done so; witness what we have said of those in *Spain* and *Portugal*, who still follow this dissimulation, though they have not so much honesty as to confess it at their deaths.

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that of the Chriſtians [b]. They are no leſs numerous at *Aleppo*, which is the ancient *Berea*, and where they have ſtately ſynagogues, drive a conſiderable traffic, and ſignalize themſelves in an uncommon manner on all public ſhows and feſtivals, eſpecially on the birth of young princes, in order to ingratiate themſelves with the *Ottoman* court, and with the governor of the place [c]. *at Aleppo.*

IT was in this city that the infamous *Zabathai Tzevi*, another falſe Meſſiah, was born; and, notwithſtanding his mean extract and education (T), formed the deſign of ſetting up for *The falſe Meſſiah* Zabathai the Tzevi,

[b] STOCHOV. Voy. of the Levant, p. 314. [c] Id. ibid. an. 1638.

(T) Some make him a native of *Smyrna*, but more of *Aleppo*. He was a poulterer's ſon, and was ſcarcely come from ſchool, before he began to preach in the ſtreets and fields, even before the *Turks*, who only laugh'd at him, whilſt his diſciples highly admired him. He married a young *Jeweſs* in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and divorced her immediately after, without having touched her. He took a ſecond, with whom he lived in abſtinence, probably to dazzle the eyes of the multitude, by his pretended love of chaſtity. He converſed ſo long with the writings of the prophets, that it is ſuppoſed to have in ſome meaſure turned his brains, by endeavouring to apply them to himſelf; inſomuch that he fancied he could fly up into the air, and blamed his followers for not having perceived him mounted on the clouds. He alſo pretended to do other miracles by the power of the name *Jehovah*; for which ſome of the wiſer ſort ſummoned him before the ſynagogue, and condemned him to death. But, as they could not get any to execute their ſentence, they contented themſelves with baniſhing him.

He paſſed over to *Theſſalonica*, a city where the *Jews* were very numerous; and which, conſequently, appeared a very fit place to play his tricks in; but he was ſoon baniſhed out of it, and from *Athens* and other *Greek* towns, and retired to *Alexandria*. He had by this time taken for his third wife, a young *Jewiſh* woman that had been debauched, and whom her parents had left in *Poland* under the care of a Chriſtian nobleman. *Tzevi* gave out, that the ſoul of her father, looſed from the body, had paſſed from *Aſia* into *Poland*, to tranſport her ſtark naked into his houſe; and married her after ſhe had travelled with him through *Germany* and *Italy*; and he found credit enough among thoſe of his nation to have her looked upon as the queen of his future empire. His brother, who was a tobacconiſt at *Franckfort*, left his ſhop to go to him, in hopes to get ſome of the beſt poſts under him; and had the comfort to be added to the vaſt

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A. C. 1666. the great deliverer of *Israel*. As this impoſture exceeds any thing we have met with of that kind among the many falſe meſſiahs that have appeared hitherto, both as to its circumſtances and conſequences, and is, notwithſtanding, ſo little known, the reader will be glad, no doubt, of an account of what is moſt material in this whole tranſaction.

WE have ſeen in the laſt note both his extract, and the method he took to gain credit among thoſe of his nation, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the beſt and moſt learned of them. To make his character moſt conſpicuous and agreeable to the predictions of the prophets, there was a neceſſity that it ſhould be uſhered in by an *Eliah*, or forerunner; and he made choice accordingly of a very noted *Jew* at *Gaza*, named *Nathan Levi*, or, according to others, *Benjamin*, a very fit perſon to promote his deſign; and who gave the more eaſily into it, becauſe, according to the interpretation of the cabbaliſts on a paſſage of *Daniel*, the Meſſiah was to appear on or about the year 1675. His firſt ſtep was to aſſemble all the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*, and to aboliſh the faſt which was there celebrated in the month of *June* following, becauſe it was now inconſiſtent with the coming of the Meſſiah. After which, he ſhewed *Tzevi* to them, and told them, that he was the miraculous perſon who was to be their deliverer, and to deſtroy the *Ottoman* empire, on *November* following. He met however with freſh oppoſition from the wiſer ſort, who plainly foreſaw, that this intended inſurrection would go near to cauſe the ruin of their nation in that empire; upon which they pronounced him an impoſtor, anathematiſed, and condemned him to death, alleging, that he neither had the characteriſtics of a Meſſiah, nor *Levi* thoſe of his forerunner (U).

His precurſor

ſhews him to them.

Condemned to death.

TZEVI,

number of the fools he had already made. So well had the cheat hitherto ſucceeded thro' the credulity of the *Jews*.

(U) He was thereupon forced to leave *Jeruſalem*, and to go to *Smyrna* and *Conſtantinople*; in which laſt he expected a plentiful harveſt of diſciples; but the *Jews* there had already been informed by letters from the twenty-five rabbies, who had excommunicated him, of the ſentence paſſed againſt him; in which they pronounced him an impious wretch, and that whoever killed him, would do an acceptable ſervice to God, and gain many ſouls to him. This obliged him to poſt away back to *Smyrna*, where his preſence was neceſſary upon another account; *viz.* to receive four ambaſſadors ſent him by his pretended precurſor to acknowlege him for the Meſſiah. This embaſſy impoſed ſtill more upon the people; inſomuch that ſeveral of

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TZEVI, however, who found his party much more numerous than that of his oppoſers, cauſed them to aſſemble in the great ſynagogue of *Smyrna*, where he ſeveral times pronounced the name *Jehovah*, and made ſome few alterations in their liturgy; whilſt the audience not only acknowleged his authority, but pretended to behold ſomething divine in his perſon. A freſh ſentence of anathema and death, pronounced againſt him by the rabbies, did not in the leaſt intimidate him; becauſe he knew that none would dare to put it in execution againſt him. He went however to the *Kadi*, whom his friends had found means to gain, and put himſelf under his protection; the giddy multitude giving out, that they had ſeen fire come out of his mouth like a pillar, which had obliged them to protect inſtead of putting him to death; upon which he was brought back in triumph, accompanied with ſhouts out of Pſalm cxviii. ver. 16, *The right hand of the* LORD *is exalted*, &c. *Bribes the* Kadi;

As he wanted now nothing but a throne to complete his character, he cauſed one to be raiſed for himſelf, from which he ſpoke to his ſubjects; and another for his queen, as he ſtiled her. He gave them likewiſe a new ſet form of faith, which all the world was to receive as from the mouth of the Meſſiah. Some of thoſe who oppoſed it, were forced to ſave themſelves by flight; others, who had been incredulous till then, owned themſelves convinced, being either really ſo, or borne away by the torrent; and were induſtrious in applying to him the accompliſhment of the divine oracles. When he found himſelf raiſed to this height of authority, he ordered the *Sultan*'s name to be eraſed out of the *Jewiſh* liturgy, and his own to be written in its ſtead. After which he began to diſpenſe the high dignities of his future kingdom among his moſt ſtaunch favourites, ſtiling himſelf the king of kings of *Iſrael*, and his brother *Joſeph Tzevi*, king of kings of *Judah*. He embarked at length for *Conſtantinople*, in a ſmall veſſel, whilſt the reſt of his followers went thither by land, and was nine-and-thirty days at ſea; by which time the Grand Seignor, being informed of his coming, ſent orders to his Viſir *Azem* to apprehend him, and have him ſeverely baſtonadoed, which was accordingly done. *erects his throne.* *Impoſes on the* Jews. *His title.* *Apprehended and baſtonadoed.*

of their doctors were caught by it. What added ſtill more weight to it, was his affected humility, his frequent waſhings, his being the firſt at their ſynagogues; but eſpecially his pathetic ſermons to them there, which had ſuch an effect upon them, that they could no longer reſiſt acknowleging him for their king, and making ſuitable preſents to him.

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The blindness of his followers.

THE *Jews* were not at all surprised at this accident, but began to recollect, that, according to *Levi*'s prediction, the Messiah was to be concealed nine months, during which he was to be a great sufferer; so that they looked upon this misfortune as an accomplishment of that prediction. *Tzevi*, on the other hand, being asked, why he had taken upon himself the title of king? answered, that it was done against his will, and to avoid the resentment of the *Jews*, who forced him to it. This answer obliged the visir, who was then preparing for his departure into *Candia*, to use him more mildly, and to confine him in the *Dardanels*, which was looked upon as a new miracle; and the *Jews* began to give out, that it was out of the *Sultan*'s power to put him to death, seeing he had not done it. There came, immediately after, a vast concourse of them to the *Dardanels*, where, having by dint of presents bribed the governor, they went and made much richer ones to their messiah, who, being thereby greatly puffed up, gave orders to have his birth-day celebrated; and sent ambassadors to all the *Jews* to declare to them, that he was the Messiah, and to acquaint them with the miracles which he pretended to have wrought, and was still to work. He gave at the same time, a plenary indulgence to those that should go and offer their devotions at his mother's tomb; and the *Jews*, on their part, came in shoals to pay their homage to him in his prison. Even those of the *Portugueze* synagogue at *Amsterdam*, composed a form of prayer, which was to be used by those who went to *Adrianople* to see this pretended *Messiah* [d]. But, in the height of all his success, came one *Nehemiah Cohen*, a *Polish Jew*, to his very prison to prove him an impostor; and, the more effectually to ruin him, turned *Mohammedan*, and revealed the whole mystery to the Kaimakan. The Mufti being also acquainted with it, was highly exasperated that such a man should be suffered to live, who disgraced the *Mohammedan* religion by pretending to be the Messiah. Application was thereupon made to the *Sultan*, who ordered the impostor to be brought to him at *Adrianople*, and that he should be pierced through with a sword or dart to try whether he was invulnerable.

Confined in the Dardanels.

Sends ambassadors to the Jews.

Opposed in his prison.

Brought to the Sultan.

Turns Mohammedan;

TZEVI, alarmed at this, found no other way to escape than by turning *Mohammedan*, by the advice, and after the example, of the *Sultan*'s physician, who had done so before. His wife turned likewise, and all the *Jews* hearing of it, were greatly surprised and disheartened. But his cabbalistical

[d] SIMON. Letters, tom. ii. p. 19.

friends

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friends found means to keep up their hopes by affirming, that the Meſſiah was to be for ſome time among the *Turks*, as *Eſther* had formerly been with king *Ahaſhuerus*; but all the wiſer *Jews* were covered with ſhame at his apoſtacy and impoſture (W). Nevertheleſs, ſuch was the credulity of the greateſt part of them, that, though *Tzevi* was afterwards beheaded, by order of the *Grand Seignor*, the generality of them believe him to be ſtill alive, another impoſtor being ſince riſen, as it were out of his tomb, who perſuaded them, that that was the real Meſſiah; and that he ſhould appear again in the world in a glorious manner. This new event being ſtill more ſingular, and little known, we ſhall give it now to our readers, as it was communicated by Mr. *Hochepied*, the then conſul at *Smyrna*, to the late Mr. *Cuper*, *an.* 1703, and by him of Mr. *Baſnage*, author to the hiſtory of the *Jews*. The letter is to the following purport [e]:

and is beheaded.

Pretended to be ſtill alive.

" *TZEVI* being beheaded by order of the *Sultan*, was " in a manner forgot, when a *Jew*, named *Daniel Iſrael*, " who had dwelt in that city *(Smyrna)* ſix or ſeven years, " took it into his head to perſuade his nation that he is ſtill " alive, and concealed in ſome corner, where he is to con- " tinue about forty-five years: after which, ſaid he, he will " appear again, according to *Daniel*'s prophecy, to this pur- " poſe [f]: *And from the time that the daily ſacrifice ſhall be* " *taken away, and the abomination of the deſolation ſet up,* " *ſhall elapſe one thouſand two hundred and ninety days:* " *bleſſed is he that watcheth and cometh to the* 1335 *days!* " when he ſhall appear and deliver his people. Theſe days " are prophetic years; the accompliſhment of which he " makes to fall preciſely to the term of forty-five years after " the death (or, as that new impoſtor words it), the retreat " of *Sabathai Tzevi*.

A new impoſtor proclaims his ſecond coming.

" THIS *Daniel*," continues the conſul, " is neither rabbi nor " doctor, but one that reads the law in the ſynagogue, and " uſes divers artifices to deceive thoſe that hear him; and it " is hard to gueſs by what means he doth them. Being

Some ſurpriſing tricks per-

[e] Letter of Mr. HOCHEPIED, conſ. of Smyrn. to Mr. Cuper, January 6th, 1703. [f] Chap. xii. ver. 11, 12.

(W) This was, it ſeems, what gave birth to the book, intituled, *The three Impoſtors*, different from another of the ſame title, much talked of, but, probably, never ſeen, or compiled. The three impoſtors mentioned by this we are ſpeaking of, were *Zabathai Tzevi*, *Mahomed Bey*, alias *John Cigala*, and *Padre Ottomano* (41).

(41) *Vid. Baſnag. ubi ſup. lib.* ix. *c.* 17, §. 15.

" ſeated

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formed by him. "seated at table, he pronounces these words in *Hebrew* "with a loud voice, *I have heard, and my entrails were* "*troubled*; and at once rises up with such velocity, that "one would imagine he was carried off by some superior "force. As he moves farther, one sees in the air behind "him a globe of fire, which seems to follow all his motions, "until he turns his face about towards the beholders; and "as he tacks about, he is heard to pronounce these words, "*The Lord is king, the Lord is king, the Lord shall reign for* "*ever and ever*; at which time the fiery globe is seen to "remove itself upon his breast, where the word *Jehovah* "appears written upon it; but presently after disappears."

THESE prodigies (with some other juggling and surprising tricks, which the above letter mentions, but which we omit for brevity's sake [s]) have astonished a great number of *Jews*; and among them the famed *Abraham Michael Raphael Cardoso*, who dwells in *Candia*. They will not believe *Daniel* to be a magician, but a real prophet, who acts by the power of God; and that, as he affirms it, *Sabathai Tzevi* is still alive, and wait with impatience for his appearing; and, in the mean time, celebrate the 26th of *Kastew*, or 18th of *December*, which is his birth-day, with great solemnity.

Great Jews taken with them.

NEITHER the Christians, nor the *Kadi*, would have known any thing of this imposture, had there not happened a rupture among the *Jews*; for to do the wiser sort of them justice, they strenuously opposed the impostor; so that of necessity the matter broke out, and was brought before that judge, to whom they offered a sum of 175 rixdollars, to cause him to be expelled the city, in order to wipe off themselves the shame of such a cheat. *Daniel*'s friends at the same time offered a much larger sum to save him; and, though these officers commonly turn the scale to the heaviest side, yet the *Kadi*, fearing lest he should be called to an account for having protected one of *Tzevi*'s disciples, who was raising a man from the dead, whom the *Porte* had caused to be executed, actually banished him; and he continued some time at the small town of *Cassaba*, in the valley of *Magnesia*, near the river *Ormus*, and still pretended to return to *Smyrna* with all his followers; because the government of the *Kadi* was to expire within six months.

The cheat discovered.

Kadi banishes him.

SINCE then, Mr. *Cuper*, willing to know how the matter was ended, received a letter from Mr. *Heyman*, minister of the *Flemish* church at *Smyrna*, which gave him an account, That the death of *Cardoso*, who maintained the impostor, and had been murdered by his son-in-law at *Grand Cairo*,

The end of that imposture.

[s] See BASNAG. lib. ix. c. 27. §. 19, & seq.

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had put a final end to the cheat; that the murderer fled into a *Turkiſh* moſque, and turned *Moſlem*, but doth not tell us what became of *Daniel Iſrael*. *Cardoſo* was, it ſeems, a great admirer of *Noſtradamus*'s predictions, which he had read at *Salamanca*, whilſt he was a ſtudent there [h]. We need not here obſerve, from what has been related above, how numerous, powerful, and flouriſhing, they are in all theſe *Turkiſh* dominions; and, indeed, they have found means, though deſpiſed by all the *Mohammedans*, to make themſelves ſo uſeful to them, that there is hardly any traffic carried on without them, but eſpecially with the Chriſtians, with whom they ſcorn to deal without a *Jewiſh* go-between, or broker; and as the *Turks* are commonly honeſt and well-meaning, they ſeldom fall of being made the dupes of both, and the *Jews* of being well paid for their knavery: ſo that they would of courſe grow vaſtly rich, if the government did not load them with heavy taxes for the liberty they enjoy. But let us now paſs on to thoſe in *Ethiopia*, *Egypt*, and the reſt of *Africa*, during theſe three laſt centuries.

Jews carry on a great traffic.

We begin with *Ethiopia*, where they live more peaceably, and more eaſily maintain themſelves by the conformity there is between their religion and cuſtoms, and thoſe of the *Ethiopians* (X), who boaſt themſelves to be ſprung from the ſame ſtock. Thoſe that live here never received the thalmud, nor any of that heap of traditions under which their religion is buried in other places. Upon the inundation of the *Saracens* into that country, they went and ſheltered themſelves in *Abyſſinia*, where they met with a very kind reception [i]; and

Jews in Ethiopia.

[h] Heyman's Let. to Mr. Cuper, 29th Jan. 1707. [i] Ludolph's Hiſt. Ethiop. l. ii. c. 1.

(X) We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully of the religion of the *Abyſſinians* in their hiſtory, and ſhall here content ourſelves with obſerving, that they not only agree with the *Jews* in ſeveral cuſtoms, ſuch as circumciſion, ſtrict obſervance of the Sabbath, and abſtaining from ſwine's fleſh, but their kings boaſt themſelves to be deſcended from thoſe of the ancient *Jews*; and bear for their arms a lion holding a croſs, with this motto; *The Lion of* Judah *hath conquered*. We find likewiſe their king *David*, in the letter he ſent to pope *Clement* vii. taking the following titles upon him; David, *beloved of God, the pillar of faith, ſprung from the tribe of* Judah, *the ſon of* David, *the ſon of* Solomon, *the ſon of the pillar of* Sion, *and of the ſeed of* Jaacob. Mr. *Ludolph* (42) doth indeed think, that that prince ſwelled thoſe titles on this occaſion above the common ſtandard; but that doth not hinder their believing themſelves to be deſcended from thoſe *Jewiſh* monarchs.

(42) *Ludolph's Hiſt. Ethiop. l.* ii. *c.* 1.

they

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they ſtill pretend to be very numerous and powerful there, and to have been maſters of ſome conſiderable kingdoms in it (Y). It is not eaſy to gueſs how early they were ſettled in this country; but if we may believe a modern traveller, who hath been in thoſe parts, there were not any to be found in any part of *Ethiopia*, except upon a vaſt high and

(Y) An *Arabian* author, who has written a panegyric on the *Ethiopians*, tells us, that the maſſacre of all the inhabitants having been reſolved on, they applied themſelves to the *Arabian* king, and begged, that they might be treated like *the people of the Scripture*, which, in the *Arabic* ſtile, ſignifies the *Jews*. They are called by *Mohammed*, the people of the book, meaning the Old Teſtament (43); ſo that the *Ethiopians* only deſired to have the ſame treatment with the *Jews* (44); which the *Arabian* prince granted to them, on condition they ſhould wear a ſcar on their face, by way of diſtinction.

We paſs by here the pretended ambaſſy ſent by the king of *Ethiopia* to pope *Clement* VII. mentioned by *R. Gedaliah* (45), and by *Peritſol* (46), of which a little ſwarthy *Jewiſh* rabbi was the chief, and came to beg his holineſs's aſſiſtance; and that he would ſend his maſter cannons, bombs, and other ammunition, together with engineers, and other proper perſons, to defend his kingdom againſt the incurſions of the *Arabs*, and other bad neighbours; in return for which, the king his maſter was to ſend his holineſs ſpices of all ſorts from his country, and go and conquer the *Holy Land*, and put it under his government.

Peritſol ſays, that the pope granted him his requeſt, and ſent him home in a veſſel loaded with cannon and other warlike engines, and a proper number of engineers. He adds, that, during his eight months ſtay at *Rome*, the cardinals and perſons of diſtinction invited him, and offered to viſit him, but that he refuſed both. He was wont to ride on a mule about the ſtreets, to obſerve all the curioſities of the place; and went ſo far one day as to ride a good way up into the church of *St. Peter*; and when he was bid to come down, he only anſwered, *Do well, O God, unto Iſrael!* The reader may ſee a fuller account of this embaſſy in the three authors laſt quoted, as well as a confutation of it in *Bartolocci* (47), and *Baſnage* (48), which we omit for want of room; and, for the ſame reaſon, we ſhall paſs by likewiſe all the fabulous ſtories about this country being the true *Preſter John*'s, and of the ſabbation, or ſabbatic river, which never flows during the Sabbath, and others of the like kind, which are foreign to the deſign of this chapter.

(43) *Koran. ſur.* iii. *p.* 38. (44) *Hottinger. Hiſt. Orient. lib.* i. *c.* 2. *p.* 214. *Baſnag. lib.* ix. *c.* 39. §. 2. (45) *Shalſheleth Hakkabala, ſub. An. Chr.* 1524. (46) *Peritſol Coſmogr. c.* xiv. *p.* 93. *& ſeq. Vid. & Ludolph, ubi ſup. & lib.* iii. *c.* 9. *comm.* 5. (47) *Bibl. Rabb. tom.* i. *p.* 43. (48) *Hiſt. des Juifs. lib.* ix. *c.* 29. §. 7, *& ſeq.*

ſpacious

ſpacious mountain in the heart of it, and inacceſſible on all ſides but one, and that very rocky, difficult, and dangerous; and here it was that our author tells us they were ſeated [k], the top of it having a moſt delicious plain, of vaſt extent, full of ſmall brooks, fine fruits, and excellent paſturage, where they live in plenty of all things, without ever coming down, or having any communication with the inhabitants of *Abyſſinia*. Here it was that *Claude*, the ſon of *David*, mentioned in the laſt note, being driven by his brother, and *Goranha* king of *Adel*, took refuge, and was received by the *Jews*, with open arms, and defended by them with ſuch bravery and faithfulneſs, againſt the forces of the latter, that they obliged them to retire, for which brave action they enjoyed his protection and friendſhip, after he had mounted the throne, during his whole reign.

Their high ſituation.

Fidelity to king Claude, A. C. 1540.

OVIEDO, ſent thither patriarch by pope *Julius* III. confirms their living only in ſuch high and inacceſſible mountains; and adds, that they had ſtripped the Chriſtians of many tracts of land upon them. He adds, that the kings of *Ethiopia* cannot bring them into ſubjection, by reaſon of the difficulty of coming at them; ſo that they live in a manner independent, and form a kind of republic of their own. They ſtill maintained themſelves in the ſame independency towards the beginning of the laſt century; inſomuch that they were ſometimes dreaded by the *Abyſſinian* kings, and were maſters of near three provinces of theirs. *Suſneus al Sultan Saged*, a bold and ſucceſsful prince, who had gained ſeveral victories over the *Gallas*, or *Gallani*, and died afterwards, *an.* 1632, came at length againſt them with a powerful army, and attacked them on their inacceſſible rocks, and forced them to diſlodge thence, and to diſperſe themſelves thro' the kingdom [l]. Upon which ſome of them retired quite up to the ſprings of the *Nile*, and among the *Caffres*; others are ſtill in the province of *Demba*, where they apply themſelves to the iron and woollen manufactures; which being odious to the *Abyſſinians*, are left wholly to them, on condition that they ſhall furniſh them with all the neceſſary implements of war. They have their ſynagogues and free exerciſe of religion, in which they make uſe of the thalmudic *Hebrew*, tho' they have not adopted that book. They are likewiſe very numerous at the court of the *Abyſſinian* princes, inſomuch, that an *Arabian* who had been there, told Mr. *Ludolph* that there were no leſs than

Live independent from him.

Driven from their ſtrong holds.

[k] Joh. de Castro Sinus Arab. ſeu Maris Rubr. Itinerar. p. 32. [l] Pauli V. Epiſt. ad Suſneum. ap. Ludolph. Comm. ad Hiſt. Æthiop. p. 491.

60,000

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Live quietly. 60,000 attending their camp [m]. They trade with the Christians as well as the *Ethiopians*, and live in perfect friendship with them.

Great deliverance in Egypt, A. C. 1524. THOSE of *Egypt* were like to have undergone a more severe fate, when *Achmed*, governor of it, revolted against *Soliman* II. and laid a tax on them of 200 talents; and because they pleaded insolvency, and had brought but 15 talents into the treasury, gave orders that all who had not paid should be imprisoned [n]. But here providence proved on their side, *Achmed* was seized and put to death, and tranquility restored to the city of *Cairo*, where they celebrated a feast in memory of their deliverance, and called it *Nassimo*, which signifies both a miracle, and the post on which *Achmed*'s head was affixed [o]. That city was very full of *Jews*, most of them very rich merchants; but the liberty that was granted to their nation, invited the rest to disperse themselves all over that country, where they exercised a great variety of trades, and carried on some considerable manufactures; and they pretend to have been there more numerous about this time than ever they were in *Moses*'s days, but their number, we are assured, is since very much dwindled, they having hardly any settlements except at *Cairo*, and some of the maritime towns, but so far from having any in the country, that they were obliged to go disguised, whenever trade, or any other occasion, called them thither, to prevent being insulted or abused by peasants and common people [p].

Vast number, A. C. 1673.

lessened.

R. Moses Alescar, A. C. 1555. ABOUT the middle of the 16th century flourished the famed *Moses Alescar*, or the *red* (Z), who wrote a learned defence of *Maimonides*, in which he confuted all that had been objected against that learned rabbi.

Jews *in* Afric, MOST other known parts of *Afric* not only protect but encourage the *Jewish* nation; and they are the principal traders into the inland provinces, whence they bring not

[m] Ap. LUDOLPH. lib. ii. c. 7. lib. iv. c. 5. N. 12. [n] SOLOM. BEN VIRG. p. 402. [o] GANTZ TZEMACH, sub. an. [p] VANSLEB Relat. of Egypt, p. 15.

(Z) Supposed from that surname to be descended from the noble family *de Rubeis* in that country. He wrote some other small treatises, besides *Maimonides*'s defence, against *R. Shem Tob* (49). *Buxtorf* mentions one of them intituled *Sepher Haggeulah*, or, *a Treatise on redemption*, which was more probably wrote by *R. Moses Gerundensis* (50).

(49) *Gedaliah Shalsheleth. p.* 63. *Bartolac. ub. sup. tom.* iv. *p.* 59, & 61.
(50) *Wolf, ub. sup. N.* 1517. *p.* 803.

only

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only ſlaves and gold-duſt, but abundance of other commodities, eſpecially gums and phyſical drugs. The misfortune is, that they adulterate every thing that comes thro' their hands. And ſo rich ſome of them are, that it was by the bare ſpoil of one of them that *Muley Archey*, king of *Taphilet*, was enabled to ſeize on the province of *Quiviana*, and to diſpoſſeſs his brother, then king of *Morocco* and *Fez*; in gratitude for which he granted the *Jews* all their former privileges, and made *Joſuah Ben Hamoſheth* prince of that nation [q]. His brother *Iſhmael*, who ſucceeded him, favoured them ſtill more, and as an acknowlegement for the great ſervices which he had received from *Dom. Joſeph de Toledo*, during his diſgrace at *Miquenez*, not only made him one of the principal officers of his houſhold, but ſent him envoy into divers courts of *Europe*, and he was the perſon who concluded the peace with the *United Provinces*, *an.* 1684 [r]. His ſon had all the ſame dignities confirmed to him. *rich and powerful.*

THEY had likewiſe been a long while ſettled at *Oran*, and were intruſted in ſome of the higheſt places in that city, yet ſuch was their fidelity to the *Spaniards*, notwithſtanding the ill treatment they had received from them, that they were the people who betrayed it to them, if it was not rather their avarice, and the great ſums with which cardinal *Ximenes* bought their perfidy. However that be, they have continued very faithful to them ever ſince; and when it was in great danger from their neighbours, of being re-taken, the *Jews* reſolved to loſe their lives in its defence; and when the garriſon threatened to revolt, at another time, for want of pay and proviſions, they ſuppreſſed it by a timely ſupply of both. All this did not prevent their being baniſhed from the place, *an.* 1669 [s], on what account is not eaſy to gueſs (A). Since which, they have not been able to get footing into it. *Betray Oran to the Spaniards.* *Baniſhed from it*, A. C. 1669.

THEY have likewiſe been very numerous and flouriſhing in the province of *Suz*, which formerly depended on the kingdom of *Morocco*, but has been ſince diſmembered from it. They had in the capital of that principality a very rich and ſumptuous ſynagogue, which was ſerved by ſeveral *Numerous at* Suz, A. C. 1535, & ſeq.

[q] Hiſt. of Taphilet. [r] Hiſtor. general de Barrios. BASNAG. ub. ſup. §. 17. [s] Hiſt. univerſal Judaic, de Miguel, de Barrios.

(A) They do indeed accuſe the marquis *de las Veles* to have uſed ſeveral artifices at court, to obtain this edict of baniſhment, in order to beſtow on an ambitious favourite woman a poſt which had been of long date hereditary in a *Jewiſh* family: but could not that have been done with leſs buſtle and injuſtice to all the reſt?

priests

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priests and officers. They had their judges and interpreters of the law, who were maintained at the charge of the people, and these get their living by traffic and labour. There are great numbers of them in the mountains of *Morocco*, who are employed in the iron manufacture, building, and other such laborious employments, to which the inhabitants are averse. But this doth not hinder others from trying their fortunes at court, and raising themselves to eminent posts. It was one of that nation, named *Pacheco*, who was sent ambassador to the *United Provinces*, and died at the *Hague*, *an.* 1604, and was buried there with great pomp. Some time after, their synagogues having been demolished in the kingdom of *Fez*, *Muley Mohammed* not only caused them to be rebuilt as soon as he came to the throne, but made one of that nation his high treasurer and prime-minister[t].

Synagogues re-built, A. C. 1660.

Jews *in* Turky *and* Constantinople.

BUT of all other countries the *Turkish* dominions have the greatest number of, and favour them most, and *Constantinople* above all other places; insomuch that there is neither lord or merchant, *Moslem* or Christian, but hath one of them in pay, who is the chief steward of the household, makes all his bargains, takes care of affairs both at home and abroad; besides which they are employed by the ambassadors, as well as the inhabitants, as couriers, in all their negotiations (B). We formerly took notice that they had their quarter in the suburb of *Galata*, called from thence the *Jewry*; but it hath been since removed to the sea-side, where they have their synagogue, houses, and shops, and have the privilege of selling of wine, of which they make a considerable gain, because theirs is preferred to that of the *Armenians*, on account of the *Jewish* law forbidding all mixtures; so that they reckon theirs the purest and best. They carry on likewise a great commerce, and are brokers between the *Turks* and Christians, and lend money on usury, as they do in most other countries (C). For all these privileges they pay a capitation to the *Porte*,

Trade and privileges.

Capitation.

[t] CARIO Marochens. Regn. Descript. p. 308—341.

(B) They are accordingly distinguished by their dress into two different orders; those that belong to foreign princes, or to their ministers there, wear the livery of those they serve: the rest wear a high crown'd hat without a brim, with a bluish turban and slippers; which is no mark of ignominy to them, because every nation hath its particular distinction.

(C) A vast number of them are employed likewise as porters; but with this disadvantage, that they are forbid the use of knots or of a bag filled with hay under their burdens, which is only allowed

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Porte, but inſtead of its being levied on them by the officer of the empire, they have agreed with him for a certain ſum, which is brought to him by the chief of each ſynagogue, who lays it on them according to every man's worth, by which the poorer ſort are relieved from too heavy impoſts [u].

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, they have a great many among them, whom extreme miſery obliges to turn *Moſlems* [w], in which no other ceremony is required than an examination of the motives of their change, and their pronouncing the following words, *La Illah Illalah Mohammed Reſoul Allah*; that is, *There is no other God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet* (D); but for the generality, they are very thriving and in great credit. The Chriſtians accuſe one of them that was phyſician to *Bajazet* II. of having been bribed by his ſon *Selim*, to poiſon him in his flight to *Demoticha*; which he had no ſooner done, than *Selim* cauſed him to be put to death [x]. But neither *Selim* nor the *Jew* are charged by the *Turks* with that black deed; *Bajazet*'s death being looked upon by them to have been natural. However that be, it was a *Jew* named *Michſes*, who out of ſpight to the *Venetians*, inſpired *Selim* II. with the firſt notion of conquering the fair iſland of *Cyprus*; which he ſoon after did, and granted the *Jewiſh* nation very great privileges in it (E); and not long afterwards ſent another

Poverty.

Bajazet *poiſoned*, A. C. 1472.

Cyprus *taken by*

[u] SMITH Notitia vii. Eccleſ. p. 116. RICAUT, HILL, THEVENOT, & al. [w] THEVENOT's voyag. into the Levant, lib. i. ch. 32. [x] D'HERBELOT. Bibl. Orient. p. 104.

allowed to the *Turkiſh* ones. And we are told of one of the former, who having met *Mahomet* IV. ſtraying in a wood (where he had been hunting, and muſt in all likelihood have ſtaid all night) and conducted him to his capital, was bid to aſk what reward he would have for his ſervice; and only begged that he might be permitted the uſe of the *Turkiſh* knot; which was granted him as a ſingular favour.

(D) Theſe words are eſteemed ſo ſacred among them, that whoever pronounces them, muſt either turn *Moſlem*, or is condemned to the flames.

There is a common notion, that a *Jew* cannot be received into the *Turkiſh* moſk unleſs he firſt turn Chriſtan, and is baptized; but that is a raillery rather than a truth. And as for circumciſion, they never repeat it, becauſe their old one is reckoned ſufficient.

(E) Among other encomiums which *Michſes* gave of that iſland to the *Sultan*, for which it was juſtly ſtiled *Macaria*, or the abode of the bleſſed, he commended its excellent wines; and *Selim*, who was very fond of that liquor, promiſed, in a drunken fit, to make him king of it. He did not, however, keep his

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Selim II. A. C. 1579.

ther *Jew*, called *Solomon Rephe*, to *Venice*, to negotiate a peace with that republic.

Printing set up at Constantinople, A. C. 1576.

THEY obtained soon after a much greater privilege from him, *viz.* that of setting up printing both in his metropolis and in *Thessalonica*, by which their books, especially the sacred ones, which were then very scarce and dear, came to be dispersed every-where, and were bought at such an easy rate, that people applied themselves more closely and universally to the study of them. The consequence was that there appeared soon after several eminent rabbies, and chiefs of the synagogues there. *Solomon* the son of *Japhe*, who had left *Germany* to settle in that capital, read his expositions on the *Jerusalem* thalmud, and rendered it much easier and clearer by them (F). *R. Gedaliah*, another learned doctor, who boasted himself descended from king *David*, did likewise leave *Lisbon*, his native place, to settle there as a physician, and at the same time taught the rites of the *Jewish* nation. He became afterwards chief of the synagogue, and laboured much to re-unite the *Caraites* and rabbinists, but found both sides too stiff to yield; so that the former only took the advantage of their mutual conferences to print and publish several of their own books (G). The last of note we shall mention, is *Mordecai*, the son of *Eliezer*, who called himself the *Constantinopolitan*; tho' he commonly resided at *Adrianople*, and there expounded the grammar of *Aben-Ezra*, intituled, *Jessod Morah*, or, *The Foundation of Fear* (H).

word with him, but recompensed him in some other way; and gave such encouragement to those of his nation in that island, that they became very numerous and rich in it, and continue so to this day.

(F) He printed several other works, one of which he stiled *The beauty of the eyes*; and another, *The fair look*, alluding to his surname of *Japhe*, which signifies fair or beautiful: the one contained a set of sermons, and the other an exposition of the *Middrash Rabbah*, or larger comment on the Pentateuch (1).

(G) *Gedaliah* likewise printed his treatise of *Shibba Enajim*, or seven eyes, alluding to *Zachariah*'s vision (2); and some others which are not known. He must not, however, be confounded with a relation of his of the same name, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

(H) There hath been since discovered another work of his; *viz.* a MS. comment on the Pentateuch, the expositions of which are so litteral, that he hath been thought a *Caraite*: but whether he was really so or not, this work hath been much commended by a learned author, who had thoroughly examined it (3).

(1) *Bartoloc. ub. sup. tom.* iv. *p.* 395 & 549. (2) *Zachar* 3 & 9. (3) *Frey's Basilicens. Excerpt. Aaronis. Vid. Basnag. ub. sup. c.* 30. §. 9.

THERE

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THERE are ſome places indeed in *Greece*, out of which they have been expelled, particularly the city of *Salonq*, whoſe inhabitants, *Turks* as well as *Greeks*, mortally hate them. The ſame may be ſaid of *Athens*, where they had been fixed ever ſince the apoſtles time [y], but are ſince forbid to ſettle in it; which may be perhaps owing to the Chriſtians being by far more numerous there than the *Turks*, there being between 8 and 9,000 of the former, and but about a fourth part of the latter, in it [z]. But there are others, in which they are numerous and powerful; eſpecially at *Patras*, where they have four ſynagogues, chuſe their own judges from among themſelves, and have a ſpacious burying-place on a neighbouring mountain, which at a diſtance looks like a large city (I). They are ſettled at *Lepanto*, *Livadia*, *Corinth*, and other cities of *Greece*, and live by their commerce; but that country is in ſo ſad and deſolate a condition, thro' the heavy taxes they are obliged to pay to the *Porte*, and its more ravenous officers, that they are for the moſt part very poor. They fare much better at *Theſſalonica*, where we find them ſettled ever ſince the time of St. *Paul*; and have had a conſiderable academy for ſome centuries, as well as a printing-houſe; which laſt was ſince taken from them. Here flouriſhed likewiſe ſeveral eminent rabbies, whoſe names and works the reader will find in the margin (K); and hither it is that the *Jews*

[y] Acts xvii. 17. [z] Sr. G. WHEELER voy. tom. i. p. 398.

(I) This hill, it ſeems, is full of little houſes, which ſerve for a repoſitory for their dead; and have a kind of marble door, at which they are conveyed in, and whereon are the epitaphs of the dead, and of the family to which each doth belong.

(K) Among them was the famed *R. Moſes Abelda*, whom *Plantavitius* miſtook for a *Sicilian* (4), on account of his being ſtiled *Salonichi*, which is the name by which that city, and not *Sicily*, is called. He publiſhed ſeveral works there, particularly his *Deraſh Moſheh*, or myſtical expoſitions, or ſermons on the Pentateuch; and his *Shahare Dimhah*, or gates of tears; which is a moral treatiſe on the vanity and miſeries of this life, written to comfort thoſe of his nation under their frequent diſaſters (5), and ſome others of leſs note.

Here flouriſhed likewiſe *R. Joſeph* the ſon of *Levi*, who taught in it, *an.* 1490, and publiſhed a treatiſe on the uſe of the *Gemarrah*. He was at once chief of the ſynagogue of *Conſtantinople*, and of this academy; and this laſt it was that the falſe Meſſiah *Zabbathai Zevi*, lately mentioned, choſe for the ſcene of his impoſture; not doubting but if he could im-

(4) *Plantavit. Bibl. Rab. p.* 136. (5) *Wolf, ub. ſup. N.* 1518. *p.* 804.

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Jews do still send their children from *Constantinople*, and other parts, to be taught the *Hebrew* tongue.

We read of about 6000 being settled at *Gallipoli*, a city in the *Thracean Chersonesus*, near the mouth of the *Propontis*, and a much greater number at *Prusia*, on the *Mysian* coast, near *Mount Olympus*; there being reckoned near 12,000 living within the walls of it, whilst the Christians are forced to dwell in the suburbs [a]. They had formerly also a settlement at *Rhodes*, near one of the walls of the city, which was thence called the wall and quarter of the *Jews* [b]; but soon after the raising of the siege by the *Turks*, the master of the *Rhodian* knights proposed to their council the banishing of them; which was readily agreed to, not only out of the whole island, but out of all the places under their dominions. It was likewise there resolved that the *Jews* not having the same natural right over their children that other parents have, they should baptise and educate them at the public charge, lest they in time should go out of the island, and return to their old religion. As for their parents, they were ordered to sell their effects, and depart within the space of forty days, but were forbid to go and settle in the *Levant*, lest they should serve as spies to the *Porte*. However, upon that island being re-taken by the *Turks*, the *Jews* returned and settled in it, and are used with greater mildness than the Christians [c], who are obliged to leave their shops and warehouses at night, and go and lie in the suburbs, and villages adjacent, which the

Rhodes *re-taken by the* Turks, A. C. 1652.

[a] Sr. G. Wheeler id. ib. p. 185. [b] Spon. voy. tom. i. p. 209. [c] Stochove. voy. of the Levant, p. 227. Thevenot, ubi sup. tom. i.

pose on the doctors of so famed an academy, he should find it easy to do so on all the rest.

This was also the place where the apostate *Victor Pardo* retired from the university of *Marpurg*, where he had been professor; and, upon his turning *Jew*, on pretence that he could not believe the mystery of the Trinity, took the name of *Moses Pardo*, *An. C.* 1614. Being here grown very poor, he wrote a letter to his quondam friend *Hertman*, in which he told him, among other things, that all the bibles were sadly corrupted, except those of the original *Hebrew*, which he said he had closely studied since his coming to *Salonichi*. He moreover declared himself a firm adherent to the *Jewish* religion, which, he said, was allowed on all hands to be of divine original; whereas mankind was much divided about Christianity; and in that faith he died, tho' very poor and troubled in mind (6).

(6) *Epist. Mos. Pardo, ap. Shud Compen. Hist. Jud. lib.* iii. *c.* 1. *Vid. Basnag. ub. sup.* §. 13.

Jews

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Jews are not. Theſe, however, do not amount to above 200; but they are more numerous at *Smyrna*, where they are reckoned about 6000, and have a good number of ſynagogues[d]. Upon the whole, there is hardly any conſiderable city or town in the *Ottoman* empire in which there are not ſome of them, tho' every-where oppreſſed by the *Sultan*'s officers, in which they only fare as the reſt of his ſubjects do.

THUS much may ſuffice for their hiſtory in the eaſtern parts, during the three laſt centuries; it is now time to return into *Europe*, and take a view of them thro' all thoſe Chriſtian ſtates wherein they are ſtill tolerated. But here we hope our readers will gladly permit us to be more brief than we have been, with reſpect to the ſufferings and horrid perſecutions they have been forced to undergo, eſpecially during the 15th and 16th centuries, and beyond, on falſe accuſations of crucifying Chriſtian children, ſtealing conſecrated wafers, to uſe them in their conjurations, and the various miracles by which their pretended crimes have been brought to light, and expoſed them to the barbarous fury of a zealous populace, and ſubjected them to ſuch dreadful puniſhments, as can hardly be read without horror. Theſe, we ſay, have been ſo frequent, and in ſo many parts of *Europe*, during this epocha, that a bare narrative of them would more than fill one of theſe volumes; for which reaſon we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning ſome of the moſt conſiderable inſtances of this zealous cruelty, and the year and place where they have happened, without deſcending into the many ſhocking particulars that attend them. As for matters of a different nature, and which we think worth a curious reader's notice, we ſhall gladly impart them to him, as they come in courſe.

Jews in Italy, &c. during the three laſt centuries.

WE begin with *Italy*, where, tho' we have ſeen them hitherto protected and favoured for the moſt part by the popes, yet their writers open this 15th century with a dreadful perſecution, which the then warlike pontiff *John* XXIII. raiſed by his ſeveral edicts againſt them; and not content to perſecute them in his dominions, wrote a letter to the then queen regent of *Spain*, during the minority of her ſon *John* II. deſiring her to act in concert with him; which ſhe did accordingly, and with ſuch ſeverity, that ſhe obliged 16000 of them to renounce *Judaiſm*, whilſt of thoſe who perſiſted in it, one part were condemned to the flames and other cruel deaths, and the reſt were maſſacred by the peaſants in their flight, except ſome few who bought their lives by dint of money[e]. This calamity, however, proved but of ſhort duration, at leaſt

Perſecuted by pope John XXIII. A. C. 1412.

[d] SMITH Sept. Eccl. notit. [e] SOLOM BEN VIRG. p. 312.

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in *Italy*; and the *Jews* had the pleasure soon after to hear that their persecutor was himself reduced to a more desperate state than they (L). *Nicholas* II. being come to the papal chair, began not only to comfort and protect those within his dominions, but to suppress the inquisitors that plagued them. He likewise sent letters into *Spain*, to prevent their forcing them to abjure their religion; and as to those who did it with a good will, he affirmed that they had a right to be admitted into the public posts, from which the city of *Toledo* had unjustly excluded them, as hath been hinted before.

Protected by pope Nicholas II. A. C. 1447.

A new storm against them, A. C. 1472.

They had not enjoyed the fruits of that pontiff's patronage many years, before a new storm arose against them from another quarter; but whether designedly or no, we will not affirm. *Sextus* IV. had been prevailed upon to canonize the little *Simon*, who had been murdered, or pretended to have been so, by the *Jews* (M), in the city of *Trent*, ever since the year 1276; but, for what reason may be better guessed than told, had not been sainted till now, that is, near 200 years after his pretended martyrdom. This at once revived the hatred and zeal of the people against them, not only in that city and bishopric, but in the territories of the city of *Venice*. The preachers, under pretence of some special miracle, excited them to such a degree, that they plundered and killed all the *Jews* that fell in their way; insomuch that the doge and senate were obliged to interpose their authority, to sup-

(L) The dire change of fortune of that haughty pontiff is elegantly set forth in the following distichs:

Qui modo summus eram gaudens & nomine præsul
Tristis & abjectus nunc mea fata gemo.
Excelsus Soli nuper versabar in alto
Cunctaque gens pedibus oscula prona dabat;
Nunc ego pœnarum fundo devolvor in imo,
Vultum deformem quemque videre piget.
Omnibus ex terris aurum mihi sponte ferebant;
Sed, nec Gaza juvat, nec quis amicus adest (7).

(M) The *Jews* are accused of having murdered that youth, who was a tradesman's son, in a most cruel manner. They shew you still in that city a knife, a pair of pincers, and four large needles, with which they had let out his blood, and two silver tumblers, out of which they had drank it. The whole story of that butchery is painted at full length in one of the churches of that city, in a chapel dedicated to the little saint (8).

(7) *Vid. Basn. lib.* ix. *c.* 31. §. 1. (8) *Misson, ub. sup. Basnag. ub. sup.*

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preſs the diſaſter; and in their order to the magiſtrates of *Padua*, commanded them to be treated like their other ſubjects, and to prevent their being ill uſed by the populace; *becauſe the rumour ſpread at* Trent *appeared to them to be falſe, and artfully invented, for ſome ends which the ſenate did not care to dive into* [f]. However, this did not hinder the leſs equitable magiſtrates of *Trent* from baniſhing them, tho' ſome time after they obtained leave to tarry there three days, becauſe they drove a conſiderable commerce in that city. We learn ſince, that thoſe three days were ſhortened into three hours, on account of their ſo ſtrenuouſly defending the city of *Buda* againſt the Chriſtians, in the laſt war with the *Turks*.

Senate of Venice's order in their favour.

Baniſhed out of Trent.

POPE *Alexander* VI. not only received thoſe whom the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal* had baniſhed, but obſerving that thoſe that came to *Rome* met but with a ſorry reception from their unnatural brethren there, (inſomuch, that they muſt have periſhed with hunger and miſery, if he had not aſſiſted them) ſent expreſs orders to the reſt to alter their conduct towards them, and to ſupply thoſe poor refugees with means to ſettle themſelves in his dominions, and threatened to baniſh them if they did not comply. To thoſe that ſtaid in his territories he gave the ſame privileges as the ancient *Jews* had enjoyed, and endeavoured to procure the ſame for the reſt from the other ſtates of *Italy*, which ſoon brought vaſt numbers thither (N). Another part went and ſettled in the kingdom

Some come to Naples and are perſecuted, A. C. 1510.

[f] See the order of the doge Moceningo, dated April 22, indiction viii. an. 1475, ap. CARDOSO's Las Excellencias, p. 27. MISON's journey into Italy.

(N) Among thoſe whom that pontiff's kindneſs had invited to *Rome*, was the learned *R. Jochanan*, a *German*, who had been lately ſettled at *Conſtantinople*, and became afterwards the maſter of the famed *Picus* of *Mirandula* a prince who had already betrayed an extraordinary fondneſs for the cabbaliſtical writings (9), and was ſo confirmed in it by that *Jew*, that he is reported to have declared, that thoſe who dived into them, dived in the true head ſpring; whereas thoſe rivulets that had flowed thence into *Greece*, were no better than corrupt and ſtagnated waters. He likewiſe affirmed that *Ezra* had cauſed certain cabbaliſtical books to be written, which he had then in his poſſeſſion, and had purchaſed at a vaſt price, and which *Sixtus* IV. had ordered to be tranſlated into *Latin*.

Picus hath been much cenſured

(9) *Ap. Manaſſe. de Fragilit. præfat.*

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A. C. 1539. dom of *Naples* [s], where they met with such severe usage from the inquisitors, that the people mutinied, and the viceroy resolved to banish them all out of that kingdom, that he might be at once rid both of them and of the plague of those inquisitors. *Charles* V. soon after authorised his viceroy's conduct, by refusing to grant them any toleration either in that kingdom or in *Sicily*. And indeed his whole behaviour towards them shows that he really hated them, on account of some impostures he had found them guilty of, and which they seem too much to have deserved of him: the reader may see an instance or two in the margin (O). This did not, however, discourage

Hated by Charles V. A. C. 1534.

[s] Dacherii Specil. tom. ix. p. 162.

for his too great esteem of them; in answer to which he took God to witness (10) that he had found in them the mystery of the Trinity, and all the other mysteries of Christianity; so that there was not the least controversy or difference between them and the writings of St. *Paul* or St. *Jerom*; but that he had by them converted a very learned cabbalist, named *Dattilius*. No wonder then that a prince of that character should prove so kind a friend and patron to the persecuted *Jews*.

About the same time one *Bonis de Latis*, a native of *Provence*, dedicated to pope *Alexander* VI. his treatise on the usefulness of an *astronomical ring*, which he had invented. He wrote it in tolerable good *Latin*, tho' he thought himself obliged to make an apology for it in the following distich prefixed to it.

Parce, precor, quæ sunt rudibus errata Latino.
Lex Hæbrea mihi est, lingua Latina minus (11).

(O) One of them had, it seems, been so impudent before him, as to affirm himself to be the Messiah; and *Charles*, being convinced that he was a cheat, had caused him to be burnt alive, *an.* 1534. This did not deterr two others from attempting the like imposture; only they acted their parts with more caution. The one was originally a *Jew*, but had been brought up a Christian, and had already got some small employment at the court of *Portugal*, when the other named *David Lemelein* came thither from *Rome*, and resolved to make him act in concert with him. *David* gave himself out to be *the chief of the army of* Israel, and had done the same at *Rome* before *Clement* VII. and being arrived at *Lisbon*, persuaded the young convert to return to his *Judaism*, and gave him the name of *Solomon Malcho*.

He set him immediately upon studying the rabbinic writings; in which he made so swift

(10) *Pic. Miraud. apolog. p.* 82. (11) *Bafnag. ub. sup. §.* 4.

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diſcourage one *Ricci*, a converted *Jew*, from dedicating to that monarch his celebrated treatiſe on, what he ſtiled, celeſtial agriculture. He was a phyſician in *Germany*, and a moſt profound cabbaliſt, and pretended to prove all the myſteries of Chriſtianity from the *Cabbalah*; but whoever reads that work, or his 50 theorems and expoſitions on the *Sephiroths*, &c. will own that they did not deſerve thoſe encomiums which ſome learned men have made on them (P); and that ſome of them, eſpecially his Ricci.

a progreſs, that the *Italic Jews* affirmed that ſome angel dictated his ſermons. Not content with preaching, he compiled ſeveral curious treatiſes, which ſtill added to his fame. All this while *David* diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his long faſting, being ſometimes ſix whole days without taking any ſuſtenance; inſomuch, that thoſe who were witneſſes of it, looked upon him as ſomething more than human. Neither he nor *Malcho*, however, had dared to aſſume the title of Meſſiah, but contented themſelves with that of his forerunner. At length *Malcho* was imprudent enough to deſire an audience of *Charles* V. then at *Mantua*, which he readily granted; but as ſoon as he was got out of his preſence, that prince cauſed him to be arreſted, and burnt alive; and *David Lemelein* was ſent priſoner into *Spain*, and died there a few days after his confinement. Yet ſuch was the ſtupidity of the *Italian Jews*, that they would not believe, for a good while, but that he was ſtill alive there, and that he came conſtantly once a week to pay a private viſit to his wife, who was ſtill in *Italy* (12).

(P) *Eraſmus*, who was commonly as laviſh of his praiſes as of his ſatyrs, and was intimately acquainted with him, cries him up to the ſkies, as a good philoſopher, and profound divine: he knew him profeſſor of philoſophy in *Pavia*, and was charmed with him. But he ſtill more admired the ſimplicity of his manners, which ſhewed him to be a guileleſs *Iſraelite*, who had no other pleaſure or exerciſe but the ſtudy of the ſcriptures; on which account he was extremely ſollicitous to procure him ſome honourable employment, by the help of which he might make the beſt advantage of his talents (13).

But beſides what we have obſerved above of his writings, he diſplays but an indifferent judgment in the parallel he makes in his theorems of the writings of *Dionyſius* the areopagite, and the book of *Zohar*, formerly mentioned †, as well by his unſkilfulneſs in his chronology, and making thoſe two authors to have been cotemporaries, and to have lived about the time of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

(12) *Imbonat. Bibliot. Rabb. tom.* v. *Gentz Tzemach ſub an.* 293. *Shalſheleth*, *p.* 45, & 48. *Wolf, Bibl. Rabb. N.* 2004. *p.* 1076. *Peritſol Itinerar*, *c.* 14. *p.* 91, *& ſeq. & al.* (13) *Eraſmi. Epiſt. lib.* i. *epiſt.* 37. *p.* 88. † *De hoc, vid. ſup. p.* 227, *& ſeq.*

dialogue

dialogue on the Apoſtle's creed, are far below the dignity of a ſound and reaſoning divine [h].

Jews powerful under Paul III. A. C. 1539.

THE *Jews* were become ſo powerful under pope *Paul* III. that cardinal *Sadolet*, biſhop of *Carpentras* (R), grew quite out of patience with them and their protector, againſt whom he bitterly inveighs, as being kinder to them than to the Chriſtians, who lived amongſt them as ſheep among wolves. His letter, which was written to cardinal *Farneſe* [i], is full of the ſevereſt reflections againſt that pontif and his partial fondneſs for thoſe enemies of *Chriſt*; and that none could be raiſed to either civil or eccleſiaſtical dignities but thro' their favour and intereſt, whilſt he ſcrupled not to perſecute the *Lutherans*, *&c.* He concludes with diſcovering the true motives of it, the great profit they helped to bring into his finances and treaſury. This complaint, if it had not quite the deſired effect, procured at leaſt a redreſs of the moſt flagrant abuſes; whilſt thoſe that were of a more profitable nature, were palliated and winked at.

Oppoſed by cardinal Sadolet.

Thalmud burnt, A. C. 1554. A. C. 1582.

SOME time after this, pope *Julius* III. being of opinion that all the allegorical interpretations of the *Gemarrah* were dangerous [k], cauſed the thalmud to be burnt; ſo that according to the *Jewiſh* writers, all the *Gemarrahs* in *Italy* were deſtroyed [l]. And it was under the ſame pontiff, that one *Joſeph Tzarphati*, a celebrated rabbi, after having taught a conſiderable time at *Rome*, embraced Chriſtianity, and in honour of that pope, took the ſurname *de Monte* (S), and proved that pontif, by

[h] BASNAG. ub. ſup. c. 31. §. 7, & ſeq. [i] SADOLET, lib. xii. epiſt. 5 & 6. [k] BULLAR. tom. i. Conſt. Paul IV. p. 19, & 24. [l] GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 153.

(R) This city [which is in the county of *Avignon*, and had been ſold to the pope, by *Joan* queen of *Sicily*] had ever ſince that time had a *Jewiſh* ſynagogue, as well as that of *Avignon*, and the *Jews* protected by thoſe pontiffs, have ever ſince then enjoyed the full liberty of their religion. Only they are forced to live in a quarter by themſelves, and to wear, the men yellow hats, and the women a yellow bit of ſilk or ſtuff on their upper head garment.

(S) He was born in *France*, but of *Frizan* extract; but finding that the *Jewiſh* learning flouriſhed more at *Rome*, he removed thither, and expounded the thalmud both in the ſynagogue and in their academy. After his converſion he wrote a peaceful letter to the *Jews* there, *An. C.* 1582, in which he proved to them that the Meſſiah was really come, and was made ſoon after to preach both to them and to the new converts; but his defection had rendered him ſo odious to the former, that they complained of it to cardinal

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by the help of the *Gemarrah*, to have been mentioned in the ſacred text. But of all the learned *Jews* that flouriſhed at *Rome* about this time, *Elias Levita*, author of ſeveral excellent treatiſes, deſerves the firſt rank. Some make him a native of *Padua*, and ſay that ſome of his relations were ſtill ſettled at *Rome*, particularly *Abraham Aſchenazi*, chief of that family, and one of the judges of the ſynagogue [m]. Not conſidering that the word *Aſchenazi* is the appellative which all the *German Jews* take, from *Alkenaz*, the ſon of *Gomer* [n], whom they ſuppoſe to have peopled *Germany* †, and is accordingly affirmed by others, with more probability, to have been born at the ſmall town of *Eyſch*, near *Nuremberg* °. Some have likewiſe imagined that he turned Chriſtian, becauſe he was very converſant among them; but that is a miſtake, for he died a *Jew*; and in one of his works gives God thanks that he was born one (T). However, he was a very moderate one,

Elias Levita, *his extract, learned works, &c.*

[m] Bartoloc. ub. ſup. tom. i. p. 135. [n] Geneſ. x. 3. † See before, vol. vi. p. 1, & ſeq. ° Genebr. Buxtorf. Wolf, Bib. Rab. Num. 249. p. 153.

cardinal *Sirlet*; upon which that employment was taken from him. He wrote afterwards a treatiſe, ſtiled, *The confuſion of the* Jews, in which he pretended to prove that all the myſteries of Chriſtianity are found in the Old Teſtament (14): but as it was not printed, an *Italian* writer, author of the *Dialogo di Fede*, hath taken the liberty to plunder what he thought fit for his purpoſe out of it.

(T) *Elias* was no leſs unfortunate than learned; and this obliged him, having been totally ruined at *Padua*, when that city was taken and plundered, to teach *Hebrew*, to maintain himſelf and family, particularly to cardinal *Gilles*, who proved a generous patron to him. But for this, his whole nation cried him down at a ſevere rate, ſome charging him with apoſtacy, and others with expoſing the divine myſteries and oracles to the Chriſtians; whereas, according to the words of the pſalmiſt (16), *He gave his laws unto Jacob, and his ſtatutes unto Iſrael: he hath not done ſo to any nation*, &c. they ſaid, that he ought not to have inſtructed any ſtrangers in that ſacred language. And this might be the reaſon of his having been looked upon as a convert to Chriſtianity, unleſs we will ſuppoſe this notion to have ariſen from a grandſon's of his, of the ſame name, having afterwards embraced Chriſtianity, and become a Jeſuit, under that of *J. Baptiſta Elianus*.

However that be, *Elias* eaſily diſculpated himſelf from thoſe ſlanders, partly in the preface

(14) *Fabian Fiochi. Bartoloc. Bibliot. Rabb.* tom. iii. p. 818. *Baſnag. ub. ſup.* §. 12. (16) *Pſ.* cxlvii. 19, 20.

one, and free from that rancour and gall against the Christians that one meets with in the writings of those of his nation. The rest of his character and works the reader may see in the last note. There flourished likewise at *Rome* a celebrated *Jewish* poetess, named *Deborah*, who began to make herself famous, by her poetic and other works, about the year 1560, and lived to the beginning of the 17th century [p]. She was wife to *Joseph Ascariel*, a learned rabbi, commonly known by the name of *Ascarellus Romanus*.

Deborah.

Paul IV's two edicts against

THE *Jews* fared much worse under *Paul* IV. who really hated them, and from the beginning of his pontificate issued out two severe bulls against them; by the first of which, every

[p] GENEBR. BUXTORF, WOLF, Bibl. Rab. N. 465. p. 287.

to his book בחור, *Bachur*, or *The chosen*, and partly in a poetical preface prefixed to an other work of his, intituled, *Massoreth Hammassoreth*, in which he owns that the narrowness of his circumstances had obliged him to teach the *Hebrew* tongue, but at the same time declares, that he never explained or betrayed any of the mysteries of the *Jewish* faith, no, not even the first verse of *Genesis*.

He was again reduced to such extreme poverty, by the plundering of *Rome* by the high constable of *Bourbon*, that, to use his own words, he had neither bread to eat, fire to warm himself, nor cloaths to cover his nakedness. This obliged him to retire to *Venice*, and thence into *Germany*, to seek his bread; but being by this time very old and unable to bear the coldness of that country, he was forced to cross the *Alps* once more, and died in the 80th year of his age (17).

His chief works are as follows:

An exposition of *Kimchi*'s grammar. His own grammar, or *Bachur*, divided into four parts or treatises: the first of which treats of the conjugations; the second of verbs regular and irregular; the third of perfect names; and, the fourth of imperfect ones: with rules for the true pronunciation of the *Hebrew* tongue. His treatise on composition is another grammatical book. His *Sepher Zichronoth*, or book of remembrances; or a collection of *Massoretic* observations, from ancient authors. His *Tob Taham*, (Ps. cxix. 66.) or treatise on *Hebrew* accents. His *Massoreth Hammassoreth*, or critical art on the *Hebrew* text. His *Meturgæman*, or *Chaldaic*, targumic, and rabbinic lexicon. His *Pirke Eliahu*, or grammatic rules in verse. His *Shibre Luchoth*, or breaking of the tables, a grammatic treatise on true reading, *&c.* His *Thishby*, or dictionary. Some other poetical performances, in praise of certain books and authors, with some others of inferior note, the reader may see a fuller account of, in the authors last quoted.

(17) *Vid. Basnag. ub. sup. Bartolac. Wolf, ub. sup.*

synagogue

ſynagogue within his dominions, was to pay ten crowns *per them*, A. *an.* for the inſtruction of the catechumens who were willing C. 1555. to embrace Chriſtianity; and by the ſecond they were obliged to wear, the men yellow hats, and the women yellow hoods, to live ſeparate from the reſt of the Chriſtians, and to have their quarter ſhut up every night. They were moreover deprived of all ſociety, places, merchandize or commerce with the Chriſtians, except that of cloth-brokage, which was the only traffic allowed to them. They were limited to one ſynagogue in every city, and ordered to ſell all their lands in ſix months; which ſo lowered the price of them, that they did not get the fifth part of their value, which yet amounted to 500,000 crowns [q]. He iſſued likewiſe an ordinance againſt their books; not indeed like that of his predeceſſor *Julius* III. who cauſed them all to be burnt in the lump; for this diſtinguiſhed between thoſe that contained blaſphemies againſt *Chriſt*, and thoſe which only taught or expounded the *Jewiſh* religion; the latter of which were tolerated, and the former flung into the flames (U).

[q] Basnag. ub. ſup. §. 17, & ſeq.

(U) They were likely to have fared much worſe, on an information of 89 women converts from *Judaiſm*, who pretended to be poſſeſſed; and, upon being exorciſed, anſwered, that the *Jews* had ſent thoſe devils into them out of ſpight and revenge. The pope, who hated them, and was no great divine, was, on hearing of it, reſolving to baniſh them all, when a Jeſuit diverted him from it, by repreſenting to him the abſurdity of the accuſation, and the neceſſity of making a ſtricter enquiry into it. The pretended demoniacs were accordingly ordered to be examined by ſcourging; and upon receiving the firſt ſtrokes, confeſſed that they had been drawn into this impoſture by ſome courtiers, who hoped to inrich themſelves by the ſpoils of the *Jews*, whether they were baniſhed or put to death. Thoſe courtiers were thereupon put to death that night; and the pontif, being informed of it, cried out, *I might have been damned, for unjuſtly putting the Jews to death, had not my good Jeſuit prevented it. I will pray God to convert them; but whilſt I live will I never hate nor moleſt them as I have done.* This ſtory we have from an author (18) who lived pretty near this time, and who tells us he had it from his own brother, who was chaplain to cardinal *Granville*; and, if true, may be a good caution againſt giving too eaſy a credit to ſuch kinds of accuſations againſt the *Jews*, as well as to the notion of poſſeſſions and witchcraft (19).

(18) *Lewis Guion diverſ. leſſons, tom.* ii. *lib.* iii. *c.* 9. (19) *Baſnag ub. ſup.* §. 18.

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Council of Milan's acts against them, A. C. 1565.

THE cardinal *Charles de Boromeo*, bishop of *Milan*, and since canonized, not only enacted several canons against them, in the first council he held in that metropolis, which were much of the same kind with those of *Paul* IV. abovementioned; but desired all the Christian princes to do the same[r]; and all this in order to promote as much as possible their conversion. But that edict shews at the same time that they were become so numerous and powerful, as well as interspersed with the Christians, that there was some reason to fear them, not only at *Milan*, but in other places of *Italy*, unless they were confined to their own separate quarters, and interdicted as much as possible all kind of converse and dealings with the Christians.

Pius V's edict against them, A. C. 1569.

POPE *Pius* V. was still more severe to them, not only laying them under the same harsh restrictions, but charging them in his bull against them with treachery and falshood; with encouraging theft, lewdness, and other vices; with dealing in magic, sorcery, and fortune-telling; and with every thing that could render them odious to the Christians[s]: on which account they were ordered to be banished out of all places of his dominions, excepting the cities of *Rome* and *Ancona* (W).

Sextus V's grant, A. C. 1587.

Sextus V. acted with more frankness towards them, and fairly owned that the profit he reaped from them was the chief motive of his tolerating them. A certain rabbi named *Meir*, or *Magin*, of *French* extract, but who had resided some time at *Venice*, came about this time to *Rome*, and being a man of learning and address, dedicated a book to him, with some verses in his commendation; and presently after petitioned him for the sole privilege of settling there a silk manufacture; pretending that he had an excellent secret for multiplying of silk-worms. *Sextus* not only granted his request, but revoked all bulls and edicts of his predecessors to the contrary,

[r] Concil. Mediolan. I. an. 1565. cap. 14. [s] De Judæis Conc. tom. xv. p. 333. ap. eund.

(W) It is somewhat surprising, that if they were really guilty of those crimes, they should be suffered to stay in any place, much more in his capital; but that pontif had his reasons for it; tho' those he gives in his edict will hardly be deemed serious, *viz.* that he indulged them to live there, to put the people in mind of *Christ's* sufferings: that he might have a more watchful eye over them; that the sanctity of the place, and example of the Christians, might encourage their conversion, *&c.* But the true motive was the promoting commerce with the eastern parts, and the great advantage accruing to the holy chamber from it.

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tho' confirmed by oath, or backed with ſentence of excommunication [t]. His view was to enrich himſelf by laying a good heavy tax on every pound of ſilk; tho' his granting the monopoly to him could not but prove prejudicial to all that dealt in that commodity.

CLEMENT VIII. confirmed the bull of *Pius* V. againſt them [u], by which they were baniſhed out of the eccleſiaſtical ſtates; but added the city of *Avignon* to thoſe of *Rome* and *Ancona*, where they have been ſettled ever ſince, with full liberty of their religion. He gave much the ſame reaſon for his indulgence that his predeceſſor *Pius* had done, *viz.* the promoting their converſion. However, they did not make him a ſuitable acknowlegement for it, but, on the contrary, applied to him that prophecy of *Zechariah, Smite the ſhepherd, and the ſheep ſhall be ſcattered* (X); which made *Abraham Echelenſis* tax them with horrid ingratitude, for curſing, like *Shimei*, a prince from whom they had received ſuch ſingular favours. But it is time to take a view of them in other parts of *Italy*, where they had likewiſe very conſiderable ſettlements. Clement VIII. *his bull*, A. C. 1593.

THEY are tolerated in all the *Venetian* territories [x], and claim in part their protection from that republic, on account of ſome eminent ſervices they did to it in the wars with the *Turks*, particularly at the ſiege of *Candia*. But they are ſtill more numerous and flouriſhing in its capital, whither the great printer, *Daniel Bomberg*, came from *Antwerp*, and began for the firſt time to print *Hebrew* bibles [y]; for the correcting of which he kept ſeveral, ſome ſay above 100, learned Jews *at* Venice. Hebrew *bible printed*, A. C. 1511.

[t] BULLAR, tom. ii. Pii V. Conſtitut. 80. SPOND, ann. ſub. an. 1569. [u] See his Privilege in BARTOLOC. Bibl. Rabb. tom. iv. p. 20. BASNAG. ub. ſub. §. 22. [x] LUZAT CARDOZO, ap. Baſnag. ibid. c. 32. §. 1. [y] GANTZ TZEMACH, ſub. an. 1271. p. 151.

(X) This prophecy (20) was variouſly applied by them; by ſome to the grand ſignor, under whom they lived a miſerable life, as we have lately ſeen, and whoſe empire being deſtroyed, the *Jews* were to conquer the *Holy Land*, and afterwards the world. *R. Solomon Jarchi* applied it to the *Roman* emperors. But the famed *Manaſſe ben Iſrael* hath fixed it upon the *Roman* pontif, who ſtiles himſelf *the great ſhepherd, the head-ſhepherd next to God, and his vicar upon earth*. And it was this his comment on the prophet which filled *Echelenſis* with ſuch indignation againſt them.

(20) *F. Simon Catal. Biblior.*

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Jews in pay [z] (Y). *Bomberg* was likewise desirous to print some good *Hebrew* grammar, and *R. Abraham de Balmis* was ordered to compile one accordingly; but dying before it was finished, it was afterwards compleated by *R. Calonymos*, a learned *Jew*, then at *Venice*. Besides those two books, he printed a great number of other works of the *Jewish* rabbies, for which his memory is still dear to the learned world, especially to the *Jews*. Here likewise lived *R. David*, the son of *Isaac de Pomis*, who, in gratitude to this republic, wrote a book to prove that its laws were of divine original, and that God had promised by his prophet to preserve so holy a commonwealth. This learned rabbi boasted himself to be descended from some of those *Jewish* families, whom *Titus* had transported from *Jerusalem* to *Rome*; and mentions two of his ancestors; *viz. Isaac Rich*, and *Eliah Hakkodesh*, or the saint, over the tombs of which two miraculous fires had been observed to shine during the space of seven nights. *David* must have been a prodigy of learning even from his infancy, if, as *Bartolocci* affirms [a], he wrote his *Tzemach David*, the sprout or branch of *David*, but different from that often quoted in this chapter, at the age of seven years. But this is a mistake of that author (Z); and he only

R. David de Pomis.

His Tzemach David.

[z] Vid. MAITTAIR annal. Typogr. Orlandi. Orig. della Stampa. PALMER's History of Printing, &c. [a] BARTOL. ub. sup. tom. ii. p. 40.

(Y) *Felix Pratensis* had the care of that impression of the bible, with the *Chaldee* paraphrase, and the commentaries of several learned rabbies, and dedicated it to pope *Leo* X. But the edition is far from being the best, thro' the difficulty of rangeing the various *Massoretic* readings in a right order. He printed a second, in which the inquisitors retrenched several things, which they thought injurious to Christianity; the preference is therefore given to a third in folio, printed *ann.* 1548, at the head of which is a preface of *R. Jaacob Chajim*, formerly mentioned.

(Z) *Bartolocci* seems quite to have mistaken his meaning, where he tells us, that being at *Bevagna* (whither his father and he had retired from *Spoleto*, and having been plundered of all their effects on their journey, were reduced to the greatest poverty) he found the book of *R. Nathan*, and having read it attentively, formed the design of abridging it. Some time after, the *Meturgaman* and *Thisbby* of *Elias Levita* being fallen into his hands, together with *Kimchi's Roots*, from all these he compiled his *Tzemach*, at his leisure, and called it by that name, because he wrote it by little and little; and it is plain that he did not publish it till the year 1587, that is, after some others of his works.

He was invited into several places where he practised physic, with great success; but the bishop

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only compiled it at his leiſure, from a MS. dictionary in *Hebrew*, written by one of his anceſtors, about the beginning of the 12th century, which he enriched with every thing valuable in thoſe of rabbi *Nathan*, *Elias Levita*, and *D. Kimchi*; ſo that it hath all the *Hebrew* words, and all the rabbinic terms, in an alphabetical order, together with the *Latin* and *Italian* explanation of them.

HERE flouriſhed likewiſe *R. Shimſha*, ſince named *Simeon Luzati*, who publiſhed his *Socrates*, in which he ſhews that the greateſt geniuſes are weak, and apt to err, when they are not guided by revelation [b]. He publiſhed likewiſe another treatiſe on the preſent ſtate of his nation, of which we ſhall have a more proper occaſion to ſpeak in the cloſe of this chapter. *R. Samuel Nachmiah*, a native of *Theſſalonica*, alſo ſettled in this metropolis; and, with his ſon *David*, and ſome of his family, abjured *Judaiſm*, and took the name of *Moroſini*. *Samuel*, to ſhew the ſincerity of his converſion, wrote the book called *Derek Emunah*, or, *The way to the faith*, in *Italian*; wherein he ſhews the uſeleſſneſs of the *Jewiſh* ceremonies; that the 613 precepts taken from the law †, are obſerved by no *Jew*, and explodes all the ſects and ſuperſtitions of the *Jews*. He retired to *Rome*, where he died in a good old age, *an.* 1687 [c]. *R. Mordecai Korkos*, who taught at *Venice*, and was a native of it, did an action no leſs bold and odious to thoſe of his nation, in writing a treatiſe againſt the *Cabbalah*, and even againſt the ten *Sephiroth*, the moſt ſublime part of it, which ſhews his excellent taſte for true ſound divinity, as well as his courage in expoſing himſelf to the hatred, reſentment, and anathema of the cabbaliſtic tribe. For ſo high is their eſteem of that ſcience, that they look upon every ſuch attempt againſt it; as levelled againſt the fundamentals of religion; for which reaſon their doctors would not ſuffer it to be printed.

R. Shimſha, A. C. 1613.

Samuel Nachmiah, A. C. 1649.

R. Mordecai Korkos's *book againſt the* Cabbalah, A. C. 1672.

A. C. 1674.

[b] FRA. PAULO. Hiſtor. Degli. Uſcocchi. † De his vid. ſup. vol. iii. p. 6. & (C). [c] BARTOLOC. ub. ſup. tom. iv. p. 404.

biſhop of *Chiuſi* cauſed the gates of that city to be ſhut up againſt him, tho' he was very much wanted there. He paſſed from thence to *Rome*, and thence to *Venice*, where he ended his days; and there, to comfort himſelf in ſome meaſure for the great misfortunes he had gone thro', he wrote his *Treatiſe on the miſeries of human life*; which he interſperſed with ſome of the brighteſt texts in *Eccleſiaſte*s, and is rather a comment in *Italian* on that ſacred book, with his notes upon it (21).

(21) *Vid. Bartoloc. ub. ſup. Wolf, Bibl. Rabb. N.* 499. *Baſnag. ub. ſup. &c.*

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Printing at Soncino, A. C. 1490, & seq.

MUCH about the time that *Bomberg* set up his printing-house at *Venice*, some *Jews*, come from *Spire* in *Germany*, were doing the same at *Soncino*, a small town in the duchy of *Milan*, near the river *Oglio*, and began to print *Hebrew* books there, about the end of the 15th century; by which means many considerable manuscripts were preserved, which had lain so long buried in the dust, that they were scarcely legible. These printers exchanged the name of their family for that of the town of *Soncino*, and became celebrated under the name of *Soncinates*; and as they were the first that did their nation so great a service, they became very rich and famous. They spread themselves from that into other parts of *Italy*, and have had some learned men among them; particularly *R. Asher*, who was a native of that place, and descended from that family. The reader may see a list of the books they there published, in the authors quoted in the margin[d]. *R. Jacob Tzephalon*, born at *Rome*, *an.* 1630, where he had also taken his degree of doctor in physic, came and taught at *Ferrara*, and became one of the principal rabbies of the last century. The nearness of that city to *Venice* gave him an opportunity of printing several learned books, the chief of which may be seen in the margin (A).

Jacob Tzephalon.

R. Gedaliah.

THE *Jews* had likewise a synagogue at *Imola*, where the celebrated *R. Gedaliah*, of *Portuguese* extract, was born, and wrote afterwards his genealogical work, stiled by him *Shalsheleth Hakkabalah*, or the *Chain of the Cabbalah*, often quoted in this chapter, which he wrote *an.* 1539, and is the only work of his that we know of that hath been printed, tho' he wrote above twenty more, on other subjects (B). And tho' that

[d] MAITTAIR, ORLANDI, PALMER, CHEVILIER, & al.

(A) The first was a book of precious prayers and meditations; in which there is in particular a long prayer, to be said by physicians when they go to visit their patients. It seems this good *Jew* thought it necessary to implore the blessing of heaven, before he went to prescribe to the sick; and did not, like the greatest part of those of his profession, depend wholly on the natural efficacy of the medicines.

He wrote some other works, one of which is called *the Light of Jaacob*; and another, *the Light of the Preachers*. A third he stiles *the Stage of Life*, which is a physical treatise of fevers, and diseases peculiar to every part of the human body, of their cures, of simple poisons, &c.

(B) He was the son of *R. Joseph Jachijah*, who was forced to retire to *Imola*, upon the banishment of his nation out of *Portugal*. His family boasts itself descended in a direct line from *Jesse*, the father of *David*, king

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that work is very erroneous, both in its chronology and facts, and for the greater part taken from another of the ſame nature, yet is owned by *Bartolocci*, and others, to have been of great uſe to them; and is more eſpecially ſo to thoſe who are fond of the chain of oral tradition, and of the perſonal ſucceſſion of its doctors. We refer our readers, for the reſt of his works in manuſcript, to the authors quoted below [e].

THE ſynagogue of *Modena* produced ſeveral learned men, particularly *R. Samuel*, who was chief of it, and publiſhed his judgments of *Samuel*, *an.* 1550; which is a collection of thalmudic and rabbinic deciſions; to which he hath added ſome of his own, which are much eſteemed [f] (C). That of *Padua* had alſo a good number of great rabbies; and there the *Jews* received the title of Doctors of Phyſic, and are thereby authoriſed to practiſe it in all the dominions of the republic of *Venice*. They have there three ſynagogues, and about 800 *Jews*, and a very handſome *Gietto*, or quarter, with three gates, which are ſhut up every night. Over one of them one reads an inſcription, which begins with theſe words, *Ne populo celeſtis regni Hæredi uſus cum ex exhærede eſſet, &c.* [g]; alluding to *Sarah*'s words to *Abraham* [h]. In this ſynagogue flouriſhed the great *R. Meir*, who was chief of it. *R. Joſeph de Padua*, ſo called from that city, his native place; *R. Iſaac Phea*, author of the way to faith, a treatiſe which gained him great reputation; *R. Menahem Rabba*, whoſe ſermons on the four ſeaſons of the year have been ſince printed by his ſon: he was ſtill alive in the beginning of the laſt century, 1605.

R. Samuel *of* Modena.

At Padua, R. Meir, A. C. 1558. 1560.

THE ſynagogue and academy of *Mantua* have been long ſince famed; but a diſſention having been unhappily raiſed

[e] BARTOLOC. ub. ſup. tom. i. p. 722, & ſeq. WOLF, ub. ſup. N. 451. p. 277, & ſeq.
[f] Id. ibid. N. 2137.
[g] MISSON's journey into Italy.
[h] Conf. Gen. xxi. 10. & Galat. iv. 30.

king of *Iſrael*. But in his deducing this genealogy, he is groſſly out in his chronology (22). He was a much better preacher, and publiſhed 180 ſermons, which he dedicated to his ſon *Moſes*, beſides other works; an account of which may be ſeen in *Wolf's Bibliotheca Rabbinica* above quoted,

(C) This book is by a miſtake called the Judgments of *Solomon*, by Mr. *Baſnage* (23), and was publiſhed at *Venice* by *Dan. Saneti*, in folio, *an.* 1599 (24).

(22) *De hoc vid. Baſnag. lib.* ix. *c.* 32. § 9. (23) *Ibid.* § 10. (24) *Vid. Wolf, ub. ſup. N.* 2137. *p.* 1120.

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A dissention at Mantua, A. C. 1460.

between *R. Messer Leone de Mantoa* and *R. Keloa*, the two chiefs there, towards the end of the 15th century, thro' their mutual ambition and jealousy; the *Mantuan Jews* divided themselves, and called the Christians to their help; and the dispute ran so high, that they came to take up arms one party against the other. *Lewis de Gonzaga*, then marquis of *Mantua*, strove in vain to pacify them; and was at length forced to take the most effectual means of suppressing the uproar, by banishing those two chiefs that had caused it. After which, both synagogue and academy resumed their ancient tranquility, and were governed by several eminent chiefs and learned doctors, particularly by *Mose Vecchio*, or *Moses the Elder*, who gained a great reputation by his corrections on *Alphez*, and his commentators. The small city of *Pesaro*, in the duchy of *Urbino*, had likewise a synagogue of the *Jews*; till that duchy falling into the pope's hands, they were obliged to go out of it, by the pope's edict lately mentioned (D). They have, generally speaking, upheld themselves in most cities of *Italy*; and have had many learned rabbies during the foregoing century; the most celebrated of whom were those that follow:

Mose Vecchio, A. C. 1580.

Leo de Modena's works.

R. JEHUDAH ARIE, more commonly known by the name of *Leo de Modena*, the place of his nativity, as that of *Leo* (Lion) answered to his *Hebrew* name *Arie*. He was a learned man, though a professed enemy to the Christians, against whom he hath, out of his cabbalistical head, forged many dishonourable anagrams, and numerical devices and puns, not worthy his learned pen [1]. But he hath given the world a treatise of the *Ceremonies of the* Jews, which is highly esteemed by the learned of all nations. His book intituled, *The Mouth of the Lion*, is another useful work, wherein he

[1] De his, vid. BASNAG. ub. sup. c. 32. §. 15.

(D) *Pesaro* was the native place of *R. Jechiel*, who took his surname from it. He went thence to *Florence*; where having heard for some time the sermons of an inquisitor, he went thence to *Rome*, to abjure *Judaism*. Pope *Gregory* XIII. assisted at the numerous assembly, where he made his speech of recantation; and, at his coming down from the chair, received him with these words, *Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord*. He was baptized by him some days after, and became a preacher; and some of the *Italian* sermons which he preached against the *Jews* at *Florence*, where they were very numerous, were printed, *an.* 1585 (25).

(25) *Bartoloc. ex Schedis Magliabek, Bibl. Rabb. tom.* iv. *p.* 564.

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hath judiciouſly collected and explained all the words uſed by the rabbies, which are neither altogether *Hebrew*, nor altogether *Chaldee*; and hath endeavoured to fix the pronunciation of them ſo as to be underſtood by *Jews* of all nations (E). He was for a conſiderable time chief of the ſynagogue, and reckoned a good poet, both in *Hebrew* and *Italian*; and hath written ſeveral other treatiſes, and deſigned to have tranſlated the Old Teſtament into *Italian*; but was forbid to go on by the inquiſitors; inſtead of which, he wrote his lexicon abovementioned. He died at *Venice*, in the year 1654, being almoſt eighty years old [k]. *His death.*

[k] Basnag. lib. ix. c. 32. §. 15, & ſeq. Wolf. Bibl. Hæbr. N. 692. p. 412, & ſeq.

(E) The *Jews* having no *Italic* verſion of the ſacred books, cauſed a great confuſion in the pronunciation of the *Hebrew* words, according to the different maſters they had been taught by: to prevent which, our rabbi compiled this work in *Italian*, and added to it a grammar. Both were eſteemed very uſeful, and bore a double impreſſion; the laſt of which, *viz.* that of *Padua*, *an.* 1640, tho' very ſcarce, is reckoned the beſt.

There is a poetic piece, wrote by him in the fourteenth year of his age, which is much cried up; though it ſhews rather the patience and laboriouſneſs, than the genius or judgment, of its author; and wherein he hath, with much hammering doubtleſs, ſo aſſociated the *Hebrew* and *Italic* tongues, though ſo vaſtly different, that one finds in the former the ſame ſyllables that run in the *Italian* verſes. One line will ſuffice to give an idea of it:

Chi naſce muor. Oi me che paſſ.' acerbo é. That is,
He that is born dies. Ah me, how bitter is that ſtep!

Now thoſe ſyllables are found in the following *Hebrew* words, though of a quite different ſignification;

Kinah ſcemor aimek cepas aotzor bo.

There can be nothing ſaid in favour of ſuch a laborious piece, but its being written by ſuch a juvenile hand.

His other works are, *The captivity of* Juda, or *Peſhar dabar*, the interpretation of words. His hiſtorical narrative of the Paſſover in *Italian*, but in *Hebrew* characters. His *Leb Arie*, or Lion's heart, in *Hebrew*; which is a treatiſe on artificial memory, adapted to all ſorts of learning. His *Sod Jeſharim*, *Secret of the Righteous*, a treatiſe of the ſecrets of nature. His *Sur Merah*, *Depart from evil*, a dialogue between *Eldad* and *Medad* about the game of dice, wherein one defends and the other condemns it. His *Tzemach Tzadik*, or *Branch of the Righteous*; a moral treatiſe by way of fables and apologues; with ſome few others of leſs note (26).

(26) *Wolf, ub. ſup. N.* 692. *p.* 412, *& ſeq.*

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R. JEHUDAH AZAEL was no less famous for his sermons preached at *Ferrara* in the last century; insomuch that the Christians went also to hear him. He was the author of a cabbalistical treatise, intituled, *The Thrones of the House of* David (F); and died at *Ferrara, an.* 1677 [l]. About the same time flourished *R. Jehoshua Menahem* at *Rome*, where he was chief of the academy; and another famed doctor named *Jaacob Dattillo Delli Piatelli*, who was esteemed one of the best masters to breed up their youth in learning. Here was also, about the middle of the last century, one *Nathaniel Tribotti*, who wrote a treatise on womens bathing, wherein he advanced some propositions which raised a number of antagonists against him. The synagogue and academy of that city were, at length, obliged to interpose their authority, to prevent the multiplication of books on that subject, by declaring for *Tribotti*, and obliging the opposing doctors to submit to their decision [m].

Tribotti *upheld by the synagogues*, A. C. 1644.

THE *Jews* at *Rome* are reckoned to amount to between 12 and 15,000. They have nine synagogues, and an academy which they stile *Thalmud Thorah*, the study of the law, and their learned professors in it; among whom was, about the the latter end of the last century, the famed *Joseph Kimchi*. They seem to have a kind of superiority here over the rest of those in *Italy*; for they consult them in doubtful cases, and pay a singular regard to their decisions. They are governed in this city by their triumvirs, whom they stile *Memmonim*, or governors, who decide all quarrels and disputes between private men, and take care of the privileges granted to them by the popes. They are changed every year, lest they should abuse their authority; and live in so great friendship with the Christians, that they made no scruple to go into their syna-

Jews *numerous at* Rome;

their government, &c.

[l] WOLF, Bibl. Hæbr. N. 766. p. 452. [m] Id. ibid. N. 1742. p. 928.

(F) He is however shrewdly suspected to have stolen it from his father *R. Eliezer*, commonly called, *Leone del Bene*, who taught also at *Ferrara*, and had compiled and intituled it, *Hir David, the City of* David (27). However that be, the book is divided, according to the cabbalistical cant, into ten houses, to each of which are assigned fifty doors. Each chapter and section having its argument at the head, and at the end an index of the author's. It was printed at *Verona, an.* 1646 (28).

He wrote another book called, *Jehudah Mechokeki*; Judah *is my lawgiver*, Ps. lx. 7. which consists partly of poetical pieces, and partly of epistles, both elegant in their kind.

(27) *Bartolac. sub an.* (28) *Wolf. ub. sup. N.* 766. *p.* 452.

gogues

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gogues in ſuch numbers, that pope *Innocent* XI was obliged to threaten them with excommunication, and to lay a fine of twenty crowns on every one that goes into them [n]. The *Jews* were heretofore wont to be employed by the popes, as we have had occaſion to obſerve; but, as it was apt to give offence, it hath been ſince left off [o].

Chriſtians forbid their Jews ſynagogues

POPE *Innocent* XI. gave them ſeveral marks of his favour; particularly when the *Venetian* general *Moroſini*, after his ſucceſsful war in the *Morea*, brought back a good number of *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian captives, and gave liberty to the latter, but would have kept the former under ſlavery; that pontif, being applied to by their brethren, who are there very numerous (G), ordered a congregation to take cogniſance of their caſe, and cenſured the conduct of the *Venetians*; whereupon theſe gave them their liberty, without ſuffering the pope's miniſters to intermeddle farther in that matter [p]. The ſame pontif ſtrove much to promote their converſion, and built ſeminaries for the maintenance of theſe new converts, hoſpitals for their ſick, and cauſed ſermons to be preached, to prove that the Meſſiah was come, and that *Jeſus Chriſt* was that Meſſiah; but little benefit was reaped from it; becauſe the *Jews* either abſented from them, or only came to ridicule them, and ſometimes committed ſhameful indecencies in the churches, where they were preached, tho' there were proper officers to puniſh them for it. As a farther encouragement to new converts, ſome cardinal, or great perſon, was commonly their godfather, and made them ſome handſome preſent after baptiſm; they were dreſſed in white ſattin, and carried about the city in a fine coach during a fortnight, to be ſeen and congratulated by the ſpectators; after which they appeared in a common dreſs; and, to prevent their apoſtatiſing, all that were found guilty of it were condemned to the flames †. But, after all theſe pains and coſt, one ſees plainly enough, that the far greater part ſtill remain in their unbelief; and as for thoſe few converts they make, cardinal *Barberini*, who had beſtowed great pains and ſums towards

Innocent XI. a friend to the Jews, A. C. 1685.

Means to promote their converſion,

prove ineffectual.

[n] LA ROCQUE's Memoirs de l'Egliſe, lib. v. p. 695. [o] NAUDEANA, p. 54. [p] LA ROQUE, ubi ſup. † NAUDEANA.

(G) They are reckoned to amount to about 2000 in that capital, where they enjoy full liberty of conſcience, have their ſynagogues, academy, and burying-ground, with many handſome monuments and pompous epitaphs (29).

(29) *La Rocque's Memoirs, ubi ſup. See alſo the Deſcription of the city of Venice.*

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that work, was forced to own, a little before his death, such conversions were only feigned and insignificant [q].

Their homage to the new popes.

It must be owned, however, notwithstanding their te ousness for their old religion, that they are not over scr lous whenever their interest clashes with it; since they ol themselves to celebrate the inauguration of every new pc and to wait on him in the way to the *Lateran* church, to their homage to him. They do indeed endeavour to discul themselves, by pretending, that they pay it to him only as temporal prince; but they cannot be ignorant that the i guration of a pope is a mere act of religion, by which raised to the dignity of head of the church, and vicar of C upon earth. After all, it is hard to say who are mo blame; the *Jews*, for paying such an homage to the vica representative of Christ, whom they abhor; or the popes, exacting that homage to be paid to themselves, whilst suffer them to refuse it to their divine master (H).

Jews in Piedmont.

The *Jews* have been settled a long time at *Turin*, the pital of *Piedmont* or *Pignerol*, and some other places of principality, by an edict or grant, which secures to the plenary liberty of conscience; and, though they now-a then meet with some disaster from the zealous populace, they live more quietly and friendly than in other place *Italy*. They had indeed an accident happened to them, 1671, which was like to have been attended with som consequences (I), but was by some means compromised,

[q] Wagenseil's Tela Ignea præfat.

(H) There is another ceremony performed at *Rome*, which, though they have no hand in it, is very mortifying to them. It is the custom for the pope and priests to pray for their conversion in all churches, on *Good Friday*; in doing which, instead of kneeling, as they do at the rest of the prayers, they stand up whilst that collect is said, to testify their abhorrence for the indignities they offered to Christ on that day, in mocking him with their bended knees (30).

(I) A *Jewish* boy going by some water, a Christian took some of it, and thre over his head, pronouncing form of baptism over hi whereupon the grand vicar *Turin*, being informed of caused him to be taken from parents, pretending he now longed to the church (31). T doctors of *Sorbon*, and ot universities, were consulted on it, but differed in their o nion. At length the *Jews* pealed to the pope; but we h not been able to learn how t pontif decided the matter.

(30) *Missal. Rom. Ferr. in præfat. p.* 182. *Cajetan. ordo Roman.* xiv. 368, *apud Basnag. ubi sup. c.* 30. §. 23. (31) *Id. ibid.* §. 24.

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we have heard no more of it ſince [r]. And thus much ſhall ſuffice for the hiſtory of the *Jews* in *Italy* down to the end of the laſt century. Thoſe who deſire to have a fuller account of their number, wealth, and the preſent ſtate of their ſynagogues, may conſult the tax of thoſe that are in the eccleſiaſtic territories; of which they reckon nine at *Rome*, nineteen in *Campania*, thirty-ſix in the *Marcha D'Ancona*, twelve in the patrimony of St. *Peter*, eleven at *Bolonia*, and thirteen in *Romandiola*; for all which, beſides what may be extorted from them by vexatious ſuits, they are obliged to pay a yearly tax of 700 crowns and upwards to the holy ſee [s] (K). *Total of their ſynagogues in Italy.*

We come now to ſpeak of thoſe of *Germany*, and the more northern regions, during the three laſt centuries, where they were very numerous, though much poorer than thoſe of *Italy*, as well as worſe treated by the prieſts and populace. The fifteenth century opened upon them with a very melancholy proſpect. Great numbers had ſettled themſelves in *Thuringia* and *Miſnia*, where the *Landgraves*, whether thro' avarice or need, made them pay dear for the quiet and liberty they enjoyed, and were ſtill exacting vaſt ſums from them. Particularly at the very entrance of this century, ſuch a large one was impoſed on them as they refuſed to pay; upon which they were all arreſted and impriſoned, and could not be diſcharged till they had complied [t]. They had however ſome learned men among them; particularly the famed *R. Jaacob Movillin*, who was no leſs eminent for the number of his diſciples, than for his judicious anſwers which he wrote to the Jews *in* Germany, Poland, &c. *Oppreſſed* A. C. 1401. *Learned men*, A. C. 1427.

[r] Sanctiones ceremonial. Roman. lib. i. ſect. 2. pag. 26.
[s] Basnag. ubi ſup. c. 32, §. 25, & ſeq. [t] Id. ibid. chap. 33. §. 1.

(K) The reader may further conſult the laſt will of *Zachariah a Porto*, a rich *Jewiſh* merchant of *Urbino*, that died at *Florence*, *an.* 1671, after he had compiled a concordance on the comments of the thalmud, which he left at his death to the rabbies at *Rome*, and his library to the academy of it. He bequeathed moreover 24,000 piaſtres to his nation; one-fourth part of which was to be divided between the academies of *Leghorn*, *Venice*, *Jeruſalem*, and of the *Holy Land*. The other 18,000 piaſtres were to be diſtributed to ſerve for dowry to the *Jewiſh* daughters of the ſynagogues of *Rome*, *Ferrara*, *Ancona*, *Urbino* which was his native place, *Peſaro*, *Ceſano*, *Venice*, *Padua*, *Verona*, *Rovigo*, *Florence*, *Siena*, *Piſa*, *Leghorn*, *Mantua*, *Modena*, and *Reggio*; which ſhews how numerous they are ſtill in *Italy* (32).

(32) *Id. ibid. c. ult. Wolf. Bibl. Hæb. N.* 573. *p.* 358.

queſtions

questions that had been proposed to him [a] (L). About this time the title of doctor came to be in vogue among the *German* rabbies; the occasion of which may be seen in the margin (M). And *Movilin* was one of the first who took it upon himself, instead of the old one of rabbi, which was become despicable.

Council of Basil's decree against them.

THEY received soon after a new mortification from the council of *Basil*; which, finding them very numerous in that city and elsewhere, issued out a decree, by which all the prelates, where-ever any *Jews* were, should be obliged to have ser-

[a] GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 147.

(L) It is supposed to be about this time, that the famed concordance, intituled, *Meir Nelib*, or, *The Enlightener of the Way*, was compiled. The learned are indeed divided about its genuine author, though it is universally allowed that his name was *R. Nathan*, who flourished soon after the beginning of this fifteenth century. However that be, *Reuchlinus* caused it to be printed; since which there have been several editions of that work; the most approved of which is that of *Marius Calasio*, a learned monk, who made some considerable additions to it, particularly a concordance of the books of *Esther* and *Daniel*, and an explanation of sundry *Chaldaic* terms, and of whatever relates to the description of the places mentioned in Holy Writ.

Calasio died at *Rome*, *an.* 1602, and his book was printed, *an.* 1622 (†), but was become so scarce, that a new edition was greatly wished for by the learned; and this is what the Rev. Dr. *Romain* hath lately obliged them with, with very considerable improvements.

(M) There was about this time a strong dispute among the *Jewish* rabbies concerning divorce; some young and unlearned fellows among them, having taken upon them to write these bills or instruments, had committed such faults in wording them, for want of being well versed in the *Jewish* rites, as rendered them null and ineffectual. To prevent which therefore, the old ones made an order, that none of those bills should be valid, but such as were drawn by persons that had been dubbed doctors. And in imitation of the *Germans*, who bestowed that title on theirs with great ceremony, they began likewise to use some formality in it: and hence is supposed that change to have been owing here, as those in *Spain* and *Portugal* had done by assuming that of *Don*. instead of the worn-out one of Rabbi. *Abravaner* however was not a little surprised to see the ceremony performed, and the title of *Morena*, our doctor or teacher, given to those men; but his wonder ceased, when he found the same done in *Italy* (33).

(†) *Vid. Imbonat. Bibl. Rabb. tom. p.* 156. (33) *Basnag. ubi sup. c.* 33. §. 3.

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mons preached againſt them, and oblige them to aſſiſt at them, under ſevere penalties. They were likewiſe excluded from having any commerce with Chriſtians, to be uſed for ſervants, nurſes, farmers, or even phyſicians, or to have any houſes near the churches, or towards the centre of cities. They were farther obliged to wear a different habit, by way of diſtinction; and condemned to loſe whatever ſums they lent on church-books, utenſils, and ornaments [w] (N). All this ſtruggle, however, produced little or no change in *Germany*; except that about twenty years after, *Lewis* X. duke of *Bavaria*, baniſhed them out of his dominions, in ſpite of all remonſtrances from them or their friends, as well as againſt his own intereſt. He even ordered them to march out of forty towns, and as many boroughs as they were ſettled in, at one and the ſame day and hour, confiſcated all their goods, and built gaols, and other public edifices, in the places where they had lived [x]. A. C. 1434. *Baniſhed* Bavaria, A. C. 1454.

THERE was a dreadful execution made of thirty of them in *Mecklenburgh*, who were condemned to the flames, together with a prieſt, accuſed to have ſold them an hoſt, which they had pierced, and was found bloody. Some women and children being of the number of the condemned, a mother in deſpair killed two of her daughters with her own hand; and was going to kill a third, but ſhe was ſnatched out of her hands to be made to undergo a ſeverer fate [y]. Two years after, ſome others were accuſed at *Tirnaw* in *Hungary*, to *Burnt at* Mecklemburgh, A. C. 1492. A. C. 1494.

[w] Concil. Baſil. ſeſſ. 19. art. 5 & 6. c. 2. p. 547. [x] AVENTINE's Annal. Bojor. lib. vii. p. 513. Status Europ. ſub Frederick III. c. 32. ap. FREHER's Hiſt. Germ. tom. vi. p. 79. [y] NAUCLER. Chronogr. gener. tom. ii. p. 1110.

(N) The ſame council made likewiſe ſundry regulations for the encouragement of new converts; ſuch as their being allowed to enjoy all their wealth, except what they had got by uſury, which they were obliged to refund to the owners or their heirs. They were likewiſe allowed to be choſen to offices and places in thoſe cities where they received baptiſm; but, leſt they ſhould corrupt each other, as they often did, they were forbid to converſe with each other frequently, to bury their dead after the *Jewiſh* manner, or to obſerve the Sabbaths, or any other *Jewiſh* rites; and, if they complied with thoſe orders, they were to be married into ſome of the richeſt Chriſtian families; but, if they apoſtatiſed, they were to be turned over to the ſecular power, and puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour (34).

(34) *Concil. Baſil. ubi ſup.*

have

have drank the blood of a Christian whom they had murdered. The accused were put to the torture, to find out whether the whole nation were not guilty of the crime; if not, perhaps to extort such a confession from them (O). However, those only were punished who had a hand in it *. About five years after, those of *Nurembergh*, who were both numerous and wealthy, were all banished out of that city; and went and settled in a small town in the neighbourhood of it, where they built a synagogue. The citizens laid several crimes to their charge, in order to palliate their severity to them; but the true motive seems to have been their wealth, which made them insolent, their great number, which made them appear dangerous, and their usuries, which helped to debauch their youth, and rendered them at length so odious, that they resolved to rid themselves of them (P).

Banished out of Nuremberg, A. C. 1499.

Not

* See Wolf, ubi sup. N. 1145. p. 641.

(O) Nothing more plainly shews the falshood of those murders, than the reasons which that writer and others give for their committing them; and which, for that reason, we shall here subjoin, that our readers may judge of one by the other (35): he tells us, 1. That human blood hath a peculiar virtue for healing and consolidateing the scar of circumcision. 2. That they have a *fluor sanguinis*, like the women: some say every *Friday*, others, every moon, which was inflicted on them, on account of their shedding that of Christ's; and that a dose of it gives those in this way great relief. 3. That it is likewise of singular efficacy to excite love, and promote conception: and, 4. That they are bound by a vow, in all parts of the world, to sacrifice a Christian, to wipe off the infamy they are under: which sacrifice they call, *Joel*, or, *Coming from God*; or, perhaps, rather *Goel*, *Redeemer*, in derision of Christ the Redeemer of the world (36).

(P) Another motive for their banishment might be the appearing of the impostor *David Leimleiri*, about this time. He did not indeed declare himself the Messiah, but assured them with such confidence, that he was to appear in the year 1500, that the credulous *Jews* were even prevailed upon to pull down their ovens, in which they used to bake their unleavened bread, which were now become useless, since they were to eat it on the next year at *Jerusalem* (37).

As they were preparing themselves for the voyage, *David*, who perceived that he had set too short a time for their pretended deliverance, was obliged to declare, that the sins of the nation had retarded the coming of the Messiah; which set them all on fasting, and praying to

(35) *Bonfin. rerum Hungaric. decad.* iv. *lib.* v. (36) *Spondan. Annal. ad A. C.* 1494. *N.* 10. *p.* 217. *Bosnag. ub. sup.* §. 7. (37) *Id. ibid.* §. 9.

God

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NOT long after the biſhop of *Cologn* followed the example, and Co- and baniſhed them out of his dioceſe; on which account, one logn.
Victor à Carbe, who renounced *Judaiſm* to become a prieſt, Victor à
wrote ſome books againſt them, wherein he highly compli- Carbe's
mented that prelate, for having thus happily *plucked up the books a-*
tares from among the wheat in the Lord's field, and cleared *gainſt the*
his biſhoprick from them. He affirmed at the ſame time, Jews,
that Chriſtians ought never to enter into diſputes with the A. C.
Jews, who are uſed to them from their infancy, but that 1509.
they muſt be overcome by violence, or, as he words it, by the quiver and arrows (Q).

God to haſten that happy time. All theſe things were ſufficient to alarm the jealous *Nurembergbers* fears, leſt they ſhould hatch ſome other deſign againſt them; and they were not the only ones that took that method to rid themſelves of them, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

(Q) *Bartolocci* mentions four books written by him on that ſubject; and Mr. *Baſnage* and Dr. *Wolf* a fifth, intituled, *The manners of the* Jews; of which the former gives an extract, to which we refer the reader (38). There is ſtill an inſcription to be ſeen over the church of *St. Urſula*, at *Cologn* importing, "That *Victor*, *formerly a Jew*, "*wrote four books againſt the* "*errors of the Jews*, an. 1509." He was fifty years of age when he turned Chriſtian; and it is from him that we learn, that the *Jews* had been perſecuted in that dioceſe, about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

About the ſame time flouriſhed, in the neighbourhood of that city, the great *R. Simeon*, an eloquent preacher, and author of the famed book *Jalkut (Pouch)*; which is a judicious collection of ſuch interpretations of the ancient *Jewiſh* doctors on the ſacred books, as were the beſt and eaſieſt to be underſtood. It was preſently printed at *Theſſalonica*. Soon after which one *Abraham*, another rabbi of the family of the learned *Gedaliah*, who had retired to *Jeruſalem*, wrote a long comment upon the *Pouch*; and, not being able to pay the charges of printing it, one *Dias Mokato*, a rich *Spaniſh Jew*, defrayed them; and the *Pouch* was printed with his notes at *Leghorn*, *an.* 1658; the corrector of it, named *Abraham Ben Solomon Chajim*, dedicating it to duke *Ferdinand* II.

There hath been ſince a new edition of it printed at *Amſterdam*, *an.* 1678, with the title of *Jalkut Chadaſh*, or, *The new Pouch*; wherein the anonymous editor hath digeſted all the literal and myſtical interpretations in an alphabetical order: whereas that of *R. Simeon* followed the order of the ſacred books, and only took in the allegorical ſenſe. There is ſtill a third *Pouch*, written by *R. Reuben*, and printed alſo at *Amſterdam*, *an.* 1700, which is only a collection of notes on the Pentateuch (39).

(38) *Baſnag. ubi ſup.* §. 10. *Vid. & Wolf, ubi ſup. N.* 565. *p.* 355. (39) *Id. ibid.* §. 11.

SOME

Pfeffer Corn's *advice against the* Jews, A. C. 1509.

SOME years after, another proſelyte, named *Pfeffer Corn*, kindled a war among the learned of this century, by endeavouring to perſuade the emperor *Maximilian*, that all the *Jewiſh* books ought to be burned; becauſe they were full of fables, lies, and blaſphemies, againſt Chriſt. He had written, ſome years before, a book on the manner of the *Jews* celebrating the Paſſover, wherein he charged them with hereſy, and to be apoſtates from the Old, and enemies to the New, Teſtament. In another book, intituled, *The Enemy of the* Jews, he diſcovered all their uſuries and imprecations againſt the Chriſtians; by which means he had drawn ſo many divines to his opinion, that that monarch was almoſt inclined to grant his petition. However, being willing to hear both ſides, the famed *Campnion*, or *Reuchlinus*, a man well verſed in all the *Jewiſh* and other learning, and who had been employed in ſeveral important matters, oppoſed it; and alleged, that ſuch only ought to be burnt, as contained any blaſphemies againſt Chriſt (R). But declared againſt

Reuchlinus *pleads againſt burning their books.*

(R) Theſe were more particularly the *Nitzachon* of *R. Lipman*, a poetical book full of the bittereſt invectives againſt Chriſt and his Goſpel; and which we have had frequent occaſion to confute in the ſecond part of the hiſtory of the *Jews* (†). We ſhall find a more proper place to ſpeak both of it and its author by-and-by, and the *Toledoth Jeſu*, or, *Generations of Jeſus*, a blaſphemous piece, which makes Chriſt to have been an idolater, born in adultery, and guilty of the blackeſt crimes, for which he was put to death. And, as *Reuchlinus* was ſo well acquainted with the thalmud, and all the *Jewiſh* books, and was at that time ſo well known, by all the learned, to be a proper judge of the merit or demerit of them, it was no wonder he ſhould be conſulted about the fate of them.

On the other hand, *Pfeffer Corn*'s converſion and zeal were very much ſuſpected; and he hath been accuſed of a deſign of ſeizing upon all theſe books, with no other view than to oblige the *Jews* to redeem them at an extravagant price. He was likewiſe openly charged with ſeveral enormous crimes, and repreſented as a vile diſſembler, who only aſſumed the name of a Chriſtian, to ſow the more eaſily the ſeeds of diſcord among them; on which account ſome authors have confounded him with one *Jaacob Melſtinſki*, another *Jewiſh* counterfeit, who was burnt at *Hall* in *Suxony*, an. 1515; and who confeſſed at his death, that he had exerciſed the prieſtly office twenty years; and then, turning phyſician, had adminiſtered a deadly poiſon to the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and to his brother the biſhop of *Magdeburg*. But they plainly appear to have been two

(†) *Sup. vol.* x. *p.* 455, *& ſeq.*

different

againſt doing the ſame by thoſe which only treated of the tenets, morals, and rites of the *Jews*. He likewiſe rightly obſerved the impoſſibility there was of ſuppreſſing books, by an imperial decree, which were diſperſed all over the world, and which might be eaſily reprinted in any other part.

THE proſecutions which this equitable judgment drew upon that great man, and the warm conteſts of the divines on that ſubject, being foreign to the ſubject of this chapter, may be ſeen in the hiſtory of thoſe times. It will be ſufficient to ſay, that the matter was brought by an appeal to *Rome*, whither *Hochſtrate*, one of his moſt violent enemies, haſted, backed with recommendations from ſeveral princes to biaſs, with money to bribe, and with threatenings to intimidate, that court; all which could neither hinder *Reuchlin* from being abſolved, nor himſelf from being condemned; and all he could obtain was a *Superſedeas* from the pope, juſt as judgment was going to be pronounced againſt him. *Reuchlinus* returned again victorious; but this did not prevent the oppoſite party from being very vexatious to him; inſomuch that he ſaid, he did not doubt but *Martin Luther*, who began then to make ſome figure in *Germany*, would cut them out ſo much work, that they ſhould be glad to let him end his days in peace; and it happened ſo accordingly; for the *Jewiſh* books were not only ſpared, but began to be read, and confuted with better ſucceſs; ſo that it is hard to decide, whether the *Jews* have gained or loſt by the reformation that enſued, and introduced the ſtudy of their books, and hath enabled Chriſtians to beat them at their own weapons (S). Though Proteſtants do indeed claim the merit of this, eſpecially thoſe of *Germany*, where many of their doctors have

Proſecuted, and acquitted.

Jews ſince the reformation.

different perſons, whatever likeneſs there may be found in their characters. And it is moſtly agreed that *Pfiffer Corn* died a natural death (40).

(S) It is plain *Luther* was no lover of the *Jews*, nor they of him. He accuſed them of divers cheats (†); particularly, that one of them had pretended, by his art, to have rendered the duke of *Saxony* invulnerable. On the other hand, they gave out, that he had promiſed to the *Jews* of *Franckfort*, on conſideration of a good ſum of money, to preach and write in praiſe and vindication of their nation; and that their refuſal was the cauſe of his ſpleen againſt them (41). This laſt appears a mere forgery; and the true reaſon of their hatred againſt him was, his having, by his credit, prevented ſeveral princes of *Germany* from protecting and tolerating them.

(40) *Vid. Baſnag. ibid.* §. 16. *& auct. ab eo citat.* (†) *See his little book De Judeorum mendaciis.* (41) *Carvoſo's Las Excellencias.*

proved

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proved the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, in a manner not only new and unanſwerable, but likewiſe vaſtly different from what had been formerly done by thoſe of the church of *Rome*; but it muſt be alſo owned, that theſe have ſince produced a vaſt number of divines, equally excellent and thoroughly verſed in *Jewiſh* learning. However, the *Jews* have reaped one ſingular benefit from the reformation, that it hath, in a great meaſure, ſuppreſſed thoſe proſecutions uſually raiſed againſt them, on account of crucifying Chriſtian children, ſtealing and piercing of conſecrated wafers, and ſuch-like black accuſations, upon the authority of pretended miracles, which have ſince loſt all their credit.

Become more wary and learned.

ON the other hand, the *Jews*, being more cloſely preſſed by the Chriſtians than uſual, were obliged to ſteer a better courſe in their own defence; and it muſt be owned, that they have produced ſome learned champions on their ſide; at the head of whom we may reckon *R. Iſaac Ben Abraham*, ſuppoſed to be by nation a *Polander*; but he tells us himſelf, that he had ſpent moſt of his time in the courts of *Germany*, and had been in great credit with ſeveral princes. He it was that wrote a moſt virulent and dangerous book (T) againſt the

(T) This book, which the author intitles חזוק אמונה, *Chaſuk Emunah*, and the *Latin* tranſlator, *Munimen fidei*, ſhews the author to have lived about the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. Its editor *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Mardocai*, publiſhed it, *an.* 1616, after it had remained a long while in manuſcript, and was become very ſcarce. The *Portugueſe Jews* did indeed get it tranſlated into *Spaniſh*, and diſperſed it about in all the neighbouring kingdoms; and it was alſo in high eſteem among the *African Jews*; and it is from thence that the learned *Wagenſeil* brought it into *Germany*; and, having tranſlated it into *Latin*, inſerted it into his *Tela Ignea Satanæ*. It were to be wiſhed he had likewiſe anſwered him paragraph by paragraph, in the ſame clear and nervous manner with which he hath the *Nitzachon* of *Lipman*, of which more hereafter; for his author doth in the preface make great parade of proving the truth of the *Jewiſh* religion, and confuting the Chriſtian, by the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt reaſoning, by the moſt theological, powerful, and convincing arguments. And it muſt be owned, that he argues more judiciouſly and warily than the reſt of the rabbies; and the *Jews* have ſuch an high opinion of this work, that they look upon it as unanſwerable. And yet he often blunders in his hiſtorical facts; as when he makes *Julian* the apoſtate to have been an *Arian* emperor, and gives him a grandſon, who was alſo a great ſtickler for that heretical ſect. However, that doth

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the Chriſtian religion, wherein he runs through all the Goſpel, endeavours to explode all the proofs of it, raiſes all the difficulties he can againſt it, and preſſes them with all poſſible vigour and bitterneſs; and, with the ſame heat, confutes the objections of Chriſtians againſt the *Jews*. This book he compoſed againſt the diſciples of *Luther*, with whom he had had frequent conferences and diſputes; and it was not long before that piece was followed by another equally, if not more, virulent; *viz.*

THE *Nitzachon*, or *Victories*, commonly aſcribed to *R. Jom Tob Lipman*, and publiſhed and anſwered by Mr. *Wagenſeil*, as was lately hinted, and by *Sebaſtian Munſter*, in his *Hebrew* verſion of St. *Mathew*'s Goſpel. The reader may ſee a farther account of that virulent book, and its author, in the margin (U).

IN

doth not hinder his book from being one of the ſtrongeſt that have been written againſt Chriſtianity. It hath had ſome editions ſince that of *Wagenſeil* above-mentioned, and hath been as learnedly confuted by eminent divines; for both which, we refer the reader to Dr. *Wolf* above-quoted (42).

(U) It is not unlikely, as ſome authors have obſerved againſt *Bartolocci* (who hath not diſtinguiſhed here with his uſual exactneſs), that there have been ſome other books printed under the name of *Nitzachon* (victories or triumphs); the rabbies being, as we have obſerved more than once, very fond of ſuch pompous titles; one of them ſeems to have appeared in the twelfth century, from his quoting no authors below but all above it. Another, which is attributed to one *R. Mattathiah*, appeared, *A.C.* 1399; and was written by him againſt one *Peter*, who had renounced *Judaiſm*, and had been baptiſed by that name. This is ſuppoſed to be the book which the learned *Skikard* had deſigned to confute; but which Mr. *Hackſpan*, having with great difficulty procured from a *Jewiſh* rabbi, *an.* 1643, cauſed to be printed at *Altorf* the very next year, in *Hebrew*; and was ſince reprinted with much greater correctneſs by Mr. *Wagenſeil*, and with proper notes.

Since then *R. Lipman*, who flouriſhed towards the end of the fifteenth century, wrote two books with the ſame title; the one in confutation of the proofs which Chriſtians urge againſt the *Jews*, from *Jacob*'s prophecy, *That the ſceptre ſhall not depart from* Judah, *&c.* (43). The other, which was only an abridgment of that, he reduced into verſe, that it might be the more eaſily learned by heart by the *Jewiſh* youth; and it is this that *Wagenſeil* hath thought ſo dangerous, as well as worth

(42) *Bibl. Hebr. N.* 1145. *p.* 641. (43) *Geneſis* xlix. 10. *De hoc, vid. Anc. Hiſt. vol.* iii. *p.* 317 (G). *vol.* x. *p.* 629.

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In the mean time these disputes between the *Jews* and Christians seem to have produced some new sects among the latter, which were called in contempt *Judaizers*, or half *Jews*. Of that sort was *Seidelius*, who maintained, that the Messiah regarded only the *Jews*, to whom he had been promised in the same manner as the land of *Canaan*; and that the heathen had no more share in the promise of the former than of the latter. He further affirmed, that the whole of religion was contained in the decalogue, and written in the hearts of men [a]. He was a native of *Silesia*, and there he di-

[a] MARTIN. SEIDELII, ad Cæt. Cracov. ep. i. p. 806.

confuting. But that which *Munster* so often takes to task, in his *Hebrew* version of St. *Mathew*'s Gospel, and sometimes quotes whole paragraphs out of, being written in prose, is, in all likelihood, the first of *Lipman*'s writing, of which more by-and-by.

There hath been a fifth published since under the same title, which must have been written since *Luther* and *Calvin*, as they are often quoted in it. But the *Jews* have been so fearful of its coming to light, that one of their rabbies, being informed that *Hackspan* had got one of them, and was translating it into *Latin*, stole it from him, so that it hath never appeared since (*).

Lipman, in that above-mentioned in prose, not only strives to overturn all the proofs of Christ being the Messiah, but doth every-where express himself with the greatest bitterness against him and his religion, taking his Gospel to task in the most virulent manner; and descends even to the lowest puns, stiling it, in allusion to its *Greek* and *Latin* names, *Havon-gheli-on*, that is, *the Revelation of Iniquity*; and calling his blessed Virgin Mother by the filthy name of *Charia*, which will not bear englishing, instead of *Maria*. Those who desire to know more of that pestilent work, may consult the authors last quoted, and *Munster*'s notes to his *Hebrew* version of St. *Mathew* above-mentioned.

In the mean time, we hope the generality of our readers will not be displeased, if we tell them, that our present *Jews*, those especially of the higher class, are so far from following his example, or using his blasphemous expressions, against our divine *lawgiver*, that they make no scruple to own a deep admiration of his precepts, above those of *their own*, especially those that relate to universal charity, beneficence, meekness, humility, forgiveness, &c.; and how much deeper an impression they would make on them in his favour, were his professed disciples, like him, to display those excellent Gospel virtues in practice, as they do in theory, every considerate reader may easily guess.

(*) *See Wolf, ubi sup. N.* 1364. *p.* 734. *Basnag. ubi sup. c.* 34. §. 5—10. *Wagenseil Tela Ignea.*

vulged

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vulged his notions, but gained few diſciples to them. Another, named *Francis David*, was called half a *Jew*, becauſe he maintained it unlawful to pray to *Jeſus Chriſt*, who had taught us to pray to the Father only; and being now in heaven, could know nothing either of our wants or of our prayers [b]. Such was likewiſe reckoned *George de Novara*, who was burned at *Bolonia*, for denying that the Meſſiah was come; and ſuch were alſo eſteemed ſome other ſectaries, who obſerved the *Jewiſh* Sabbath, abſtained from blood and things ſtrangled, *&c.*; ſeveral of whom alſo ſuffered as half *Jews*, in *England* and other parts.

Jews baniſhed from Merſburgh, A. C. 1559.

ABOUT the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the *Jews* of *Merſburgh*, though they pretended to have been ſettled there ever-ſince the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, were nevertheleſs baniſhed out of that city and dioceſe by the biſhop of it. They did however find a ſafe retreat in other parts; and the emperor *Ferninand* I. not only protected them, but granted them the privilege of having a chief or prince of the captivity; and ordered, that the chief Rabbi of *Worms* ſhould have that advantage above any other of his nation. They reckon in the number of them, the famed *R. Jakok*, a native of that city, and a man of great learning, who left four ſons, who were all *preſidents of academies, princes of the diſperſion, and highly admired by their nation* [c]. One of them taught chiefly at *Friburgh*, where they had an academy and ſynagogue, as well as in other cities of the empire, particularly at *Vienna*, where they had erected a magnificent building. This century did likewiſe produce a good number of learned doctors, both in *Germany* and *Poland* (W), who enjoyed very great privileges, as

Protected by Ferdinand, A. C. 1563.

[b] FRANC. DAVID, defenſ. inter oper. Socini. tom. ii. p. 717. BASNAG. ubi ſup. c. 34. §. 11, & ſeq. [c] GANTZ, TZEMACH, p. 153.

(W) There flouriſhed in *Auſtria* the famed *R. Solomon Luria*, who was eſteemed even more learned then *Jakok* abovementioned, and was ſtiled, according to their pompous way, *The crown of* Iſrael, *the wonder of the age; all people walked by his light, and all the* Iſraelitiſh *diſperſions drank of his water; and his name was known in all the world.* He wrote a treatiſe, intituled, *The Sea of* Solomon, *Jam Shlomoh*, alluding to his name, wherein he pretended to dive into the greateſt depths of the thalmud; and took a particular examen of its ſtile and phraſes. He was, according to their ſtile, called up to the celeſtial council, that is, he died, *an.* 1573 (44).

(44) *Theod. Ebert, in poetic. Hæbr. Gantz, ubi ſup.*

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as well as liberty and quiet, in the latter; insomuch, that at *Cracow* they had a synagogue, an academy, a house of judgment, and a great assembly. They were likewise dispersed in several other cities of that kingdom, and flourished under the protection of that government: only they were now-and-then liable to suffer by popular commotions. Thus, for instance, their houses were one day set all on fire in *Posnania*, without daring to quench it, being afraid left the populace should fall on them if they attempted it. The people do indeed pretend, that a kind of supernatural terror had seized on them from above, which would not suffer them so much as to draw water to quench the flames, or to save any thing out of them; so that they were forced to stand still, and see their houses, effects, and even the sacred books, reduced to ashes[d]. But, excepting those popular disasters, learning, as well as traffic, flourished among them; and their academies were governed by men of great reputation (X).

CARDINAL *Commendon*, in his way into *Russia*, found likewise in the province of *Ukrania* a great number of *Jews*, in great credit, who did not inrich themselves, as they do every-where else, by usury, *&c.* but by a fair and honest commerce. They cultivated their lands, and applied themselves to the study of physic and astrology, and others farmed the customs and carriage of merchandise. They are not only

[d] GANTZ TZEMACH, p. 157.

He wrote several other tracts of the same kind: such as his *Wisdom of* Solomom, *Curtains of* Solomon, *Crown of* Solomon, *Columns of* Solomon; together with some other expositions, his *Bircath Hammazon*, or *Blessing of the food*, and his *Shechitoth ubedicoth*, which is a kind of directory how to kill and examine beasts used for food (45).

About the same time flourished also *R. Samson de Guntzburgh*, so called from his native place, who was a great master of geometry and architecture, gained immense wealth, and distributed it with the same liberality he got it. *Bartolocci* says he published a treatise of architecture, but which was never printed (46).

(X) Among them was the celebrated *R. Iserdes*, who taught at *Cracow*, *A. C.* 1553. and was followed by a vast number of disciples, who flocked to him from all parts to hear his lectures. He was pious, perfect, and expounded the law, during the space of twenty years (47).

Joseph Cets, born in the same city (48), was another learned professor, who is affirmed to have worn four crowns, *viz.* that of the priesthood, of the law, of the imperial dignity, and of a great reputation (49).

(45) *Wolf. ubi sup. N.* 2000. *p.* 1071. *Gantz, ubi sup. Wolf, Basnag. ubi sup. c.* 35. §. 15, *& seq.* (46) *Id. ibid. N.* 2211. *p.* 1153. (47) (48) *Iid. ibid.* (49) *Iid. ibid.*

exempt

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exempt from wearing a mark of diſtinction, but are even allowed to wear a ſword, and to enjoy the ſame poſts and employments as the natives of the country [e].

An academy at Prague, A. C. 1530.

We took notice a while ago, that they had been advantageouſly ſettled in *Bohemia* ever-ſince the tenth century, on account of great ſervices they had done to the Chriſtians there againſt the banditti. They not only built a noble ſynagogue, but erected afterwards an academy at *Prague*, of which *R. Falk* was choſen chief (Y); and enjoyed ſome ſingular privileges in that country. But they met likewiſe there with perſecutions and diſaſters. A general conflagration having deſtroyed ſome part of that kingdom, they were accuſed, and found guilty of having cauſed it; ſo that thoſe that eſcaped the flames, were all baniſhed, ten only excepted, who obtained leave to continue at *Prague*. *Ferdinand* was not able to appeaſe the tumultuous *Bohemians*, by any other means, than by their deaths or baniſhments, till the incendiaries were diſcovered towards the latter end of the year, when they were all recalled, and ſettled there afreſh [f].

Baniſhed.

Recalled.

A new ſtorm, A. C. 1558.

It was not long before another ſtorm was raiſed againſt them, on a ſuſpicion that they had prayed at *Prague* againſt the Chriſtians; whereupon all their books were immediately ſeized, and ſent to *Vienna*. The loſs of them was very afflicting, not only on account of their value, but becauſe they were forced to officiate in the ſynagogue without them, and that by dint of memory. They were however ſo ſoon reſtored to them, that it looked as if they had been taken away with no other view but to force them to redeem them. But even then their happineſs proved ſhort-lived, ſince the emperor baniſhed them all but ten families out of *Bohemia*, before that year was out. What his reaſons were our author [g] doth not tell us; but they were permitted at the ſame time to go and ſettle in any part of his other dominions; and it was

Baniſhed, and ſettled afreſh.

[e] See the life of that prelate, written by Flechier, p. 270. Basn. ubi ſup. §. 18. [f] Gantz, ubi ſup. p. 151, & ſeq. [g] Rodolph. Imp. Decret. Poſan. an. 1578. art. ii. ap. Verboz Corp. per Hungar. tom. i. p. 52. Rodolph. ii. Decret. Poſan. an. 1595. art. x.

(Y) This rabbi took it into his head to introduce the Chriſtian manner of diſputing in his ſchool; but ſoon found that it diſguſted all their wiſemen, and that the *Jewiſh* theology is too myſtical and abſtruſe to bear being canvaſſed by arguments and regular ſyllogiſms.

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Learned men.

not long before they were resettled in that. What learned doctors flourished in it may be seen in the next note (Z).

TH

(Z) They had several here that maintained the glory of their nation, among whom was the famed *Isaac Meheling*, who taught in that academy about the end of the sixteenth century, and, at his death, left the chair to his son *Charan*. Here likewise flourished the celebrated *Liwa Bitzleer*, who conversed with the emperor *Rodolphus*; and of whom the *Jews* say, that *all* Israel *drank of his waters, and walked by his light* (50). He founded the academy called *Klause*, *an.* 1592, which became so famous in his time, that it drew a vast concourse of disciples to him. He was chosen at last superintendant of all the synagogues in *Poland*.

Jehudah Betzaleel, or, *Leo Pragensis*, a native of *Bohemia*, likewise flourished in it, *an.* 1553, and was chief of the *Moravian* academies, and judge of the nation in that country. He went thence to *Prague*, *an.* 1573, and there founded a new school, in which he taught eleven years with great applause, but left it at length to pass into *Poland*, where he died about the beginning of the seventeenth century. He left several learned works behind, among which is that, intituled, *The Redemption and Eternity of* Israel, wherein he assures the *Jews* of the certainty of the Messiah's coming, and of his settling them in a perpetual state of prosperity. Some time before him lived one *Abraham* of *Prague*, who w a commentary on that o *Jarchi*; and who died, 1540, as his epitaph shews

Mordechai Japhe, or *the* was likewise a native of *Pr* and gained no small reput among those of his nation his great learning; but re at last into *Poland*, wher died, *an.* 1611. He wrot veral learned volumes; principal one is that whic intituled, *The Royal Robe Apparel)*; alluding, accor to the rabbinic custom, to namesake *Mordechai*, and royal dress which King *Aha* caused him to be cloathed (1). The reader will no displeased, if we subjoin th der in which he ranges this t tise.

He divides it into ten di ent *Royal Habits*, though h nished but five of them, w contain an accurate commen another work. The first is stiled, *The purple Garment* which he treats of prayers thanksgivings; the second *The white*, which treats of Sabbath; the third is, *The den Crown*, which treats things permitted and forb the fourth is, *A Robe of fine nen and scarlet*, in which are plained the ceremonies of n riage; and the last is, *The G ment of the city of* Shushan, *its rejoicing at the prosperity the* Jews (2).

The last we shall ment

(50) *Basnag. ubi sup. c.* 34. §. 21. (1) *Esther* viii. 15. (2) *Bartoloc. sup. tom.* iii. *p.* 40. *Wolf. ub. sup. N.* 1482, *p.* 792. *Gantz, Basnag. &c.*

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THOSE in *Hungary* were greatly diminiſhed, towards the end of the ſixteenth century, when the emperor *Rodolphus* laid a double tax on them, in order to oblige them to quit that country the quicker; and, at length, obliged them to pay a monthly fine of fifty denarii *per* head, which, it was thought, muſt have ruined them quite; but, notwithſtanding, a good number of them made ſhift to maintain themſelves in it, though a much greater was forced to ſeek their fortune elſewhere. *Oppreſſed in* Hungary, A. C. 1595.

The *Moravian* ſynagogues ſuffered a very ſevere perſecution in the year 1574, a great number of *Jews* being *Perſecuted in* Moravia,

here is the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian *David Gantz*, ſo often quoted in this chapter, who was a native of that city, and there compoſed his *Tzemach David*, which is a chronology from the creation to the year 1492 of the Chriſtian æra; and muſt not, conſequently, be confounded with a dictionary of the ſame name, which we have elſewhere mentioned. He gave it that title, either as it was his firſt work, or to put his ſuffering nation in mind of the branch, *David* or Meſſiah, who was to redeem them from thraldom, and to induce them to pray the more fervently for the haſtening of his coming.

There are three ſingularities in his hiſtory; *viz.* 1. That he begins at the creation, mentions the patriarchs and firſt temple; whereas the reſt of the *Jewiſh* chronologers go no higher up than the æra of the *Greeks*. 2. That, though he follows the *Hebrew*, or *Pſeudo Joſephus*, and other *Jewiſh* rabbies that wrote before them, yet is much more exact, and often corrects them. 3. That he hath compiled his ſecond part from Chriſtian authors; and though he hath not been ſo happy in his choice, as he might have been, had he been a better judge of them, yet it is ſome merit in him that he hath ſo far departed from the method of his brethren, who deſpiſed the help of foreign authors, and thought it a diſhonour to make any uſe of them.

Gantz cloſes his chronology with an encomium on one *Mordechai Meuſel*, a very rich and liberal *Jew*, who not only contributed largely towards a ſynagogue, which was then building at *Prague*, and was not inferior to thoſe of *Poland* and *Jeruſalem*, but gave away vaſt ſums to the relief of his poor brethren in *Bohemia* and *Poſnania*. He ſtiles him, *the Baſis and Wall of the School, the Chief of liberal Souls, the Father of the Poor, the Oak of his Nation, and the Love of his Brethren* (4).

His chronology hath been tranſlated into, and continued in, the *German* rabbinic language, and in *Latin*; beſides which he wrote two other treatiſes, one on arithmetic, ſtiled, *The Shield of* David; and the other, *The Tower of* David, on geometry (5).

(4) *Bartoloc. ubi ſup. Wolf, ubi ſup, N.* 481. *p.* 292. *Baſn. ubi ſup.* §. 24, 25, *&c.* (5) *Iid. ibid.*

A. C. 1574. burnt, and otherwise dispatched, before the emperor could be applied to in their behalf, who was, at length, moved with pity towards them, and put an end to those massacres.

Plundered in Franconia, Those in *Franconia* were accused of having set fire to some houses in the town of *Bamberg*; for which they were plundered of all their effects, in order to make good that loss, but had their lives spared. They were served much in the same way at *Bonn* on the *Rhine*, when that town was taken and plundered by the *Dutch* general *Schenk*; but were made ample amends for their loss, towards the close of the sixteenth century, when *Henry*, then duke of *Brunswick*, permitted them to settle in his dominions. Till this time the princes of that illustrious house had been possessed with a notion, that the tolerating of them would prove detrimental to that state; insomuch that they suffered none of them, not even those that were merchants, to pass through it; and if any were caught, they were plundered with impunity. At length, complaint having been made of it to prince *Henry Julius*, then duke of *Brunswick*, he not only granted them liberty of conscience in his territories, but appointed them a place in *Lower Saxony*, to carry on their commerce [h]: so that there were but few places in *Germany* where they were not allowed to traffic, towards the latter end of the sixteenth century. It is now time to see how they fared in the seventeenth, or last.

A. C. 1573. *At* Bonn, 1588. *Settled in* Brunswick, A. C. 1592.

Jews *in* Poland, *during the last century.* THERE is hardly any country in *Europe*, wherein the *Jews* enjoy greater liberty and privileges, than in *Poland*, though it grant none to the Protestants. They have their stately synagogues and academies; and their house of judgment, or court of judicature, is endowed with singular authority, since it is allowed to judge of criminal, as well as civil, cases. It hath been even affirmed [i], that they had once the privilege of coining money; but both the shekels, and *Hebrew* inscription †, and the tomb out of which they were taken, and on which that conjecture is founded, are too suspicious to persuade one, that any crowned head would make them such a grant. However, *Poland* is looked upon as a nursery of learned rabbies, and the place where the *Jews* send all their youths to study the thalmud [k], and rites of their religion. In speaking of the preceding century, we mentioned some rab-

R. Solomon *converted.*

[h] GANTZ Tzemach, ubi sup. Basn. ubi sup. [i] Historia Univers. Judaic. c. 3. † De his vid. vol. iii. p. 215 & (X), & seq. [k] Hist. Un. Jud. ibid. p. 18. VILLALPAND, tom. ii. p. 2. Juan. de la fuente conveniencia de las monarchias, ap. Basnag. c. 35. §. 1, & seq.

bies

bies there who were an honour to their nation; this hath produced one who hath not only renounced *Judaiſm*, but wrote and publiſhed 37 demonſtrations againſt it. But the condition he then was in, as well as the affected ſwoln ſtile in which he wrote, gives one reaſon to ſuſpect the ſincerity of his converſion (A). A. C. 1656.

THE city of *Hamburgh* is called the *Leſſer Jeruſalem*, on account of the many *Jews* that live and traffic in it. Their ſynagogue is indeed at *Altena*, a little city near it, under the king of *Denmark*, who protects them likewiſe at *Gluckſtadt*, but that doth not hinder *Hamburgh* from entertaining a vaſt number of them; ſome of whom are very rich, and others learned in various ſciences, eſpecially phyſic. They are obſerved to have been more tractable in that city than elſewhere; and that a good number of them were converted in this century, by one *Eſdras* or *Edzar*, (whom ſome have miſtaken for a converted *Jew*) and who made it his chief buſineſs to inſtruct and confirm them in the Chriſtian faith. A divine of that city once imagined, that if thoſe inſtructions were armed with ſome violence, they would become more numerous and effectual. But the ſenate being informed of it, ſoon cooled his untimely zeal, which tended only to leſſen the number of their citizens, and had already cauſed ſome popular commotions. *At* Hamburgh.

WE have already obſerved that they were endowed with great privileges at *Prague*, for their great ſervices at the ſiege of it, and glory ſo much in that piece of merit, that *R. Je-* *Settled in* Prague.

(A) His name was *Solomon*; he had been bound for one of his brothers, and clapt into a jail, whence nothing could have redeemed him but his turning Chriſtian; and this, and his readineſs to yield to every argument of his inſtructor, made his converſion ſuſpected. He readily owned that the Meſſiah was come, and that reaſon could not, ought not, to judge of the myſteries of faith, and that we ought to be wholly guided by revelation. Being told, that if God had given ſuch ſenſible proofs of his divine preſence in the holy ark of the covenant, which was made of wood, how much more, now he was united to our fleſh, of which the ark was but the type? he cried out, "theſe "words are ſweeter than ho-"ney, and pierce my very "heart."

After his baptiſm he endeavoured to convert his brethren, and wrote his 37 demonſtrations, in which he proved the Meſſiah was come, that he was a divine perſon, diſtinct from God the Father. He inſcribed his book to king *Caſimir*, in an elegant and pompous dedication (6).

(6) *Johan. Solomon, Demonſtrat. cum Hiſt. Colloquii. cum Joh. Botzace, congreſſ. I. prol. v. p.* 14, *& ſeq. vid. & Baſn. ub. ſup. c.* 35, §. 2.

hudah

Their defence of that city.

hudah Leo compiled a history of that transaction, in which he highly extolls the fidelity and bravery of his nation; their indefatigable industry in mining and countermining, watching and defending the place, *&c.* but especially their piety in often assembling themselves in their synagogues, to intercede with heaven, and to recite a most pious litany, composed for that purpose, by *R. Simeon, whose head shines with bright lustre.* In a word, he seems to ascribe the preservation of that city to their prayers and merit; notwithstanding which, they had the mortification to hear that the enemy, after raising the siege, entered *Tabor*, and several other cities of *Bohemia*, and had plundered all the *Jews*. The author concludes with an exhortation to those of his nation, that shall read his history, to shout aloud, *Blessed be our God, who hath wrought all these wonders in our favour.* All this, however, hath not been capable of creating a tolerable good understanding between the citizens and them; on the contrary, they hate one another, and take all opportunities to shew it: and it must be owned that the *Jews* have now-and-then been guilty of such enormous deeds, as must render them not only suspected, but hateful to the Christians. The reader may see a few instances of it in the margin (B).

Hated by the Christians.

THEY

(B) *R. Chajim al Joachim*, put one of the greatest cheats and affronts on this city that ever was heard. He had committed some signal theft; to avoid the shame and punishment of which, he renounced *Judaism*, and wrote a severe censure against it. From thence he removed to *Vienna*, where he at first ingratiated himself with the court, and emperor *Ferdinand*; but finding his fortune beginning to sink, he associated himself with some other *Jews*, and robbed the treasury. They were soon discovered and condemned for it; and *Chajim*, who in his baptism had been named *Ferdinand Francis Engelsbergh*, dissembled, in hopes of a pardon, till he came to the place of execution; but there openly owned that he had never been a Christian, but a *Jew* in heart, and died such. That he had received the sacrament a few hours before, which they would find in his urinal, where he had thrown it; and breaking the crucifix he held in his hand, threw the pieces away (7), and was executed. *Bartolocci* suspects him to have been the author of the virulent book, lately mentioned, called *Tholedoth Jesu*, or, *the Generations of Jesus*; but upon no probable grounds.

We have another instance of their hatred to the Christians, and their religion, in a *Jew* of this city named *Lazarus*, who, *an.* 1694, finding his son inclined to receive baptism, fell upon and killed him. Being impri-

(7) *Wagenseil Tela ignea Satanæ, p.* 189.

soned

THEY had enjoyed in *Hungary* the privilege of farming the revenue, till *Ferdinand* II. took it from them, by an edict dated 1630[l]: notwithſtanding which, they found means, it ſeems, to preſerve themſelves in it, ſince *Ferdinand* III. was afterwards obliged to deprive them of it, by a new one, which condemned thoſe to the loſs of their places, who admitted the *Jews* into any of them; becauſe, ſays this law, *they have neither conſcience nor honeſty, and are therefore unworthy to enjoy the privileges of the kingdom of* Hungary[m]. This did not, however, prevent their being winked at, and keeping thoſe employments, till that emperor ſent once and again expreſs commiſſioners to drive them out, and to puniſh thoſe communities that had connived at it; the laſt of which commiſſions was in the year 1655[n]. However, they continue there ſtill, not only under the protection of the Grand Seignor, in thoſe parts which are under his dominion, but in thoſe of the empire. In this laſt, when they go to law againſt the Chriſtians, there is a form of an oath preſcribed to them,

Stript of their privileges in Hungary, A. C. 1630. & 1647.

1655.

A form of their oath.

[l] Vid. Ferd. II. imp. decret. art. xv. an. 1630. ap. VERBOZ Corp. jur. Hungar. tom. ii. p. 256. [m] Ferd. iii. decret. ii. Poſonienſ. an. 1647. art. ix. ap. eund. p. 344. [n] Ibid. ſub an. 1649. p. 383. & decret. Poſon. v. an. 1655. art. xxix. p. 402. vid. BASNAG. c. 35. §. 8 & 9.

ſoned for it, he fell into a freſh fit of deſpair, and by the help of another *Jew*, who was in the ſame place, ſtrangled himſelf. This laſt was condemned to be broke upon the wheel; and in hopes to ſave his life, begged to be baptized; which was granted to him; but that did not prevent his being executed (8).

On the other hand, the Chriſtians are not wanting in means to ſpight and mortify them; and have, among other things, erected a braſs crucifix on the bridge which parts the two cities; and in order to oblige them to pay homage to it, have engraven the names of God about it in *Hebrew* characters. But as they are brought up to look upon all ſuch things as idols, they paſs by without taking notice of it, or of the names of God written upon it, which is often attended with vexatious conſequences. For the ſcholars, who are there very numerous, ſeldom fail of abuſeing and drubbing them; whereupon a riot enſues, of which they are commonly obliged to pay the coſt, as well as bear the blows and diſgrace. All this doth not hinder their being ſo numerous, that they fill the third city of *Prague*; but they are moſtly very poor and miſerable, and forced to hire themſelves to the meaneſt offices, both to the citizens and to ſtrangers (9).

(8) *Baſnag. ub. ſup.* §. 5, *& ſeq.* (9) *Hiſtoric. remarks in a voyage from Italy to Holland, an.* 1704. *p.* 130, *& ſeq. Baſnag. ub. ſup.*

which

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which is very singular, and which the reader may see in the margin (C).

A great assembly of them held in Hungary *about the Messiah.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the *Jews* made choice of this kingdom, preferably to all other countries, to hold their grand council, *an.* 1650, in which was to be debated the most important point of their religion; *viz.* whether the Messiah was come. A countryman of our own, who tells us he was present at it, hath given us the following account of it °. The *Jews* being in doubt about the great number of centuries which have elapsed since the time in which they expected him to appear, agreed to call a general assembly of all their rabbies, to clear up that point. *Hungary* appeared to them a proper place, because the *Turkish* wars had in a great measure depopulated it; and they made choice of the plain of *Ageda*, about 30 leagues from *Buda*, and the princes then at war readily granted them that liberty. Three hundred of their most learned rabbies, out of different nations, met there accordingly, with a vast multitude of other *Jews*, who flocked thither from other countries. They all encamped under their tents; and one, larger than all the rest, was reared for the

° BRETT's narrative of the proceedings, &c. phœnix xv. tom. ii. p. 544.

(C) They are obliged to turn their faces towards the sun; to stand barefoot, their bodies covered with a cloak, and their heads with a *Jewish* hat; and laying their hand upon a roll or volume of their law, repeat the following words: "I, such-a-"one, a *Jew*, do swear by the "living God, the almighty "God, who hath made the "heavens and the earth, and "all that is in them, that I am "innocent of the crime of "which that Christian accuses "me. And if I am guilty of "it, may the earth open itself "and swallow me up, as it did "*Dathan* and *Abiram:* may "the palsy and leprosy, which "*Elisha* removed from *Naaman* "upon *Gehazi*, fall upon me: "may the falling sickness, the "bloody-flux, and gout, seize "me in an instant: may a sud-"den death carry me off: may "my body and soul perish: "may my good fortune be "overturned: may I never get "admittance into the bosom "of *Abraham:* may the law "given on *Mount-Sinai* blot me "out *(me deleat)*: may all the "holy writ contained in the "five books of *Moses* confound "me. And, if my present oath "is not true and just, may God "*(Adonai)*, by his divine pow-"er, blot me out of the book "of life (10)."

(10) *Verbor. Corp. jur. Hungar. part* iii. *titul.* 36. *tom.* i. *p.* 139. *ap. Busæ. ub. sup.* §. 10.

grand

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grand council to ſit in (D); and *R. Zachariah*, of the tribe of *Levi*, was choſen their preſident and ſpeaker. He was ſeated before a large table, with his face towards the eaſtern door of the pavilion, and all the reſt ſat round him.

THE firſt day was ſpent in compliments and mutual congratulations, and in excluding thoſe who could not prove their *Jewiſh* origin, which amounted to about 5 or 600. On the ſecond day the preſident propoſed the queſtion, in words to this effect: "We are here met to examine whether the "Meſſiah is come, or whether we muſt ſtill wait for his "coming?" Upon which ſome profeſſed themſelves inclined to believe *he was already come, ſeeing thoſe great misfortunes and diſaſters which Providence had continued to ſend down amongſt them, during ſuch a ſeries of centuries, could not be owing to their idolatry; a crime from which their nation had kept themſelves wholly free, ever ſince their return from the* Babyloniſh *captivity. So that all thoſe miſeries which they had ſuffered ſince their diſperſion, muſt be owing to ſome other cauſe.* This was rightly judged; and they might have juſtly added, that it was ſolely owing to their ſtill rejecting of that Meſſiah whom God had ſent at the appointed time, as we have elſewhere ſhewn †: but the majority of votes carried it againſt them, and it was agreed that the Meſſiah was not yet come, and that his delay was owing to their ſins and impenitence. *The reſult of it.*

THEY next debated in what manner the Meſſiah was to come; and eaſily agreed to theſe three particulars. 1ſt. That he would appear as a great conqueror, and deliver them from all foreign yokes. 2dly. That he would alter nothing in the *Moſaic* religion. And 3dly. That he was to be born of a virgin; and that this his miraculous birth was to be a characteriſtic by which he ſhould be known to thoſe who were ſtrangers to the covenant. Some farther debates they had, the ſubſtance of which may be ſeen in the margin (E). The congreſs

† See before, vol. x. p. 449, & ſeq. ſub. not. & alib.

(D) In this vaſt aſſembly, (which conſiſted of ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons of their nation, who came thither from moſt countries of *Europe*, if not likewiſe from the Eaſt, and for which great plenty of proviſions, and all other conveniencies had been brought) it was reſolved that none but thoſe who ſpoke the *Hebrew* tongue, and could make out their genealogies, ſhould be admitted; which cauſed great numbers of them to be excluded: and theſe were only admitted to ſtand without, and at a certain diſtance from the great pavilion, and among the ſtrangers whom curioſity had brought thither alſo.

(E) They debated, among other

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congress had lasted six days, when some ecclesiastics, sent thither from *Rome*, presented themselves before it; and not content to prove to them that *Jesus Christ* was the promised Messiah, began to extol the worship, ceremonies, and the authority of the church, whose head was the vicar of that divine Person. This declaration immediately caused a strange uproar in the council, among which nothing was now to be heard but a tumultuous outcry of *No Christ! no God-man! no intercession of saints! no worship of images! no prayers to the Virgin!* accompanied with loud clamours, rending of cloaths, stopping of ears, *&c.* and in this manner they parted for that day. On the next, which was the 8th, they only met to agree upon another council, which should be held three years after in *Syria*, where, our author tells us, there are still some of the ancient *Rechabites* *. He farther observes, that some of the *Jewish* doctors owned themselves not a little shaken at what had passed, and expressed a desire to converse with some protestant divines; but that the presence of so many monks, they said, deterred them, and made them fear some tragical conclusion to their assembly.

A new one agreed on.

About 10 years after, they were in such high credit at *Vienna*, that *R. Zachariah* had obtained leave to build a stately synagogue, and academy, in order to revive learning among

* De his, vid. Anc. Hist. vol. iv. p. 136. (S).

other points, whether *Jesus Christ*, who had been crucified, might not be the Messiah; to which the Pharisees, who overruled the assembly, answered, on the following day, that he could not be that person, because he appeared in a low and despised state; whereas the Messiah was to appear in a glorious and triumphant manner. They likewise objected his being the son of a carpenter, and the aversion he had along shewn against the law of *Moses*.

Here a rabbi, named *Abraham*, who was still unsatisfied with the pharisaic reasoning, strenuously insisted upon *Christ*'s miracles; and asked them, by what power they thought he could work them? To this *Zebedee*, one of the chiefs of that sect, answered, that he wrought them by his magic art. *Abraham* objected, that no magic art could give sight, hearing, or speech, to those that were born blind, deaf, or dumb: to which the other replied, that those blind, deaf, and dumb, had been so formed in the womb by magic art; and that he that cured them did nothing else but dissolve the charm by the same diabolical power. The *Sadducees*, tho' in other things so opposite to them, agreed with them in this; and the more readily, as they denied the resurrection, which *Christ* had so strenuously defended against them.

5 them.

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them. He had endowed the latter with a ſufficient penſion for twenty-four doctors, who were to read lectures on the Thalmud night and day; ſo that the ſchool was to be always open, and ſome doctors teaching in it. The building, however, was ſcarcely finiſhed, when the emperor baniſhed all the *Jews* out of that capital, and turned their ſynagogue into a church [p]. They complain, that the empreſs ſuperſtitiouſly aſcribed her barrenneſs to their toleration; for which God puniſhed her ſoon after; for that ſhe was brought to-bed of a daughter, and died in child-bed. Not long after which, they were all recalled, and ſettled in that capital. That monarch did not a little reſent the zeal with which thoſe of *Buda* ſuſtained the ſiege againſt him; tho' in reality they did but their duty in it, ſeeing they were ſubjects of the *Ottoman* empire. However, they are not only tolerated at *Vienna*, but are admitted to ſeveral high poſts, and titles of honour; but the people, who begrudge them the wealth which they acquire under the government, ſometimes raiſe vexatious commotions, in order to ſtrip them of it. They were no leſs numerous and flouriſhing in moſt other large cities of the empire, as well as in the provinces of *Servia*, *Croatia*, *Moldavia*, *Valantina*, *&c.* and tho' they are baniſhed out of the city of *Nuremberg*, yet they are ſettled in moſt of the neighbouring towns, and have a ſynagogue at *Pfurt*, and are even permitted to enter that city, under a guide who ſtays with them all the time. The ſame may be ſaid of the city of *Auſburg*, where they had formerly a ſynagogue and academy, and their doctors and diſciples were maintained by the rich merchants of the place [q], but have been ſince baniſhed from it, and muſt buy the liberty of coming into it at the price of a florin for every hour they ſtay in it.

High credit at Vienna, A. C. 1660.

Baniſhed, 1669.

Recalled, 1673.

Strip'd by the populace, 1705.

Settled in other parts of the empire.

THE *Jews* of *Ratiſbon* are accuſed of having ſtolen from the Chriſtians there, one of their greateſt ſaints, whom they call *Emmeron*, and affirm to have come from *Poitou*, and to have converted the *Huns*; whereas the former affirm him to have been of their nation, and deſcended from *Amram* the father of *Moſes*. It is not eaſy to decide the controverſy; only this may be ſaid in favour of them, that they don't appear ſo fond of ſaints as to ſteal thoſe of the Chriſtians; which is more than theſe can ſay for themſelves. Thoſe of *Worms* are alſo charged, by one who abjured *Judaiſm*, to have written the name of God on the top of their ſynagogue, out of a ſuperſtitious notion, that it was an effectual means of preſerving

[p] BARRIO's Hiſt. Judaic. BASNAG. ub. ſup. §. 20. [q] BENJAMIN DE TUDELA, Itinerar.

it

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it to them; insomuch, that they suffered it to be covered with spiders webs, rather than run the risque of defacing it by brushing them off. But the *French* soon convinced them of the vanity of that notion, when they took that city, and demolished that building to the ground. A late traveller reckons 30,000 *Jews* in *Francfort*[r]; yet they are but ill used there, being often plundered, fined, and made to carry water, where-ever any fire happens; and the citizens paint them in their houses in all manner of ridiculous and other forms, on purpose to render them despicable and odious: and yet they seem fond of living, tho' in extreme poverty and contempt, in all these parts, and often produce some very learned men among them (F).

Numerous, and dispersed at Francfort.

We

[r] Historical remarks on a journey into Italy. ap. Basnag. ub. sup. § 25.

(F) Among them was the famed cabbalist *Nathan de Spira*, who, about *an.* 1640, wrote a panegyric on the *Holy Land*, intituled *The Good of the Earth*; and another called *Megillath Humuceth*, or *Volume of the Profundities*; which is a cabbalistical comment on some verses in the third chapter of *Deuteronomy*, wherein he hath discovered sundry deep mysteries, which he there explains, and removes the difficulties which occur to him.

There flourished another famed one at *Cisenstadt*, about *an.* 1682, named *Mordechai*, who set up at first for a prophet; and finding the people ready to credit him, gave himself out to be the Messiah. Those of *Italy* wrote letters to invite him thither, where he was according received with great respect; but the rabbi who conducted him thither having discovered his imposture, began to cry him down; but was forced by the rest to retire, and obtained a certificate from them, upon condition that he should speak no more against him; but upon his breaking his word, was accused of divers notorious crimes. However, the false Messiah was found out, and forced to retire from *Italy* into *Poland*; and it is from the rabbi above-mentioned that we have this account, so that it can hardly be called in question.

But the most celebrated rabbi that *Germany* hath produced in the last century, was the great *Isaac Loria*, author of the metaphysical introduction to the cabbalah, in which he examines the reasons which induced God to create the world. He was a native of *Jerusalem*, and his appellative of *Askenasi (German)*, was only given him on account of his long abode in that country; for he retired again into *Palestine*, towards the latter end of his life, and was buried at *Sapheta* in upper *Galilee*. He wrote several other treatises, which the reader may see in the authors quoted in the margin (11), but that above-mentioned

(11) *Narratiuncula Judæi cujusdam de R. Mordechai Pseudo Messiâ, an.* 1682. *ap. Buxtorf. Catalecta, p.* 361.

was

e come now to thoſe that are ſettled in *Holland*, where, Jews *in*
ay believe one of their writers, they enjoy greater li- Holland
d quietneſs, and are more flouriſhing and wealthy *numerous.*
y other part of the world [s]. They are here of two
thoſe who come from *Germany*, and thoſe who
rtugal and *Spain*, and are ſo divided, on ac-
ie difference in their ceremonies, that they hear-
each other (G). *Zeigler* was once very conſiderable *Deceived*
g the former, and came to *Amſterdam*, on purpoſe to *by* R.
clude them with the hopes of a meſſiah, whom he pretended *Zeigler.*
to have already ſeen at *Straſburgh*, and who would appear immediately after their converſion and agreement were compleated (H), and ſoon after deſtroy Anti-Chriſt's and the *Turkiſh* empire, and extend his own from one end of the world to

[s] DAN. LEVI DE BARRIOS, Caſa de Jaacob, p. 24.

was ſo highly admired by our great *Henry More*, that he thought it might be of ſingular ſervice to convert not only the *Jews*, but the heathen, to Chriſtianity (12).

(G) The true reaſon, however, of this extreme hatred, if we may believe the *Germans*, lies deeper, and is more juſtifiable; *viz.* the diſſimulation and remiſſneſs of thoſe of *Portugal* and *Spain*; who, as we have obſerved more than once, live in thoſe countries, and conform in all things with the popiſh religion, for the ſake of enriching themſelves, and then retire into *Holland*, to enjoy with more ſafety the fruits of their hypocriſy. They charge them likewiſe with being too remiſs in many things relating to their law, of which themſelves are more ſcrupulous obſervers; and if we may judge of thoſe in *Holland* by thoſe in *England*, where one ſort is tenacious, and the other remiſs, to an extreme, if not to a fault, the charge will appear far from groundleſs.

(H) This meſſiah, whom he affirmed to be lineally deſcended from *David* king of *Iſrael*, by the line of *Nathan*, was then, he ſaid, but fourteen years old. His anceſtors had reſided about 1000 years in the kingdom of *Tunis*, whence they paſſed afterwards into that of *Granada* in *Spain*, whence being expelled by king *Ferdinand*, they had ſettled themſelves in *Germany*. He was then at *Straſburgh*, where *Zeigler* had ſeen him, and for whom he reſerved a diadem and ſword, to put into his hand, in order to bring all the world under his dominion. This was his fabulous account of him. However, this cheat muſt not be confounded with another rabbi of the ſame name, who was deſcended from the houſe of *Salmes*, born at *Landau*, and was well verſed in moſt ſciences, for this laſt died about 70 years before (13), and was called *James*, and the other *Philip*.

(12) *Buxtorf & Wolf, Bibl. Rab. N.* 1227. *p.* 671. (13) *Voetii diſput. ſelect. vol.* ii. *p.* 95, *& ſeq.*

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the other. He was likewiſe to aſſemble a general council at *Conſtance*, which would laſt twelve years, and put an end to all their feuds about matters of religion. This meſſiah, however, did not appear; and the *Jews* found themſelves vilely deluded by that impoſtor [t].

Accuſed of intelligence againſt the Spaniards.

Of thoſe who retired thither from *Portugal* and *Spain*, one of their chiefs, named *Michez*, of *Spaniſh* extract, is accuſed by *Strada* [u] of having promoted the wars in the *Low Countries*, by promiſing the magiſtrates of *Antwerp* a powerful ſuccour; and wrote to them from *Conſtantinople*, that the Grand Seignor would, in a ſhort time, find ſo much work for the king of *Spain*, that they would meet with no great obſtruction from him. But tho' he did not keep his promiſe with them, it ſhews that the *Jews* were ſafer in thoſe parts than in *Spain*, ſince he choſe to ſhelter himſelf there ſo early. For it was not till about forty years after that thoſe of *Portugal* and *Spain* came to ſettle in *Holland*. However, their firſt aſſembly at *Amſterdam* cauſed no ſmall jealouſy among the citizens, who took them at firſt for Roman-catholics in diſguiſe; till, upon ſearching their houſes, eſpecially thoſe where they met to worſhip, they found nothing but *Hebrew* books, and the volume of the *Moſaic* law: upon which they were only charged to pray for the preſervation of the city, which they readily promiſed; and built ſoon after their firſt ſynagogue there, which they called *the Houſe of Jacob*, becauſe a rich *Jew* of that name was the founder of it [w]. They reared another not long after, which they ſtiled *Neve Shalom, the Dwelling of peace*; and put it under the care of a famed rabbi, named *Judah Vega*, who was come from *Afric*; but left it, and retired to *Conſtantinople*; where he compiled a hiſtory of his nation, down to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, by *Titus*. He was ſucceeded by *R. Uziel*, who cenſured the faults and remiſſneſs of the *Jews*, in ſuch ſevere terms, that he incurred their hatred; upon which a third ſynagogue was built, to which the ſchiſmatics repaired, under the conduct of another rabbi, named *Pardo*. This laſt was ſtiled *Beth Iſrael, the Houſe of Iſrael*. This ſchiſm laſted about 20 years, not without great heat on both ſides; but was at length happily ended, and the three ſynagogues were reconciled, and united into one, to which they gave the name of *Thalmud Hathorath*, or, *The Study of the Law* (I).

The firſt ſynagogue in Amſterdam.

A ſecond built.

A third, A. C. 1618.

Re-united, A. C. 1639.

R.

[t] Voetii diſput. ſelect. tom. ii. p. 95. [u] Strada de bell. Belg. lib. v. p. 214. [w] Vid. Silva del Anton. Alvares Suares.

(I) Since then they have taken care to found ſchools as well as ſynagogues; and one of them called *Kether Hathorah*, or

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R. MENASSE, author of ſeveral learned treatiſes, and one of the ableſt divines which the *Jewiſh* nation hath produced theſe many centuries, was choſen to expound the thalmud there, at the age of eighteen; and gained ſuch reputation for his learning and application, that it raiſed the envy of the jealous rabbies, and created him many enemies. But he deſpiſed their calumnies, and purſued his ſtudies with ſuch aſſiduity, that at the age of twenty he publiſhed the firſt part of his *Conciliator* on the Pentateuch; wherein he endeavoured to reconcile the ſeeming contradictions of the ſacred books, by the expoſitions of ancient and modern doctors, and by his own conjectures. And this work, which he afterwards finiſhed, gained him the eſteem and admiration of all the learned, both *Jews* and Chriſtians [x]; and it muſt be owned, that no rabbi, either before or ſince, ever handled thoſe difficult points with ſo much erudition and ſolidity (K).

R. Menaſſe *chooſen.*

His high character.

BARTOLOCCI

[x] See the Epiſtle of R. ZACHUTH, prefixed to his Conciliator.

or *the Crown of the Law*, hath been ſtill governed by ſome of their moſt learned men, and was founded *an.* 1643. But that which moſt diſplays the flouriſhing ſtate of this nation, is the vaſt and noble ſynagogue which they conſecrated *an.* 1673, and hath been ſo deſervedly admired by all the judges of architecture, and ſo much cried up by their own preachers, that there has been a collection printed of the ſermons preached on that occaſion (14), and may be rightly called pompous panegyrics in the ſwollen *Jewiſh* ſtile: not but the *Jews* deſerve the greater commendation for that noble ſtructure, becauſe, tho' it was reared in time of war, which cauſed ſome obſtruction to the work, yet being begun in *April* 1671, it was compleated in the ſhort ſpace of four years (15).

(K) *R. Manaſſe* was of *Jewiſh* extract, and of the family of the famed *Abravanels*, but was ſo far from the moroſe conduct of the learned of his nation, who ſhun the company of Chriſtians, that he made himſelf many real friends among them. The great poet *Barlæus* was one of them, who wrote in his praiſe, and proteſted that no difference of opinions ſhould leſſen his eſteem for ſo learned a man. Even the learned *Grotius* often conſulted him on difficult paſſages of ſcripture with good ſucceſs, and encouraged him to go on and publiſh his excellent works, and recommended them to the learned as of great ſervice towards the right underſtanding of holy writ (16).

He had alſo many friends among thoſe in power; all which raiſed the jealouſy of ſome zea-

(14) *Sermones que pregaraon, &c. De his, vid. Baſnag. ub. ſup.* §. 5. (15) *Ib. ſub not.* (B). (16) *Grotii Epiſt. an.* 1639. *p.* 564.

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BARTOLOCCI accuſed him of having taken the advantage of the civil-wars in *England*, to prevail upon *Oliver Cromwell* to permit the *Jews* to ſettle there. On the other hand, a *Jewiſh* hiſtorian affirms that *Cromwell*, and his parliament invited him over to treat about it [y]. But without entering farther into the matter of fact, was it not natural for him to endeavour to procure ſuch an advantageous ſettlement to his nation as that of *England*? But whether invited or no, it is plain he came over into *England* with that deſign, and was well received by *Cromwell* and the parliament, as well as his apology for the *Jews*, in which he exploded all the calumnies raiſed againſt his nation, eſpecially thoſe of their crucifying and uſing the blood of Chriſtian children at their Paſſover; and pleaded their cauſe ſo well there, that, if we may believe ſome authors of thoſe times, he obtained a much better ſettlement, and greater privileges for them, than ever they had enjoyed before in *England* [z]. We ſhall ſpeak of that apology in the account of his works. However, *Bartolocci* not only cenſures him for it, but charges him with other frivolous matters, tho' he repreſents them as crimes; ſuch as his taking part with the remonſtrants, in order to obtain their friendſhip and protection; and printing his works without the approbation or leave of the Chriſtian divines, *&c.* from all which he hath been ſufficiently cleared by Mr. *Baſnage*. He died at *Amſterdam*, *an.* 1652, and left a ſon, who inherited his printing-houſe, and printed his father's works in it [a]. His other works may be ſeen in the margin (L). *R. Zachuth*, a great

Comes to England, A. C. 1656.

Death, A. C. 1562.

[y] BARRIOS Hiſtor. univerſ. Judayc. [z] Id. ibid. vid. THOPHIL. SPIZEL. Coronid. Philologic. p. 382. & Pantheon Anabapiſtic. part ii. lib. iii. p. 234. WOLF, ub. ſup. p. 783. [a] BARTOL. WOLF, BASNAG. &c.

lous divines to ſuch a degree, that they condemned *Barlæus*'s verſes in his praiſe; and a kind of paper war was begun among the learned, in which every one took what ſide he pleaſed (17).

(L) Beſides the *Conciliator* above-mentioned, the 2d, 3d, and 4th parts of which took up the remainder of the Old Teſtament, he publiſhed, 1. A *Spaniſh* bible, *an.* 1630. 2. A *Hebrew* Pentateuch, with a *Spaniſh* verſion to it, *an.* 1646. 3. *Teſoro dos Dinim*, or treaſury of rites, in *Portugueſe*, *an.* 1645. 4. His *Oeconomia*, or collection of rites relating to women, children, ſervants, and goods. 5. A panegyric on the queen of *Sweden*. 6. His *Phocylides*, in *Spaniſh* verſe. 7. His *Eben Jekara*, or precious ſtone, or comment on the ſtatue of *Nebuchadnazzar*.

(17) *See Wolf, Bibl. Hebr. N.* 1463. *p.* 778, *& ſeq.*

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great friend and panegyriſt of *Menaſſe* [b], and who flouriſhed at the ſame place and time, was of *Portugueſe* extract, and born at *Liſbon, an.* 1575. He was ſent by his parent, who made outward profeſſion of popery, to ſtudy phyſic at *Salamanca* and *Conimbra*; after which he returned and ſettled at his native place, where he gained no ſmall reputation for his learning, and more ſo by the charitable cures he performed among the ſick poor, and for ſome notable ones at court. He wrote ſeveral books, particularly an hiſtory of the chief phyſicians, which he dedicated to the pope's reſidentiary there. And after having diſſembled about 30 years, he retired to *Amſterdam*, where he was circumciſed, and died a *Jew*, leaving ſeveral works unfiniſhed, which he deſigned to print [c]. Thoſe he publiſhed were of the phyſical kind.

R. Zachuth's *character*.

death, A. C. 1642.

[b] Bartoloc. Wolf, Basnag. &c. [c] See his Life, written by Ludov. Lemoso, prefixed to his book De Calculorum Morbo. Wolf, ub. ſup, N. 568. Basnag. c. 36. §. 13.

nazzar. 8. His treatiſe of the reſurrection of the dead, and immortality of the ſoul. 9. Of *Adam*'s fall, and frailty of human nature. 10. Of the hope of *Iſrael*; in which he endeavours to prove, from the relation of *Antonio Montezino*, that the ten *Iſraelitiſh* tribes are ſettled chiefly in *America*, along the river *Sabbation*. This book was dedicated to the *Engliſh* parliament, and received the thanks of it from the chairman of the committee, in an epiſtle printed at *London, an.* 1650, in which the writer ſtiles *Manaſſe his moſt dear brother*. 11. His 30 problems concerning the creation, in *Latin*, 8vo. *an.* 1635. 12. His treatiſe on the certain term of life. His *Sepher Phene Rabbah*, or *Hebrew* index of places in ſcripture, which are explained in the *Middraſh Rabbah*, or large comment on them, alphabetically digeſted. 13. His *Sod Yeſharim*, or ſecret of the righteous, or treatiſe on the ſecrets of nature, or natural magic. 14. His *Niſhmath Chajim*, or breath of life, on the immortality of the ſoul. 15. His *Shaphah Berurah*, or pure lip, on grammar. 16. His logic, his apology for the *Jews*, printed firſt in *Engliſh*, *an.* 1656, and ſince re-printed in the *Phœnix*, 1707, and different from another, under the name of *Edward Nicholas*, who profeſſes himſelf to be no *Jew*, but betrays himſelf ſuch, by his ſtile and writing. To theſe we might add his epiſtles to the learned of his time, on various and difficult points, of which he takes notice in his ſecond part of his *Conciliator*. His three editions of the *Hebrew* bible, from his own printing-houſe, and a much greater number of rabbinic books, which the reader may ſee in *Bartolocci*, *Wolf*, *Baſnage*, *Hottinger*, and other writers, particularly, *Daniel Levi de Barrios*'s univerſal *Jewiſh* hiſtory.

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R. Abraham Pitzaro's *works.*

R. ABRAHAM ISRAEL PITZARO flourished likewise at *Amsterdam*. He wrote a book intituled *the Sceptre of Judah*, which is an exposition of that prophecy of *Jaacob* [d], in a most swollen stile, and dedicated it to the *pharnassim*, or judges of that synagogue, whom he stiles *the stars which enlighten the firmament, and the Atlasses which bear up the people of Israel.* It is a virulent book against Christianity, in which he complains of the danger of confuting it, and of the unfair way of Christians expounding the scripture, of their unfitness for such a task, and of their tyrannic way of using those *Jews* who expound them in a different way from them. And it is not improbable that this was the motive which inclined those *pharnassim* to suppress the publishing of that work, notwithstanding his great encomiums on them. Mr. *Basnage*, who saw it in manuscript, hath given a short account of it, and of his way of interpreting the words *Sceptre Shiloh, &c.* in that prophecy, in a manner quite different from that of the Christians, in order to confute the notion of the Messiah's being come, but for which we shall refer our readers to that author, to avoid running into too great a length [e].

R. Mortera, A.C. 1645.

R. MORTERA was another celebrated doctor at *Amsterdam*, and a more subtile writer than *Pitzaro*; tho' his treatise *Of the truth of the Mosaic Law, and of the miraculous providence of God over his people*, be designed to prove that the law given to *Moses* was perfect; and that the Christians have injured it, by pretending to raise it to a higher perfection, by the addition of new precepts. He falls equally foul on the Protestants and Roman-catholics; and endeavours to explode the authority of the New Testament, the efficacy of the Sacraments, and the rewards and punishments of another life. The reader may see a sketch of his book in the author above-quoted [f]. The rest of the *Jews* of note, who flourished in this city, may be seen in the following note (M).

THEY

[d] Genes. xlix. 10. [e] Hist. de Juifs. lib. ix. c. 36. §. 14—21. [f] Ibid. §. 22. ad fin.

(M) *Joseph Atthias*, a *Spaniard* by birth, was at first a teacher of the thalmud at *Hamburgh*, but came afterwards to *Amsterdam*, where he bought the famed *Elzevir*'s printing-house, and became himself a celebrated printer in the *Jewish* way. His *Hebrew* bible, and other works, being not only very correct and commodious, but in such a fair type as had not been yet seen, nor been outdone since, except by that of our excellent *Castalion*, and with the *Massoretic* notes on the margin, and as such are highly esteemed by the learned.

R. Isaac Aboab, who came thither

THEY are no leſs numerous and flouriſhing at the *Hague*, where they have alſo a noble ſynagogue, and where thoſe who are *Rich ones at the* Hague.

thither from *Braſil*, was not only a celebrated preacher but a great cabbaliſt; and tranſlated from *Spaniſh* into *Hebrew* the treatiſe intituted *the Gate of Heaven* (18), written by another *Spaniard* named *Irira*, or *Abraham Cohen Herrera* (19), and from that *Hebrew* verſion it is, that a new *Latin* one hath ſince been made. *Aboab* likewiſe wrote a paraphraſe on the Pentateuch, wherein he ſings *Moſes*'s triumphs in heroic verſe.

Benjamin Muſaphia was likewiſe a very learned commentator on the thalmud, but applied himſelf to another ſtudy equally abſtruſe, *viz. the Flux and Reflux of the Sea*. He was ſo perfect a maſter of the *Hebrew* tongue, that he compiled a dictionary of it, in a quite new and eaſy method (20), and intituled it *Maſſaph Hagharuc*, or additions to the *Gharuc*, another lexicon, formerly mentioned (21). He likewiſe publiſhed his *Zeker Rab*, or large memory, which is a collection of all the *Hebrew* roots, to which he tacked certain ſentences or maxims, for the better learning and retaining their ſignification. There is likewiſe an epiſtle attributed to him, on the ſubject of potable gold, and under the fictitious name of *Mezahab (de Auro)* (22).

But the moſt remarkable of all the *Jews* of this city, was the late *Spinoſa*, author of a new kind of Atheiſm, and well known to all the learned for his philoſophical works. His parents were of *Portugueſe* extract, and in good circumſtances, but he was born at *Amſterdam*, *an.* 1632, and at his father's death, would only accept of a bed of all that he had left him, and choſe to live in the meaneſt and loweſt way, and get his living by poliſhing of ſpectacles and other ſuch glaſſes, which brought him ſo little gain, that tho' he lived chiefly upon milk and gruel, he was as poor at the year's end as at the beginning. He refuſed a conſiderable ſum, however, from a friend; and conſented only to accept of a very ſmall penſion from him, upon which he lived. Some think that he received the firſt ſeeds of his atheiſm from his *Latin* maſter *Vanden Ende*, who both profeſſed and taught it. But whether ſo or not, it is probable that the philoſophy of *Deſcartes* gave him a diſreliſh to all *Jewiſh* learning, and at length to their religion. They ſoon perceived it by his abſenting himſelf from the ſynagogue, and would have retained him by a conſiderable penſion; but he rejected it, and became ſo odious to them, that ſome of them attempted more than once to ſtab him; upon which he left that city, where he found they were too powerful and exaſperated againſt him, to ſtay any longer amongſt them; thence he retired to *Leiden*, and afterwards to the *Hague*. They

(18) *Barrios in vit. Iſaac Huzick, p.* 46. (19) *Vid. Cabbala Denudata.* (20) *Barrios ub. ſup. Wolf, N.* 402. *p.* 251. (21) *Id. ibid. Baſnag. ub. ſup.* §. 6. (22) *Wolf, ub. ſup.*

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are become wealthy and opulent seek for a peaceable and delightful retirement. For here it is that they enjoy the greatest prosperity,

pursued him, however, with their grand excommunication; but he protested against their sentence by a writing in *Spanish*, directed to the rabbies of the synagogue. He soon after published his geometrical demonstrations, and his meditations, and brought forth at length his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, in which was formed his new system of Atheism, for which he hath been so much admired and caressed by all loose lovers of novelty, both in *Holland*, *Germany* and *France*, from whom he received several invitations, and large encouragements, but refused them all, and died at the *Hague*, *an.* 1677, aged 44 years. We shall forbear other particulars of his life and death; such especially as his being often heard, in his last sickness, calling upon God to have mercy on him, a miserable sinner; his having always by him some piece of mandrake to hasten his death, and stupify him against the approach of it. The reader may see them in his life, written by a *Lutheran* minister, then at the *Hague* (23).

His books have been translated into divers languages, and in some with a different title, the better to conceal their author and poison. Particularly the *French* intitles his version *A Treatise of the ancient and modern ceremonies of the Jews.* We are told that he designed to have given the world a compleat version of the Old Testament, and had gone thro' the Pentateuch, but burnt it a few days before his death. He did the same by his treatise on the rainbow, because some learned, who had read it, did not think it worth printing. He was likewise suspected to be the author of a treatise of ecclesiastical rights, published *an.* 1665, in which he maintained that the clergy being subject to the civil power, ought not to teach what they believe, but what that commands. However, *Spinosa* disowned the book, which hath been since supposed to have been written by the physician who assisted him in his last sickness, and who was also the writer of another called *Philosophia S. Scripturæ interpres*, or *the holy Scripture interpreted by Philosophy.* He only put the initial letters of his name *L. M.* or *Lewis Meir.* *Spinosa* left another work which was printed after his death, and called his *Opera Posthuma*; among which one finds *a moral geometrically demonstrated, the cure of the understanding*, some letters, a *Hebrew* grammer, and a political treatise (24).

As *Spinosa* had many followers and disciples, not indeed united into one sect, but scattered here and there; so had he also many learned opposers, which it is out of our province to take notice of here. We shall content ourselves with mentioning those of his nation, and particularly the learned *Balthazar Orobia*, a *Spaniard*

(23) *Colerus vit. Spinoz. pass. & p.* 172, 174. (24) *Id. ibid. p.* 97, *& seq.*

by

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proſperity, and live in the greateſt luxury, and in the moſt ſumptuous edifices. Yet ſuch is their happineſs under that government,

by birth, and phyſician, whoſe parents outwardly profeſſed Chriſtianity; but he, it ſeems, could not diſſemble well enough to eſcape ſuſpicion, but was caſt into the priſon of the inquiſition, and after three years cloſe confinement, was put to the torture, in order to be made to confeſs himſelf a *Jew*. He, however, bore it with ſuch conſtancy, that the inquiſitors believing him a Chriſtian indeed, diſcharged him.

Orobio who had ſtudied philoſophy (24) and had been profeſſor of metaphyſics at *Salamanca*, found ſo much leiſure, during his impriſonment, to improve himſelf in that ſcience, that he was become a perfect maſter of it; ſo that, inſtead of retiring into ſome other country, he once more obtained the chair, and was ſome while profeſſor at *Tholoſa*; till being at length tired of diſſembling his religion, and coming to *Amſterdam*, he was circumciſed, and made open profeſſion of *Judaiſm*. He acquired ſuch reputation by his ſucceſs in phyſic, that he had hardly time to follow his ſtudies; and when *Spinoſa*'s book appeared, he at firſt deſpiſed it, on account of its author, and thought his principles too evidently falſe to be eſpouſed by any man of ſenſe. But when he received *Bredenburgh*'s anſwer to it, in which that author agreed with him in two dangerous poſitions, or ſeemed to heſitate about them; *viz.* 1ſt. That nothing ought to be admitted in matters of religion, but what is agreeable to reaſon. And, 2dly. That as *ex nihilo nil fit*, God could not be admitted to have created the world out of nothing. *Orobio* therefore undertook to confute them both, and did it with ſucceſs, and like the ſound philoſopher and metaphyſician he was, though he ſeemed to level his anſwer only againſt *Bredenburgh* (25).

Orobio likewiſe entered the liſts in defence of *Judaiſm*, with the learned remonſtrant, profeſſor *Limborgh*; which gave birth to that excellent conference, well known to all the learned (26), and died ſoon after the publication of it, *an.* 1687. He left ſome other works, of which the reader may ſee a farther account in the authors quoted in the margin (27).

There flouriſhed about the ſame time ſeveral learned rabbies in other cities in *Holland*, whom we omit for want of room, and ſhall mention only two of the moſt celebrated, *viz.*

David Cohen de Lara, a diſciple of the famed *Huziel*, and author of *the City of David*, a treatiſe in which he proves the affinity of the *Hebrew* with the *Greek* and ſeveral other tongues. He compiled likewiſe the *Kether Kehunnah*, or *Crown of prieſthood*, which is a much more copious lexicon than that of *R.*

(24) *Le Clerc Bibliot. univerſ. an.* 1687. *tom.* vi. (25) *Iſaac Orobio, certamen philoſophic. adverſus I. B principia.* (26) *Amica Collatio, cum erudito Judeo.* (27) *De his, vid. Wolf, Bibl. Hebr. N.* 1155. *p.* 646. *Baſnag. lib.* ix. *c.* 37. §. 16.

Nathan

government, that they enjoy their wealth and grandeur without raising the jealousy, zeal, and envy of the populace; whilst the rest carry on a considerable traffic both at home and abroad, without being liable to those heavy impositions, vexatious prosecutions, proscriptions, and other disasters which we have seen them groan under in other parts of *Europe*.

In England;

THOSE here in *England* have no less reason to praise the mildness of our government, and the hospitable treatment of our nation towards them. Here they are allowed full liberty of their religion, a full freedom of trade, and the quiet enjoyment of their properties. They are, like those of *Holland*, commonly distinguished into *German* and *Portuguese*, or, more properly, into northern and southern, and have each their respective synagogues, chiefs, schools, *&c.* but no academy; so that they are obliged to send their youth to be educated, the one in some of those in *Germany*, and the other, in that of

divided into German *and* Portuguese.

Nathan formerly mentioned, since he hath added about 2000 words to it. He also translated out of *Hebrew* into *Spanish* the book stiled *Reshith Cockmah*, or, *the beginning of wisdom* (28). He lived first at *Amsterdam*, and died at *Hamburgh*, *An.* 1674.

The last we shall name is the great *Jaacob Jehudah Leon*, author of the *Description of the Temple of Solomon*, which he compiled at *Middleburgh*. He was a *Spaniard* by birth, but retired into *Holland*, to be more at liberty to pursue his design; and in order to gain a more perfect idea of that noble edifice, applied himself to the building of a wooden model of it, upon the plans which he had met with among the several authors of his own nation. He afterwards formed his description from it, and published it in *French*, under the title of *Description du temple de Solomon, par Jacob Juda Leon, habitant de Middelburg, dans la Zelande, l'an du monde* 5403, that is, *A. C.* 1643.

He afterwards enlarged and improved it, and translated it into *Hebrew*, and gave it the title of *Tabnith Hekal, the Figure of the Temple*. It was greatly admired by the learned, and the duke of *Brunswick* ordered a *Latin* version to be made of it, with proper cuts, that he might judge the better of it. *Judah* added to it a description of the tabernacle, and a treatise about the ark and the cherubims, and an exposition of the Psalms, in which he undertook to explain the metaphorical expressions of the thalmud, which he said cost him no small pains and study. He likewise wrote an account of some conferences which he had held with Christian doctors; but these two last works, and a third, in which he designed to shew the manner in which the *Jewish* morning and evening sacrifices were offered, have never been printed (29).

(28) *Basn. ibid. Wolf, N.* 501. *p.* 316. (29) *Wolf, ub. sup. N.* 1048. *p.* 593. *Basnag. ub. sup.* §. 18.

Amsterdam.

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Amſterdam. The former are by far the moſt indigent, as well as the moſt zealous for their religion, and moſt careful to inſtruct their meaneſt children in it, and in the knowlege of the *Hebrew* tongue: whereas the latter being rich, and ſome of them opulent, are more remiſs in all theſe reſpects; inſomuch, that many of them cannot ſo much as underſtand the liturgy of their ſynagogues, but have it tranſlated into *Portugueſe*. However, both have had ſome learned rabbies, and, among the latter, the late *R. Netto* was juſtly eſteemed a man well verſed, not only in *Jewiſh*, but in every other kind of learning. But the generality of them are more uſed to merchandize and traffic, than to the ſtudy of their doctors. The rich among them are very generous and charitable, not only to their own poor, but to thoſe of the Chriſtians; and ſome of them have diffuſed their beneficence among their neighbours, round their country ſeats, to ſuch a degree, and in ſuch a diſcrete manner, as the nobleſt Chriſtians might be proud to imitate. As to thoſe of lower rank, eſpecially ſuch as deal in the pedling mercantile way, one may ſay of them, what the *Spaniards* ſay of the *Andaluſians*: R. Netto.

El Andaluz haze la Cruz.

How they were re-admitted into this kingdom, after having been ſo long kept out of it by ſevere laws, we have already hinted, in ſpeaking of *Manaſſe ben Iſrael*; and this privilege hath appeared ſo conſiderable to them, that they have made a new epocha of it, which they cauſe to be ingraven on their monuments, and date their moſt conſiderable writings from it. And having obtained leave to build a ſynagogue, they ſtiled it *Holy Aſſembly*, and *Jewiſh Parnaſſus* [g]. They are here much more affable, familiar, and converſible than in moſt other countries; and will not decline a diſpute about religion, where it is only done by way of converſation, and will expreſs their minds with great freedom. But when it is meant in order to convert ſome of the flock, the very prieſts and cachams will refuſe it. Such a caſe the late learned biſhop *Kidder* tells us happened unto him, who having deſired a conference with one of them, in behalf of a young *Jeweſs*, who had already received ſome knowlege and reliſh for Chriſtianity; the cacham not only declined it, but adviſed her parents to ſhut her up [h]. For, whatever kind allowance the ſtricteſt of them may make for thoſe who renounce *Judaiſm*, to avoid death, perſecution, baniſhment, or even the loſs of their goods, in *Their new epoch from their admiſſion into* England. *Hatred againſt Chriſtian converts.*

[g] Barrios Epiſt. ad. Kahal Kadoſh, (Holy Aſſembly) de Londres, an. 1683. p. 22. [h] Demonſtration of the Meſſiah.

which

which cases some of their thalmudist doctors affirm, that the law doth allow them to dissemble; yet it is certain that even the most remiss and loosest among them, detest all that turn Christians on any other account; neither do any of these ever think it safe to go among, or converse with them afterwards.

Their present state in all parts of the world.

We have now brought the history of the eastern and western *Jews* down to the close of the seventeenth century; there remains only that we give our readers a short account of their present state in all the parts of the world. Several eminent hands, both of their nation, and among the Christians, have endeavoured to come to some tolerable knowledge of their number; among whom we shall only select some few, who seem to us to have made the best enquiries after it.

R. Luzati's *account of them.*

One of their late writers, who taught at *Venice* [1], owns "it to be very difficult to come at the precise number of "them, they being at this time dispersed over so many parts "of the world. We can get no intelligence concerning the "ten tribes carried away captive by *Shalmanezar*, nor of "the country where they were settled, tho' the globe is now "so well known. If we begin with the East, we know that "there is a vast quantity of *Jews* in the kingdom of *Persia*, "tho' they enjoy but little liberty there. The *Turkish* em"pire is their chief retreat, not only as they have been long "since settled in it, but because a very great number of those "that were expelled out of *Portugal* and *Spain*, retired thi"ther. They are more numerous in *Constantinople* and *Saloni"chi (Thessalonica)*, than in any other part, and are reckoned "to amount to above 80,000 in those two cities, and upwards "of a million in the whole empire. A vast concourse of "pilgrims flock to *Jerusalem* from all parts of the world, "and bring thither great sums for the maintenance of their "academies and numerous poor.

"They are likewise dispersed all over *Germany*, especially "in the emperor's dominions, but are still more numerous "in *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and *Russia*; and it is there we have "our academies, and several thousands of disciples, who study "our laws both civil and canonical, because they there enjoy "the privilege of judging all causes civil and criminal among "themselves. They are not so numerous in the protestant "states, which are severed from the church of *Rome*, tho' "they are treated with greater charity and mildness, in the "*Low Countries*, at *Rotterdam*, *Amsterdam*, *Hamburg*, and "other free towns, where commerce is open to all strangers.

[1] R. Simon Luzati Discors. circa il stato degli Hebrei. c. 18.

"All

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" ALL the *Italian* princes tolerate and favour the *Jews*, " and inviolably maintain them in their privileges, without " any alteration; and I reckon that there are about 25,000 in " that country. In *Fez*, *Morocco*, and other ſtates, which " are not ſubject to the *Turks*, they are ſo much the more nu- " merous, as they can ſo eaſily paſs thither from *Spain* and " *Portugal*. There are many other places in *Afric*, along " the ſea-coaſts, which are moſtly peopled by *Jews*; but as " they are not known to us, it is very difficult to fix the " number of them." Thus far our *Venetian* rabbi, concerning the preſent ſtate of the *Jewiſh* nation.

ON the other hand, *R. Manaſſe Ben Iſrael*, lately mentioned, who believed the return of all the *Jews* to be near at hand, thought it clearly ſignified by the prophet *Iſaiah* (N); and juſtly obſerved [k] that noble prophecy could not be meant of the return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity, becauſe God did

That of Manaſſe ben Iſrael.

[k] MENASS. Eſperanza de Iſrael.

(N) *In that day*, ſays the prophet (30), *the Lord ſhall ſet his hand again the ſecond time to recover the remnant of his people, which ſhall be left, from* Aſſyria, *and from* Egypt, *and from* Pathros, *and from* Cuſh (Ethiopia), *and from* Elam (Perſia), *and from* Shinar (Babylon), *and from* Hamath (the Eaſt), *and from the iſles of the ſea* (the Weſt). *And he ſhall ſet up an enſign for the nations, and ſhall aſſemble the outcaſts of* Iſrael, *and gather together the diſperſed of* Judah, *from the four corners of the earth*, &c. And in another place (31) he adds, *And in that day the Lord ſhall beat*, or *ſhake down from the channel of the river* (Euphrates), *unto the ſtream of* Egypt (the Nile) *and ye ſhall be gathered, one by one, O ye children of* Iſrael, &c.

There are many other ſuch paſſages in *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and other prophets, which expreſsly mention a much more extenſive recall of the *Iſraelites* than that from the *Babyloniſh* captivity ever was, in which not near one third part of even the tribes of *Judah* and *Levi*, or, as the thalmudiſts word it, only the bran or refuſe, of them returned into *Judea*, as we have elſewhere ſhewn †. So that of courſe we muſt expect a more univerſal one, and more conformable to theſe prophecies, and which the *Jews* underſtand literally of a return of all the 12 tribes, and from all the countries of their diſperſion, under the Meſſiah, and of their literally re-inhabiting of *Paleſtine*, the ſeat of their forefathers; but the generality of Chriſtians, only of their converſion to Chriſtianity. The truth ſeems to us to be between thoſe two extremes, as we have had occaſion to hint more than once, and may ſtill, in the cloſe of this chapter.

(30) *Iſai.* xi. 11, *& ſeq.* (31) *Ch.* xxvii. 12. (†) *See vol.* x. *p.* 179, *& ſeq. & notes.*

not

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not then call all the twelve tribes, much less all the dispersed of *Israel*, from all the countries of their captivity [k]. He observes, in the next place, that this promised deliverance is stiled a second, because that universal one out of *Egypt* had preceded it; whereas that from *Babylon* was only confined to part of the two tribes of *Judah* and *Levi*, as was hinted in the last note: and when the *Israelites* left *Assyria*, to enter into the land of *Judea*, they did not go over any river either of *Egypt* or *Ethiopia*, as God promises they shall do, at their second or general return, when the waters of the *Nile* and *Euphrates* shall be parted, to open a dry passage to the tribes, as had been done at the *Red-Sea* and the *Jordan* (O).

BOTH

(O) According to this learned rabbi, the prophet chiefly mentions, 1. *Assyria* and *Egypt*, because it will be in those two provinces that the *Israelites* will be gathered together. 2. He speaks expressly of *Pathros*; by which must not be understood either *Pelusium* or *Petra*, but the *Parthians* near the *Caspian-Sea*, where some of their doctors place the river *Sabbation*, on the other side of which a vast number of *Jews* are settled. 3. *Cush* is *Ethiopia*, where there are several tribes, especially in *Abyssinia*. 4. *Elam* is properly a province of *Persia*, on the other side of the *Euphrates*, full of dreadful deserts, in which some part of the *Jewish* tribes are concealed. 5. *Shinar* is another province near *Babylon*, where *Moses* places the plain of that name; and *Daniel* mentions the sacred vessels of the temple to have been transported by the king of *Babylon* into the land of *Shinar*. 6. The land of *Hamath* is often mentioned in the sacred writings, and is rendered by the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, and those that follow him, the city of *Antioch*, by which he conjectures *Antiochia Asiatica en Tartaria* to be meant; for there were 12 cities of that name. 7. The *Septuagint* have rendered the word *Hamah*, or *Hamath, the Sun*, which it often signifies, in the prophetic writings, and doth therefore imply the East. So that the prophet speaks here of the *Jews* dispersed eastward of *Palestine*, that is in *Asia Major*, in the *East-Indies*, *China*, &c. 8. The prophet foretells the coming of the *Israelites* out of the islands of the sea, which ought rather to have been rendered the isles or countries of the West (32), by which our rabbi understands all the countries west of *Judea*, or the *Jews* which are now settled in some parts of *America*.

Ninthly, and lastly, The prophet affirms that God will bring back the banished (or, as the word more properly implies, the cut-off or excommunicated) *Israelites*, because the ten tribes, severed from the rest, not only inhabit countries vastly distant from *Judea*, but lie concealed in the remotest parts of the

(32) *De hoc, vid. Genes.* xxviii. 44. *in the original, & Anc. Hist. vol.* xii. *p.* 419. (Z).

earth,

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BOTH rabbies differ only in this one point, that *Luzatti* gives up the ten tribes as long ſince loſt, or ſo blended, that they cannot be diſcovered with any tolerable certainty; the other affirms them to be concealed in *America*, and other parts, where they have been miraculouſly preſerved, by the Divine Providence, againſt this glorious recall, when they ſhall come forth from their reſpective ſettlements, and be reunited to the reſt of their brethren, in *Aſſyria*, whence the whole nation ſhall take their flight to *Jeruſalem*, as birds to their neſts. He grounds his opinion on ſeveral probable conjectures; as firſt, that ſome of the people of *America* are unknown to us, and ſeem to have no relation with the other nations of it. Secondly, the *Spaniards* affirm, that upon their landing in *Peru*, they found a large ſtately edifice, dedicated to the Creator of the world; which cannot be ſuppoſed to have been built by the *Indians*, who were idolaters, and wholly then unacquainted with the uſe of iron tools, ſuch as appeared to have been uſed in the building of it; ſo that it muſt of courſe be ſuppoſed to have been a ſynagogue, erected by the *Jews*. And, thirdly, this ſeems farther confirmed by a tradition of the *Indians*, that this palace, as they termed it, had been built by a whole nation, that wore beards, and were ancienter than their *Incas* [l]. *Opinion of the ten tribes being in America.*

R. MENASSE doth likewiſe quote an inſcription found on a tomb in the iſland of *St. Michel*, which is one of the *Azores*, and mentioned by *Genebrard* [m], and which, though ſomewhat difficult to be decyphered, unleſs it be by the tranſpoſition of letters; yet, by the character and words, appears plainly enough to have been done by ſome *Jews*, who were come into this iſland. To all which he adds the ſentiments of a good number of Chriſtians, who have helped to confirm him in his conjecture, concerning the ten tribes [n]. But all *A* Jewiſh *inſcription at one of the* Azores.

[l] Eſperanza de Iſrael, p. 114, & ſeq. [m] Ibid. p. 44.
[n] Ibid. p. 26, & ſeq. & 116.

earth, and among the Gentiles; but as to the *Jews*, the prophet ſays, that God will recall them from the four corners of the world; becauſe, in fact, the tribe of *Judah* is diſperſed into divers countries; and as it hath ſynagogues in *America*, it will return from all parts of the world; tho' there will then be no diviſion or jealouſy between it and the reſt; for, adds the prophet, *Ephraim ſhall not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim*. And accordingly *Ezekiel* affirms, that they ſhall then have but one king, and ſhall not be any longer two nations nor two kingdoms (33).

(33) *Eſperanza de Iſrael. p.* 103, *& ſeq.*

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this put together will never out-weigh what is urged againſt it (P). We have ſhewn in a former volume †, that thoſe tribes were ſettled in the Eaſt, and in the neighbourhood of the river *Euphrates*, or rather along the *Chaboras* that falls into it; ſo that God ſeems to have brought them back into the very country whence he brought out their patriarch. We have likewiſe taken notice formerly *, that a great number of them came back into *Judea*, along with the *Jewiſh* captivity of *Babylon*, tho' they were from that time blended with them; and a late learned author, who hath endeavoured to vindicate *Ariſtea*'s hiſtory of the *Septuagint* verſion, hath proved it ſtill more fully °. As for thoſe that ſtaid behind, they not only ſpread themſelves ſtill farther as they multiplied, but kept conſtantly ſending their deputies and oblations at proper ſeaſons to *Jeruſalem*, as long as the temple ſtood. They appear to have

His notion confuted.

Ten tribes, where.

† See vol. iv. p. 314, & ſeq. ſub not. (F). * Ibid. p. 317, & ſeq. ſub not. vid. & vol. x. p. 180. ° Vindication of the Septuag. p. 121, & ſeq.

(P) Much leſs will that which he adds of their being there concealed by a miracle, and their being conducted thither by the ſtreights of *Anian*, which were not formed till after their paſſage, and in order to divide them from the reſt. His pretending that they have had their kings, ancient laws, and are in poſſeſſion of vaſt territories, *&c.* may be juſtly reckoned a *Jewiſh* fable, invented on purpoſe to raiſe the glory of their nation; and their being thus miraculouſly preſerved and concealed from other nations till the coming of the Meſſiah, as an evaſion againſt the univerſal teſtimony of travellers and hiſtorians to the contrary.

For whatever ſtreſs he may put on ſome of thoſe he quotes, there is ſcarce one of them that ſpeaks of the ten tribes, or of this pretended *Jewiſh* colony paſſing into *America*. The *Spaniards* who have been ſo long maſters of the greateſt part of it, mention nothing of it, or, at moſt, offer only ſome dark and vague conjectures about it. In a word, this ſettlement of theirs hath been ſought for in vain hitherto, ſome placing it in *Peru*, others in *Braſil*, others along that long ridge of mountains called *las Cordelleras*; and whereever they have found any people that differed ever ſo little from the native *Indians*, they have imagined them to be the *Jews* we are ſpeaking of. So that we may ſafely conclude, that it is in the Eaſt, and not there, that we muſt ſeek for theſe tribes. *Jews* there are, indeed, in ſeveral parts of *America*; but as they form no body, but are diſperſed in every place where gain invites them, they muſt be ſuppoſed to have come thither, ſince the diſcovery of that continent; for it would be ſtrange, if the *Jews*, of all others, ſhould have overlooked ſo rich a country, and not tried to ſhare in the ſpoils of that new world.

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continued there till the 11th century; ſince, as we have ſeen thro' the courſe of this chapter, they had all that time their chiefs of the captivity, ſynagogues, and academies; and tho' they have ſince been greatly decayed thro' the various perſecutions that were raiſed againſt them, and revolutions of that empire, yet they did ſtill ſubſiſt in great numbers, during the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, and do ſo ſtill to this day. So that we need not to go to *America* to ſeek them out, nor ſuppoſe them either loſt or concealed in ſome remote quarter of the globe. And if they are ſo blended one tribe with another, that they cannot now be poſſibly diſtinguiſhed, it could hardly, without a miracle, have happened otherwiſe, during ſo long a ſeries of ages, and ſuch various viciſſitudes as they have undergone (Q).

Jews *in* China *not of that number.*

SEVERAL authors, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, have likewiſe affirmed that the ten tribes were ſtill preſerved in *China*[P]. And one of the former tells us that there was a ſynagogue at *Peking*, the repairing of which had coſt them 10,000 crowns, and that they had been ſettled in that province above 500 years, and ſtill kept one of the volumes of the law. He adds, that in the city of *Ham-cheu*, capital of the province of *Che-kyang*, they had a great number of ſynagogues, and *Iſraelitiſh* families; for that is the name they call themſelves by; becauſe, ſays he, being deſcended from the ten tribes, they know nothing of that of *Jews*. *Alvarez*, who had lived in *China* a conſiderable time, affirms that they had been ſettled there above 600 years, and had obtained ſeveral privileges, on account of their ſervices and fidelity to king

Alvarez's *account of them.*

[P] MENASSE. Eſperanza de Iſrael, Trigant de Chriſtiana expeditione, apud Sinas ſuſcepta.

(Q) The two *Jewiſh* travellers we have quoted under the 12th century, have indeed repreſented thoſe eaſtern *Jews*, and their princes, or chiefs, as deſcended from the tribe of *Judah*, rather than from the ten tribes; and it is not unlikely, that great numbers of them might not only ſeek ſhelter there, among their brethren, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, but in proceſs of time, gain ſome kind of ſuperiority over the reſt, on account of the ſceptre and other prerogatives intailed on that tribe. But that will be no argument againſt what we have ſaid of the other ten continuing ſtill ſettled in theſe parts with them, and ſpreading themſelves ſtill farther eaſtward and northward; and what confirms it ſtill farther, is that many of the remoteſt of them ſtill preſerved the name of *Iſraelites*, and knew little or nothing of what happened to that of *Judah*, after their being carried away by *Shalmenezer*.

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Hun: that they were very numerous in ſome provinces, and have ſynagogues in moſt of their great cities, but more eſpecially in that of *Ho-nan*, and in its metropolis *Kai-tong-fu*, where they have a fair ſynagogue, a repoſitory for the ſacred volume, adorned with rich curtains, and in which they preſerve an ancient Bible in *Hebrew* characters, but refuſe to let any one ſee it. Theſe *Jews*, however, we are told, know nothing of *Hebrew*, and only mention the names of *David*, *Abraham*, and *Iſaac*; are very ignorant and remiſs in their law, even to the neglecting of circumciſion, becauſe the *Chineſe* upbraid them with the cruelty of performing that ceremony on innocent babes [q] (R).

THAT

[q] ALVAREZ's Hiſt. of China, part i.

(R) It is not eaſy to reconcile this with what he there adds, that though they marry with *Chineſe* women, they do not give their daughters to the *Chineſe*, for fear they ſhould follow the religion of their huſbands; that they live at a diſtance from ſlaughter houſes and butchers ſhops, on account of their ſelling of ſwine's fleſh; and that they have their own butchers to kill their beaſts after the *Jewiſh* manner, and keep a ſtrict eye over them. Another author tells us, that they neither uſe ſtatues or pictures, but worſhip the deity under the title of *Tien Chamlin*, the name by which the *Chineſe* expreſs the *Creator of the univerſe* (34). This is not the only thing they have taken from the *Chineſe*; for they do, like them, pay ſome honours to their *Chimghims*, or great doctors of their law, and burn perfumes to their memory, but do not uſe images or ſtatues of them, as being forbid by their religion; but have only a kind of incenſe pots of different ſizes, the biggeſt of which are for *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Moſes*, and *David*. A table likewiſe they have over the chair, on which is written the emperor's name, and is inſtead of his picture or arms.

They do moreover pay an honour to the great *Confucius*, as all the *Chineſe* do; and, when queſtioned about it, readily own'd, "That they honoured "him in the ſame manner, as "all the literati of *China* did, "and that they aſſiſted with "them at the ſolemn ceremo-"nies, which are performed in "the hall of their great men. "They added, that they like-"wiſe paid honour to their an-"ceſtors, as the *Chineſe* were "uſed to do, in ſpring and au-"tumn; but that they did not "offer to them any ſwine's "fleſh, but that of other crea-"tures; and that in their ordi-"nary ceremonies, they con-"tented themſelves with pre-"ſenting them with china veſ-"ſels full of ſweet-meats, and "other ſuch refreſhments; and

(34) *Lettres curieuſes & édifiantes, ubi ſup.*

"as

THAT author tells us moreover, that they have no notion of Chriſtian Meſſiah [r]: whence he infers, that they were re before the time of Chriſt; though this rather ignorance, than their boaſted antiquity, if it was ewiſh evaſion, and ſuch as they have ſince made of the ſame fraternity, who had the curioſity t ſynagogue, *an.* 1704. This laſt, whoſe join in the next paragraph, having aſked hether they had ever heard of the pro- told them, was called *Jeſus Chriſt*? er: Our Scriptures mentioned only *viz. Jeſus* the ſon of *Sirach*; and but him [s]. The reader may equivocating anſwer given to the his aſking them, how numerous they were pire, in a former volume †; but ſuch an one as ly contradicts all the other accounts we have hitherto quoted from other authors; and was, beyond all queſtion, deſigned to conceal from him their flouriſhing ſtate in that country, whether out of ſuſpicion, or hatred to his ſociety, we will not determine.

Other authors.

THE farther account he gives of thoſe of this city is, that they had a ſtately ſynagogue with divers apartments, in the heart of which was a high deſk, on which they placed the volume of the law on feſtival days. They pretended to him, that they had a very ancient copy of it; but that the river *Hoembo*, or, *Yellow River*, one of the largeſt in *China*, having overflown the city of *Caiſom*, capital of that province, they had, with much difficulty, ſaved it; but the leaves of it being wetted, and the letters effaced, they had cauſed twelve new copies to be written, which were preſerved in twelve different tabernacles. There is no room to doubt, but that theſe were real *Jews*, ſince they not only diſtinguiſhed the five books of *Moſes* by their *Hebrew* titles, but mentioned likewiſe the ancient judges and monarchs of their nation; and the teſtimony of that miſſionary is the leſs to be ſuſpected, ſince, being ignorant of the *Hebrew* tongue, he relates thoſe matters exactly as they were told to him. But

Jews numerous in Honan.

[r] ALVAREZ's Hiſt. China, c. 30. p. 212. [s] Recueil de lettres edifiantes & curieuſes, vol. vii. let. i. ad fin. † See before vol. viii. p. 139.

" as to thoſe that are accompa- " nied with profound bowing, " &c. they were not performed. " in the ſynagogue, but in the " hall adjoining to it."

Their pretended antiquity.

those *Jews* do most likely give themselves a much greater antiquity than is consistent with truth; seeing they pretend to have been settled there under the government of the fifth dynasty, or royal family called *Han*, computed to have reigned from 206 years before the Christian æra, to the 220th after it. One might indeed imagine from thence, that they retired thither some time before or after the destruction of *Jerusalem*; but the difficulty is, how to suppose that they could go so far for a retreat, or reach it so soon, considering the little acquaintance, if any, they had of that remote part of the world. But we shall refer all further disquisition about them here, having given a fuller account of it from the same author in the history of *China*, to which we refer the reader *.

A Letter from those of Cochin *to those of* Amsterdam.

We are still more at a loss what to think of a letter, written in *Hebrew*, which the *Jews* of *Cochin* are said to have sent, some time ago, to the synagogue of *Amsterdam* [t]; for they "there tell them, "That they retired into the *Indies*, when "the *Romans* conquered the *Holy Land*. They pretend to "have had seventy-two kings, who succeeded each other "within the space of 1000 years; but that afterwards, the "jealousy of two brothers having kindled a war between "them, whilst they were contesting for the crown, the "neighbouring princes subdued them. Since which time "they have continued in subjection to the *Indian* kings; "but have, however, given such proofs of their fidelity to "them, that *Samuel Castoel*, who died *an.* 1640, was go-"vernor of *Cochin*, and left his government to a man of the "same name and religion." It were hard to decide whether this letter be true or false, as we have no proofs against the *Jewish* historians; yet that succession of seventy-two monarchs, founded on their retreat to *Cochin*, ever-since the reduction of *Judea* by *Titus*, seems rather invented to raise the glory of the *Jewish* nation. And we are only referred to distant times, and to unknown histories, because their present state hath nothing worth our admiration [u].

In the East Indies.

All that we can infer from the various accounts abovementioned is, that the *Jews* are dispersed about in the *East Indies*; that they are settled at *Cochin*, at *Goa*, *Malabar*, *China*, and even in *America*; but that none of these are descended from the ten tribes, whom we have shewn to be seated near the *Euphrates* in *Persia*, and other neighbouring

* See before, vol. viii. p. 134, & seq. [t] Barrios's Hist. Universal. Jud. [u] Basnag. ubi sup. c. 38. §. 13.

countries,

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countries, where though very poor, yet they have ſtill maintained themſelves to this time. The others are only families whom commerce hath attracted into thoſe parts ſince their diſperſion, but which can only be diſtinguiſhed by ſome uncertain, not to ſay falſe, tradition. Neither doth it appear that they have had any monarchs or ſupreme government in any country. They live in the Eaſt, and in *America*, as they do in *Europe*, under the dominion of other princes, whether Chriſtians or Gentiles; and thoſe in *America*, eſpecially in the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniſh* dominions, are often made to pay dear for their avarice and diſſimulation; being often detected and ſeverely puniſhed by the tribunal of the inquiſition, as we have elſewhere hinted. In *Turky*, *Fez*, *Barbary*, and *Egypt*, indeed, they are ſomewhat more than tolerated, and are ſometimes admitted into public functions (S), eſpecially in *Egypt* [w]. The *Ottoman* princes do even ſend them on ſome embaſſies; at which times they value themſelves upon making a more than ordinary appearance for the credit of their nation; and their flouriſhing condition under that government makes them ſo numerous, that they are reckoned to amount to a million: ſo that upon the whole, one may allow them to have about 1,300,000 diſperſed all over the Eaſt, and upwards of three millions in all the world.

Every-where in ſubjection.

THE *Jewiſh* writers, whom we lately quoted, divide the Weſt into two ſovereignties, or rather into the two principal religions that reign in it, *viz.* the Roman Catholic and the Proteſtant; and by an odd perverſeneſs, or perhaps flattery, are not aſhamed to extol the kind protection and favour they receive from the former, and to complain of the unkind treatment they meet with from the latter. *Roma pontificia*, ſays Barrios, *ſempre los ha patrocinada deſde, quea deſtruye* Jeruſalem *ſu general* Tito [x]: "Popiſh *Rome*," ſays he, "hath

Jews *among the Papiſts and Proteſtants; their partiality to the former.*

[w] MENASSE BEN ISRAEL, Eſperanza, p. 103, & ſeq. BASNAG. ubi ſup. §. 15. [x] BARRIOS, ubi ſup. p. 3.

(S) A modern hiſtorian affirms, on what grounds is not eaſy to gueſs, that *Soliman* granted them a city with all its dependencies, at the petition of one *Miches*, who was in high favour with that *Sultan*'s ſon (35). But, as neither *Jewiſh*, nor any other, writer that we know of, takes notice of any ſuch grant, and we do not find that they ever had any peculiar town given to them, we may ſuppoſe it to be either a miſtake of *Strada*, or elſe that it was but a ſhort-lived grant.

(35) *Strada de Bell. Belgic. lib.* iv. *p.* 285.

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"always protected them, ever-since its general *Titus* de-"stroyed *Jerusalem* (T)." It is true the generality of the popes have been their patrons and protectors; but it is no less certain, that some of them have likewise been their enemies and persecutors; and the same may be said of the other princes and states of *Italy*; though, upon the whole, they have received more good than harm from them, as we have shewn through this chapter. But how can this be said of *France*, *Portugal*, and *Spain*, from which they have been so long banished; and where those that have ventured to stay, were forced to do it at the expence of their religion; and where they live under the worst of dissimulations, and in continual danger of being discovered and burnt? They meet with kinder usage in the emperor's dominions, and especially in *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and *Russia*; but still, though their learning and academies thrive there more than in other places, they are still kept poor, or, at least, they fall far short of the flourishing condition of those in *England* and *Holland*; and this might, one would think, make them give the preference to these, in point of encouragement and hospitality: yet so it is, that they complain against the Protestants without exception, as not treating them with so much humanity as they could wish: though, as we have already observed, they enjoy under them all the liberty, both of religion and commerce, and live in all the quietness and safety, they can reasonably desire. But, it must be owned, they are excessively proud of their origin, and value themselves so much upon being *the witnesses to the whole world of the unity of God*, the favourite people of his providence, and the royal offspring of the friend of God, that they think it injurious to them, *to suspect them either of baseness or treachery*. On these accounts they highly resent, not only every slight they meet with, and every restraint that is laid on them, but are very uneasy and impatient under their present state of servitude and subjection to other nations; whom they look upon as their inferiors, in point of antiquity, religion, and national pre-eminence.

Great freedom in Poland.

Complaint against the Protestants

High value for themselves.

Great expectation of

UNDER all these grating disadvantages they comfort themselves with the assurance, that the so long promised Messiah's

(T) By this our readers may judge what an expert historian he was, that could imagine *Titus* to be the pope's general, and yet he is far enough from being the worst of them, as appears by what we have observed of some of the rest at the beginning of this history (†).

(†) *Anc. Hist.* vol. iii. & x. *pass.*

appearance

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appearance cannot be far off, who will turn the tables in their favour; and, in the moſt triumphant manner, gather them up from all the four corners of the earth, and ſettle them in the land of their fathers, where they ſhall, with inexpreſſible joy and wonder, ſee their holy temple and city rebuilt more gloriouſly than ever, their religion embraced by all the ſons of *Adam*, and the whole globe ſubmitted to his ſceptre. Theſe are their hopes; which not only they, but a great number of Chriſtians, firmly believe, are founded on the cleareſt and moſt expreſs prophecies of the Old and New Teſtament (V). But as to the time of their being fulfilled, both ſides *the Meſſiah.*

(V) To ſum up here all theſe expreſs texts and prophecies, about their final converſion, would be only to repeat what we have, upon all proper occaſions, taken care to inculcate through the firſt and ſecond part of their hiſtory (†); and what cannot fail of occurring to every attentive reader both of the Old and New Teſtament. Whoever conſiders part of the prophetic ſong of the good old *Simeon* concerning Chriſt, that he was to be *the Glory of his People* Iſrael (36), or what the Apoſtle ſays of the latter being again to be received into God's favour and ſaving fold (37), and can perſuade himſelf, that theſe promiſes have been as yet fulfilled? Let thoſe who think ſo, tell us, what bleſſings or glory the *Jewiſh* nation have gained by the coming of Chriſt? That miſerable nation, to uſe the words of a learned divine (38), "hath been ſcattered over "the face of the earth; is looked upon as the curſe and "ſcouring of it; and groans "under a ſervitude and captivity of near two thouſand "years, and, can it be ſuppoſed, that they ſhall continue ſo to the end of the world, "and periſh in their miſery? "If the caſe be ſo, we muſt "look upon all thoſe prophecies in their favour, as mere "illuſions; and that they have "been deceived by falſe oracles, and with vain hopes; "for it would be a mere ridicule on the Sacred Writings "to tell us, that thoſe promiſes have been fulfilled in "thoſe few *Jews* who embraced Chriſtianity; a great "part of whom proved ſuch "half converts, that they only "ſerved to introduce the curſed "ſect and hereſy of the *Ebionites* and *Nazarites*. We muſt "then ſay, that thoſe great and "ſingular promiſes will meet "with their completion before "the end of the world.

"And it is in fact one of the "Chriſtian doctrines, founded "on a great number of divine "prophecies, that the *Jews* ſhall "be recalled; and the miraculous manner wherein they "have been hitherto preſerved, "ſeems to be an unanſwerable

(†) *Ant. Hiſt. vol.* iii. & x. *paſſ.* (36) *Luke* ii. 31. (37) *Vid. int. al. Rom.* xi. *paſſ.* (38) *Jurieu accompliſſement des propheties, tom.* ii, *p.* 205, & *ſeq.* & 307.

ſides have been ſo often out in their calculations, that neither dare now pretend to gueſs; and the former have even forbid,

" proof of it: for it is a fact " without example, and, at the " ſame time, beyond conception, that God ſhould preſerve them theſe ſeventeen " centuries, diſperſed as they " are among all nations, without being blended with them, " or adopting their religion or " manners as other diſperſed " nations have done: which " ſeems plainly to hint, that " God reſerves them for ſome " great end. Let us now ſuppoſe, that they ſhall be converted, if the end of the " world happens ſo ſoon after " it, that neither they nor their " children ſhall enjoy thoſe glorious advantages which have " been promiſed to them, how " can they be ſaid to ſee the fulfilling of ſo many oracles in " their favour. Shall ſuch a " vaſt many million of ſouls be " loſt, during theſe 1700 years, " whilſt only few, in compariſon, ſhall be ſaved at the end " of the world? And will theſe " be ſufficient to anſwer the " high idea which thoſe glorious promiſes, made to that " nation, plainly give us?

" And here let us further obſerve, that it was to them that " the Meſſiah was promiſed; " and that they were from the " beginning nurtured up in the " ſure hope of his coming, and " to look upon him as the greateſt bleſſing that Heaven could " pour upon them. He came " accordingly; and the only accompliſhment of thoſe great " promiſes which they found, " was to ſee their temple and " city burnt to the ground, its " worſhip aboliſhed, and themſelves and children ſcattered " over the world, and become " the contempt and abhorrence " of the reſt of mankind: ſo " that, inſtead of ſuch ſignal " and extraordinary bleſſings, " as they hoped from him, he " brings them nothing but " a long ſeries of ſhame and " miſery, and ſuch as never " befel any other nation. " But at length, about the end " of the world, ſome few mil" lions of them will be convert" ed, and ſhare a better fate " than the reſt; and this will " be all the advantage they ſhall " reap from all thoſe magnifi" cent prophecies. If that be " their caſe, there can be no " reconciling the divine con" duct with his promiſes. A " time therefore muſt either " come, in which that Meſſiah " ſhall reign over the *Jewiſh* " nation, and raiſe it above all " others in the world, accord" ing to theſe expreſs predic" tions, or elſe they muſt be " looked upon as falſe and de" ceitful, and only given to be " a ſnare unto them." Thus far our author; and we may add, that theſe are not difficulties raiſed by an enthuſiaſtic millenarian, but the reflections of a ſound and unbiaſſed divine; and ſuch as, we doubt not, he had either heard from, or read in, the *Jewiſh* writings he had been converſant with, and any other man may have heard objected by all the learned *Jews* he meets with. It will be therefore

forbid, under the ſevereſt anathema, the very enquiring after it. However, both they and we believe, and not without good grounds, that it will not be long before we ſee ſome forerunners of thoſe glorious days, when that long-promiſed ſun ſhall ſhine which will at once enlighten both hemiſpheres. But as theſe are points that belong more to divines than to hiſtorians to diſcuſs, we ſhall dive no farther into them here. Only thus much we beg leave to obſerve, from their wonderful preſervation to this day, under all difficulties, hatred, perſecutions, and other diſadvantages we have ſeen them labour under, not only from their deliverance out of *Egypt*, and their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity, but more eſpecially from their laſt and univerſal diſperſion by the *Romans* into all nations and countries, without either kings or princes, without temple, altar, prieſts, ſacrifices, or any of thoſe more ſenſible parts of religion, for which they had always ſuch a natural fondneſs, and which kept them united in their own once happy land; or any comfortable proſpect, much leſs aſſurance, of their ſeeing an end to their miſerable ſlavery, to their doubts and fears that the time of the Meſſiah's coming have been long elapſed; that nothing but a viſible and miraculous Providence could effect it, or could have ſupported their faith and hope, and kept them ſteady to their religion, during above ſeventeen centuries, under ſuch difficulties and diſcouragements.

Their preſervation miraculous.

AND, on the other hand, when we reflect on their numbers, the great miſery of ſome, and opulence of other countries, their earneſt wiſhes for a deliverer, their readineſs to cloſe in with every impoſtor that aſſumed that title, and the many and ſtrenuous efforts they have made under ſome of them, in order to recover their liberty, and raiſe themſelves above the powers that oppreſs them, and how ſtrangely they have been diſappointed in them all, we cannot but conclude, that a Divine Providence muſt have diſplayed itſelf as much in their diſappointment, as it hath in their preſervation, till he ſhall accompliſh all his gracious deſigns and promiſes both towards them and all the reſt of mankind.

Vain attempts to recover their liberty as wonderful.

fore in vain, to hope to make any ſincere converts among them, till all theſe difficulties be more effectually removed than they have hitherto been; or indeed by any other way than by allowing to them this ſecond coming and reign of Chriſt. But for this, we ſhall refer our readers to what we have hinted in a former volume (*), and to the additional remarks with which we ſhall conclude this.

(*) *See Anc. Hiſt. vol.* iii. *p.* 391

In

Aversion to Christianity.

If it should be objected, that we are here hardening them in their unbelief, and persuade them to put off their conversion till that promised time, let it be considered how few real converts have been made either here or abroad, since the first ages of Christianity, by mere dint of argument; how averse their doctors are to enter into a fair conference with Christians of any denomination, and how fearful their unlearned ought to be to attempt it without them; how many of those pretended and zealous converts have at length apostatized (of which we have given so many pregnant instances through the course of this chapter, and could have added as many more as would fill a volume); what rancour they have shewn, what horrid blasphemies they have vented, against Christ and his Gospel, after their return into *Judaism*; and what dreadful curses they all vomit against those of their nation that embrace it upon any laudable and sincere motive; and we shall have little cause to fear, that what we have said above will hinder their real, much less their general, conversion; and be apt to think, with our learned *Joseph Mede*, and many other eminent divines, that this last will not be effected without a miraculous intervention of the same Divine Providence, which so visibly displayed itself at the first planting and propagation of the Gospel.

Final conversion miraculous.

An enquiry into the true causes of the Jews *unbelief.*

As we are therefore drawing near the conclusion, not only of this thirteenth volume, but likewise of the history of *Asia*, and the next will bring us into a new part of the world, *viz.* that of the great continent of *Africa*, our readers, we hope, will not be displeased, if (setting aside all theological conjectures concerning the time and wondrous manner of their universal, whether recall into the ancient land of *Palestine*, or their admission into the spiritual church of Christ, which can claim no room in a work like this) we close up the history of their dispersion with a few curious and interesting remarks, which could not be well inserted in the body, without interrupting the thread and series of it: and herein we shall confine ourselves to such only, as will afford them the greatest light that can be possibly struck out of all the numerous volumes which have been written on that dark and so much controverted subject, and at the same time reconcile that unhappy wavering nation to the certainty and infallibility of the divine promises in favour of it, of which their mistaken notions about the time and manner of their completion, have made the major part of it, in a great measure, to despond, if not wholly to despair; insomuch that, to our certain knowlege, and their own confession, very many of those in *England* and *Holland*, carried on by the rapid

rapid ſtream of infidelity now reigning, are ſunk into a downright diſbelief of the divine authority of their ſacred books.

The rock on which they have chiefly ſplit.

IT will not therefore appear foreign to our ſubject, to point out both to our *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian readers, the fatal rock on which the former have unhappily ſplit, and loſt all the benefit of thoſe great and ſingular promiſes; and the wrong methods which have been taken by the latter to convince them of their error, and which have only ſerved to confirm them the more in their fatal prejudices, againſt the perſon, character, and doctrine, of our Divine Meſſiah. Theſe two points we think the more proper to be fairly ſtated, as they will at once fully account for the invincible obſtinacy of the one, and for the ill-ſucceſs of the other, in ſpite of the moſt ſoothing attractives, and moſt affecting determents, made uſe of in every age and country, and by no nation more than by thoſe who profeſſed Chriſtianity, to induce or oblige them to abjure a religion ſo diametrically oppoſite to their preſent intereſt and peace, and ſo deſtructive to all their future proſpects and ill-grounded hopes.

Their long duration next to miraculous;

EVERY thinking reader, who hath ſeriouſly reflected on this invincible attachment of a whole nation, diſperſed as they are over every part of the world, without king or high-prieſt, without authority, or any bands of ſociety to keep them united, and what is ſtill worſe, deſpiſed, oppreſſed, and perſecuted, yet perſevering in it during above ſixteen whole centuries, under all the imaginable diſcouragements, uncertainties, and anxiety of mind, and deſtitution of even the leaſt glimmering proſpect of their ſo long, ſo earneſtly wiſhed-for reſtoration; whoever, we ſay ſeriouſly, reflects on this their ſurpriſing attachment to a religion, which hath hitherto not only deluded all their fond hopes of a Meſſiah to come, but hath expoſed them to the contempt and ſcorn of the world, will be forced to own, that ſome ſtronger tie than the bare prejudice of education, muſt have ſupported them in it, or elſe there would have been long ſince a total end of *Jewiſh* faith and hopes, as well as of all diſtinction between them and other nations, and they had long enough ago been blended with, and embraced the religion of ſuch, as had given them the greateſt encouragement to ſettle amongſt them, had not the Divine Providence, for wiſe ends, no leſs in favour of them than for the confirmation of the goſpel, prevented their total apoſtacy, and preſerved a more than ſufficient number of them every-where, to be ſtanding unexceptionable evidences of the divine authority of the ſacred *Hebrew* code, either until the end of the world, or, as is moſt probable, till the pre-ordained time of the complete converſion

and a ſtanding evidence of the truth of the holy ſcriptures.

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converſion of the gentiles, when they ſhall be admitted into the ſame fold with them, and readily acknowlege the divine authority of the New: ſo that what was once a great ſtumbling-block to them, *viz.* the incorporation of the heathen into the Chriſtian church, ſhall, by a divine effect of his Providence, be turned into a means of their admiſſion into it, and both become glad partakers of the ſame univerſal benefit.

THAT it was in favour of the former, that the ſame All-wiſe Goodneſs conducted the ſeptuagint verſion, or tranſlation of the ſacred *Hebrew* books, into *Greek*, the language then moſt known, and in uſe over the greateſt part of the world, ſome centuries before the completion of the moſt ſignal prophecies contained in it, we have fully ſhewn in a former part of this work [b], and they alone received the benefit of it; whilſt the incredulous *Jews*, even thoſe among them who had expreſſed the greateſt zeal for it, as having in a great meaſure loſt their *Hebrew* tongue, being now enraged at the ſucceſsful uſe which the primitive preachers made of it, to convert the gentile world, left no ſtone unturned, or foul means untried, to ſink it into the loweſt diſcredit [c]. It could not enter into their hearts, that the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, ever deſigned to be the God of the gentiles alſo, in the ſame ſenſe as he was theirs, or would ſet them on a level with them. Whatever promiſes and prophecies they had that intimated any thing like it, ſuch as, that *in* Abraham's *ſeed all nations ſhould be bleſſed* [d]; that they ſhould all in time be gathered under the banner, and be partakers of the light and bleſſing, of the Meſſiah [e], they underſtood in no higher ſenſe than that of a temporal conqueſt, which ſhould bring them all under his obedience, yet in ſuch a manner, that thoſe who readily ſubmitted to his ſceptre, ſhould eſteem themſelves highly bleſſed in the ſervice of ſo illuſtrious a conqueror, and of a nation ſo peculiarly choſen, and ſo highly favoured by the Almighty; whilſt thoſe who either unwillingly ſubmitted to the yoke, or has behaved contemptuouſly or cruelly againſt them, ſhould become the unhappy objects of their reſentment, and be doomed to undergo a more dreadful tyranny under them, than they themſelves underwent in *Egypt*, *Babylon*, or ſince their laſt diſperſion. This was their notion of the reign of the promiſed Meſſiah, at the time of Chriſt appearing among them; and how oppoſite to the na-

Inſurmountable prejudice againſt the Gentiles being called,

and themſelves rejected.

[b] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. x. p. 244, & ſeq. & (O). [c] Ibid. 242, & ſeq. [d] Gen. xxi. 18. [e] Iſai. xlii. 6, 49, 60, & alib. plur.

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ture of the Divine Being, *who is no reſpecter of perſons*, &c. [f]. How contrary to all his expreſs declarations by his prophets; and much more manifeſtly, and, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, how feelingly oppoſite to their completion! which, to their dread and amazement, ended in their rejection, and the utter ruin of that ſmall ſhare of power and authority they had left. Nor was this fatal prejudice rooted out of their hearts by this ſevere ſhock, but hath been, with the moſt ſurpriſing obſtinacy, propagated and cheriſhed by the whole nation from that time to this; and to this day they ſtill retain the ſame notions of a temporal conquering Meſſiah, who ſhall ſubdue the whole earth, rebuild the holy city and temple, reſtore the ancient *Moſaic* worſhip of it, and oblige all nations and people to forſake their various religions, and obſerve the *Moſaic* law under the ſevereſt penalties.

Againſt Chriſt's humble and ſuffering character.

THIS, therefore, is their grand ſtumbling-block, the fatal rock of offence againſt which they have ſplit: nor will they acknowlege a Meſſiah under any other character than that; how much leſs can they ever be prevailed on to ſubmit to one who appeared, ſpoke, and acted, in a manner ſo very oppoſite to it, and to all their temporal views and expectations? As for the difficulties which are juſtly objected out of the ſacred writings, againſt this their vain expectation, ſuch as, that no other Meſſiah hath appeared ſince in ſuch a ſplendid character, much leſs within the time limited by the moſt celebrated prophecies that foretold his coming; that is, *before the ſceptre was departed from* Judah [g]: 2dly, before the completion of *Daniel*'s weeks [h]: and, 3dly, during the ſtanding of the ſecond temple [i]: theſe, and many more of the like nature, irrefragable as they are, and unanſwered as they know them to have been by any of their rabbinic tribe, they have found ſome artful ſubterfuges and chicanery to evade; but ſuch as, whatever impreſſion they may make on the mind and conſcience of a prejudiced *Jew*, rather betray a tacit deſire to diſguiſe their inability to remove them, as we have elſewhere proved againſt them [k]. And thus, by their falſe gloſſes upon, or unfair cavilling about, the moſt pregnant prophecies againſt them, they have made ſhift theſe ſixteen hundred years to keep up the drooping and bewildered hopes of their nation, that whatever delay their ſins, and thoſe of their forefathers, may have occaſioned with relation

Full expectation of a Meſſiah in a quite different character.

[f] Acts x. 34, & ſeq. [g] Geneſ. xlix. 10. See alſo Anc. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 318 (G), x. 629. [h] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. x. p. 446 (Q). [i] Haggai, ii. 9, & ſeq. [k] See theaſt quoted places out of the Anc. Hiſt.

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to the coming of the Messiah, nothing but a total apostacy of their nation can possibly prevent his appearing in God's time, and in the glorious manner they have been taught to expect him: by which means, they have been enabled to linger out that long series of centuries in this dreadful state of uncertainty, ever eager to catch at the least shadow of hope, and to listen to every impostor, though at the hazard of the most mortifying disappointment, and addition to their anxieties.

Delusive hopes about the Jewish sceptre being found in Abissinia.

Of this we have given a sufficient number of instances during the course of this chapter, and many more we might have added to them, had our stated boundaries permitted it. One, however, we cannot pass by, which happened soon after the pretended discovery of *Prester John*'s kingdom, or empire of *Abissinia*, of which we shall speak in a subsequent volume. No sooner had the news reached *Europe*, that some *Portuguese* had discovered that much sought-for kingdom, and found it to be governed by a monarch lineally descended from king *Solomon*, the son of *David*, that he and all his subjects were circumcised, that they observed the sabbath, and abstained from swine's-flesh, and other unclean meats, *&c.* than the *Jews*, both in *Europe* and *Asia*, were elevated beyond measure at the report; and took it for granted, that both the *Ethiopian* monarch and his subjects were *Jews*; and that the promised sceptre of *Judah* was preserved among them by a Divine Providence. The vastness of his dominions, the magnificence of his court, and other particulars relating to that newly discovered empire, were greatly exaggerated by the two *Portuguese Jews* who were sent upon that discovery. The learned rabbi *Abalbaner*, of whom, and of whose works, we have given an account a little higher [1], and who was then at *Lisbon*, took occasion, from this agreeable piece of news, to extol the glory and numerousness of the *Jewish* nation, in one of his comments on the minor prophets. About the same time a letter was trumped up, and printed by those of *Constantinople*, and dispersed amongst those of their nation, far and near, in the *Hebrew* tongue and character, and pretended to be written and sent to them by the *Abissinian* emperor. They had caused it to be translated into most *European* languages, and sent to the whole *Jewish* brotherhood, backed by sundry other artful circumstances, which failed not to raise, as usual, the spirits, if not the triumph, of the tribe of *Judah*, where-ever the news had reached.

Forge a letter from that emperor to them.

[1] See before, p. 352, (C), & seq.

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It proved, however, but a ſhort-lived one; and the *Portugueſe* had no ſooner penetrated into the *Abiſſinian* empire, than they found it to be all Chriſtian, monarch as well as ſubjects; and that though they ſtill retained the old *Jewiſh* rites above-mentioned, yet they had, by their own confeſſion, been converted to Chriſtianity ever ſince the time of the apoſtles, as we ſhall more fully ſhew when we come to that part of their hiſtory. This new diſcovery not only put an end at once to all the joy and hopes of the *Jewiſh* nation, but filled them with confuſion and deſpondency: and ſince this ſo much wiſhed and ſought-for ſceptre of *Judah* could not be found in any of the three old known parts of the world, they quickly reſolved to go in queſt of it among the many vaſt and newly diſcovered tracts of *America*, and try their fortune in that new world; where we ſhall rejoin them again at the cloſe of this chapter, and ſee to what a height of triumph one of their great rabbies improved a few dark and vague hints, ſent to him from thence in favour of the royal dignity and of the *Jewiſh* nation: ſo determinate are they, at all adventures, to compaſs ſea and land in queſt of it, or even to believe it ſtill flouriſhing in the clouds, or depths of the ſea, rather than allow it to have been abſorbed in, or, to ſpeak more truly, dignified and exalted into a ſpiritual ſceptre and kingdom, by that very perſon, whom their grand ſanhedrim condemned to the moſt ignominious of deaths, for impiouſly arrogating that extraordinary dignity to himſelf; and which, had it really belonged to him, that ſupreme court ought, and would, without all doubt, have been the firſt and readieſt to acknowlege and proclaim it to the whole world. For ſo they actually judge, one and all, of that whole tranſaction; and cannot, without the utmoſt abhorrence, imagine the bare poſſibility, that the grand council of their nation, unerring as they conceive it then was, to have been ſo fatally blinded in a matter of the greateſt conſequence, and to have ever been capable of paſſing ſo unjuſt a ſentence on a perſon of his extraordinary merit and character. This reflexion, juſt and affecting as it is, muſt of courſe give an additional weight to their averſeneſs to the goſpel, which repreſents them as guilty of that atrocious fact, and as rejected by God, their city and temple demoliſhed, the whole *Jewiſh* nation as groaning under the moſt grievous captivity on that account, and the Gentiles as admitted in their ſtead into Chriſt's ſpiritual kingdom. And what a ſeries of the moſt mortifying truths are theſe for that once ſo favoured people, to believe and acknowlege before they can be admitted into it themſelves; and what diſcouragement muſt it be, moreover, to ſo carnal a people, to forego

Send in queſt of it to America.

Diſbelief of a ſpiritual ſceptre and kingdom.

and

and renounce all their expectations of a temporal and glorious one, as their learned men had, with so much care and pains, delineated to themselves out of the figurative and pompous expressions of the prophets, and described as abounding with every thing that is magnificent and attractive, for the sake of one that was founded in the deepest humility and self-denial, and promised no other earthly satisfaction, but what resulted from the practice of the sublimest moral and social virtues, and the prospect of a future life. But more especially still, as that is in fact giving up the whole authority of their talmud, which, we have shewn elsewhere, they hold to be greater than that of the *Hebrew* text [m], and casting a heinous reflection on the writers and compilers of it, who have been most lavish in their descriptions of the earthly pomp and glory of it, as having represented it in a manner quite opposite to the meaning of the sacred volumes, and to what Christ now peremptorily affirmed it was to be. And can we wonder at their *crying out with one voice, as in the parable,* WE WILL NOT HAVE THIS MAN TO REIGN OVER US [n], or at those who have come after them, for continuing in the same obdurate averseness to a religion, which exacts so much, and offers so little, of what they have been so long inured to esteem the greatest blessings of Heaven, peace and riches, power and plenty, a numerous posterity, and dominion over all the world? All which, and many more, they expect will flow on all hands like a torrent upon them, under the reign of their Messiah.

Bewildered about the temporal one.

BUT, on the other hand, seeing such hath been their fatal blindness, to prefer the uncertain and temporal blessings of the old law, before the more sure, valuable, and lasting ones of the glorious gospel; (uncertain we call the former, because, as we have had occasion to observe more than once, the delay of the imaginary kingdom, so many centuries beyond the time prefixed by the sacred oracles, hath thrown them into the greatest uncertainty [o]), and that preference founded only on an erroneous notion, that the *Mosaic* dispensation, and consequently its promises, as well as precepts, were of an eternal and unalterable nature; what more effectual method could the Divine Providence take to undeceive them in both respects, after they had rejected the Messiah whom he had sent to them, in his predicted time and character, than, first, to cause his temple at *Jerusalem*, the centre of the *Mosaic* worship, to be utterly destroyed, and to lie in ruins ever since, to convince them of the abolition of the one, and then

[m] See before, Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 7, (B). [n] Luke xix. 14.
[o] Vid. int. al. p. 428, & seq.

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to ſcatter them over the world, and make them undergo the longeſt and hardeſt ſlavery, under thoſe very gentiles, over whom they expected to gain an abſolute and irreverſible dominion, under their vainly expected Meſſiah, till it had brought them to the acknowlegement of the true one. Such an affecting argument againſt them, ſhould, one might have reaſonable expected, been more than ſufficient to have drove them to it; and to have convinced them long ago, not only of the vanity, but abſurdity of their expectations; how derogatory to the Divine Juſtice and Goodneſs, and how oppoſite they were to the true intereſt and happineſs of mankind; had not this partial, ſelfiſh prejudice, in favour of their own nation, too manifeſtly verified the charge of the prophet againſt them [p]; That their hearts were become groſs and carnal; ſo that, having eyes they ſaw not, ears but heard not, and hearts incapable of underſtanding what was of the utmoſt conſequence to them to know; namely, that the bleſſings deſigned by the Divine Wiſdom to adorn and and ſignalize the Meſſiah, were of a far nobler, ſublimer, and laſting nature, than all that worldly pomp and grandeur they ſo ſtupidly dreamed of, and their carnal hearts were ſo ſtrongly ſet upon. But ſince all theſe ſevere methods, the propereſt, if not the only ones, that could, without infringement upon their rational liberty, rectify this ſtrong and long contracted biaſs, have hitherto proved ineffectual; need we wonder at the Divine Providence continuing them ſtill under the ſame diſcipline and regimen, till their end is fully anſwered, and their cure effectually wrought. But we ſhall here refer our readers, for a farther diſplay of this diſpenſation of God towards them, to that moſt learned and elegant account which the apoſtle hath given us of it in his epiſtle to the *Romans* [q]; and where he will ſee the ſource of their incredulity, as well as their wonderful preſervation to the happy time of their general converſion, to be ſtanding monuments of the truth of the ancient prophecies, fully accounted for, and the Divine Juſtice and Goodneſs, with reſpect to his deſigns and dealings towards them, clearly vindicated, and duly magnified.

The juſt cauſe of their blindneſs, and oppreſſed ſtate.

Nor hath this fatal prejudice, in favour of a conquering Meſſiah, and his ſuppoſed glorious reign, ſtopped here. They have not only renounced, and ſtill perſiſt to do ſo, and vilify the promiſed, and more ſignal redemption, which Chriſt offered to them from ſin and puniſhment, as contrary

[p] Iſai. vi. 9, & ſeq. & alib. Matth. xiii. 14. Acts, ult. 26, & ſeq. [q] Chap. xi. paſſ. & alib. plur.

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to their expectation, that he was to deliver them from the *Roman* yoke, and subdue those tyrants, and the rest of the world, under their subjection: (though this notion of a temporal deliverance appears to have been only taken up about this time, when they had smarted so long under the *Romans*; the more ancient of their doctors entertained a much more sublime notion of it (W), and dreamed of nothing less than such imaginary conquests and universal dominion): but, in order to justify their unjust and impious deeds, and suppress as much as possible the murmuring and discontent of those few amongst them who condemned it; not content to have persecuted him with the utmost malice and cruelty during his life, they have, by the vilest arts, and blackest slanders, aspersed his Divine Character and Doctrine, and rendered his memory odious, and even execrable, to their nation. Instead of his lineal descent from the tribe of *Judah*, and the lineage of *David*, so clearly set forth by two evangelists (in which genealogies, though there be found some seeming difference and inconsistency, yet a careful and candid reader will easily observe it to be of such a nature, as rather confirms than invalidates their mutual authority, as we have fully proved in a former part of this work *, they have substituted a false and spurious pedigree, and made him the offspring of adultery and incest [r]. His miracles, the vast number and variety of which they could not deny, but do even confess in their *Thalmud*, they have maliciously, and with the most absurd effrontry, ascribed to a diabolical power, and to the magic art, which they pretend he learned during his abode in *Egypt*, though but a child both on his going and coming out of it. Those of his disciples met, indeed, with

Impious forgeries against Christ's pedigree.

His miracles.

* See Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 451, & seq. (R).

[r] See the book, intitled, Tholedoth Jesu.

(W) Of this we need no stronger evidence than the author of the *Targum* of *Jerusalem*, who, repeating the words of *Jaacob* at his blessing his twelve sons (1), "*I wait for thy salvation, O Lord,*" paraphrases that pious ejaculation in these terms, "Lord, I wait for thy salvation; I look not for such a redemption as that wrought by *Gideon* the son of *Joash*, for that was a temporary one; nor for such a one as that of *Sampson*, for that is a transient one; but I look for the redemption to be wrought by the Messiah, the son of *David*, who is to come and gather together the children of *Israel*. This is the redemption my soul waits and longs for, and impatiently expects."

(1) *Targum Hierosal. in Gen.* xlix. 18.

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no better reception at firſt, from their grand council and chief-prieſt, though with a milder treatment afterwards. But when they perceived what a powerful impreſſion they worked upon the people, eſpecially, as they came always backed with the irrefragable teſtimony of the ſacred writings and prophecies, and accompanied with ſuch manifeſt tokens of the ſincereſt converſion, and a devout ſimplicity of life, as aſtoniſhed the very heathens who beheld it, both in the the preachers and their proſelytes; when, to their great ſurprize and perplexity, they found, that neither authority, threats, or puniſhments, were capable to ſilence the one, or diſcourage the other, but rather added fuel to their zeal, and daily increaſed the number of their converts; when, laſtly, they heard themſelves charged by poor ſimple fiſhermen with having impiouſly rejected and condemned the true Meſſiah, and that with ſuch undeniable evidence, as the wiſeſt of them was not able to gain-ſay, and yet perſiſted in the ſame obſtinate oppoſition of the eſtabliſhment of his ſpiritual kingdom, and prepoſſeſſion and preference of an imaginary temporal one, (as if it had been indeed more glorious, or brought greater honour and advantage to the *Jewiſh* nation, to ſend them ſuch a temporal conqueror, than a Divine Redeemer; one who could only ſubdue the world for them, than one who had dominion over this and the next, and could beſtow on them the bleſſings of both in a moſt eminent degree); when, we ſay, all was reduced to this deſperate ſtate of infidelity and ingratitude, what leſs could be expected by them, than the ſpeedy accompliſhment of that dreadful prediction and ſentence pronounced againſt them; that their city and temple ſhould be reduced to a heap of ruins, and themſelves be diſperſed, and ſold for ſlaves, among all nations [s], as they were ſoon after accordingly; and have continued ever ſince, and muſt ſtill do, till a due ſenſe and acknowlegement of their fault, (the expreſs condition of their recal [t]) obtains the long wiſhed-for revocation of it.

Doctrine and diſciples.

Their juſt puniſhment.

HERE then we may ſee the fatal cauſe of their long and ſevere captivity, as well as of the ſmall number of them, on whom ſo dreadful an inſtance of the divine diſpleaſure hath hitherto been ſufficient to make a ſalutary impreſſion, in compariſon of thoſe who have remained inflexibly attached to their old prejudices, under a moſt doleful and comfortleſs exile of near ſeventeen centuries, have ſtill ſupported themſelves through all perſecutions and calamities, hatred and

Small numbers converted to Chriſtianity.

[s] De hac Cataſtrop. vid. ſup, vol. x. p. 678, & ſeq. [t] Vid. Deut. xxx. 1, & ſeq.

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contempt of the reſt of the world, by the bare and faint hopes of that imaginary temporal Meſſiah and kingdom; and rejected the offers of the true and promiſed one, againſt all the cleareſt evidence of ſcripture and reaſon.

Imprudence of their oppoſers.

THIS ſurpriſing, and ſo long continued obſtinacy, hath been variouſly accounted for, and combated, by their Chriſtian oppoſers of all ages, ever ſince their diſperſion, according as their various tempers, and ſyſtems of religion, led them: ſome of them aſcribing it, though with more zeal than knowlege or charity, to a total rejection, as guilty of the undardonable ſin and blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt [u]; which charge, if true, was the more abſurdly urged againſt them, becauſe it excluded all poſſibility of their being either converted or forgiven: whilſt others have, with more reaſon and equity, aſcribed it to an ill-grounded confidence on the peculiar covenant made by God with *Abraham*, which they deem eternal and unalienable; that, *in his ſeed*, that is, as we interpret it, in the Meſſiah, *all the nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed* [w]; that is, as they firmly believe, ſhould be brought to the knowlege of the one true God, admitted into the covenant by the ſeal of circumciſion, and, in conſequence of it, to the privileges annexed to the obſervation of the *Moſaic* law, and live happily and peaceably under his obedience and auſpicious reign. In conſequence of which covenant, the land of *Canaan* was promiſed to him, and, in due time, given to his poſterity, as their perpetual inheritance: a temple built, which was to be the centre of their religion; and *Jeruſalem* that of their future monarchs, and chief reſidence of that promiſed Meſſiah. All which is exactly conſiſtent with their notion of a temporal conqueror and deliverer; but in their opinion abſolutely incompatible with that of a ſpiritual deliverance or kingdom, and much more ſtill of an obſcure, rejected, and ſuffering redeemer. How mean his character and appearance, to that in which the prophets have delineated him to us; how obſcure and different his pretended reign, to the glorious deſcription they have given us of it; how dreadfully abject and miſerable hath been our condition ever ſince his appearing among us, to that peace and happineſs, opulence and dominion, we were promiſed to enjoy under his conduct and government. In a word, how ſhould ſuch a Meſſiah be able to deliver his whole nation from captivity, who could not ſave himſelf from an ignominious death [x]. Whatever, therefore, be the occaſion

Jewiſh notion of their Meſſiah's reign.

[u] Matth. xii. 31, & ſeq. [w] Gen. xxii. 18. [x] Vid. SEPHER, NIZACHON, in Matth. xxvii. & alib. paſſ.

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caſion of our long and dreadful captivity, and to what length ſoever it may pleaſe the Divine Providence to prolong it, we are ſure he cannot be the object to whom the ſcripture directs us to look up for our deliverance, whom God permitted our grand ſanhedrim to condemn and puniſh, as the vileſt of impoſtors; and we muſt either give up the authority of his ſacred oracles, and the infallibility of his often repeated promiſes, or we muſt look for one of a quite oppoſite character, under whoſe banners all *Iſrael* ſhall be gathered; who ſhall tread down and deſtroy all that oppoſe our re-entrance into our once happy land, cauſe our city and temple to be rebuilt, our ſanctuary and worſhip reſtored, and the whole earth ſubmitted to his ſceptre.

It will not doubtleſs be expected, that we ſhould go ſo far out of our province, as to mention here, by how many learned pens, and irrefragable arguments, all this ſpecious reaſoning, the pretended immutability of the above-mentioned covenant, perpetuity of the *Moſaic* law, and temporal kingdom of the Meſſiah, have been long enough ago exploded; the promiſe of another, and better covenant, the abolition of the *Moſaic* rites, and the appearance of the Meſſiah, under the two-fold character of his humiliation and ſufferings, and of his exaltation and glory, have been demonſtratively proved againſt them by the ableſt divines, ancients and moderns, of every church and age of the Chriſtian æra [r], and from thoſe very prophetic writings on which the *Jewiſh* doctors have fetched the materials on which they pretend to found their imaginary ſyſtem of a temporal and conquering Meſſiah. Our chief deſign, as hath been already hinted, is to confine ourſelves, as much as poſſible, to ſuch hiſtorical facts, as may beſt inform our readers of the various ways, and artful methods, which the doctors of that nation have made uſe of ſince their diſperſion, to prevent the utter defection of the whole nation, which ſeemed but too likely to enſue the deſtruction of their city and temple, the only place appointed by God for the exerciſe of his legal worſhip, and which muſt therefore ceaſe of courſe, whilſt thoſe two lay in ruins, and in a little time wholly obliterate the very remembrance of it amongſt thoſe unhappy exiles, unleſs ſome quick and effectual expedient was not found out to prevent it.

No ſooner therefore were they recovered from the univerſal conſternation and confuſion, which muſt be ſuppoſed to have followed them in every place and country of their captivity, *their hopes*

Their de-
ſtructive
their hopes.

[r] De his, vid. int. al. Grot. Limborch, La'Badie, Kidder, Mede, et al. pl.

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Set up schools and universities,

than they set about it with all the zeal and industry they were masters of. Schools, and afterwards, universities, were immediately resolved upon, as the likeliest means to revive their drooping spirits, and expectation of a happy deliverance from above; and these were accordingly reared with surprising speed, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter*; and the most learned of their nation sought far and near to preside in them. These were quickly supplied with men of the greatest abilities, and crowded with scholars from all parts of their dispersion, and met with all possible encouragement, both with respect to their rich endowments, and the pompous titles, and great honours, which were shewn to their professors and proficients; so that from them issued out yearly great numbers of disciples, who went and dispensed fresh light and hopes among their desponding brethren. But though they came out sufficiently qualified for that work, being first furnished with such arguments, drawn from the sacred books, as could best contribute to confirm them in their old prejudices, they found themselves greatly deficient whenever they were obliged to encounter with the Christian converts, especially such as came more completely armed and able to oppose an irrefragable evidence against them from the same divine repository, and such as they could safely challenge the most learned of their rabbies to confute. This proved, for some time, a mortifying obstacle, both to their professors and their disciples; against which, the speediest and most effectual remedy they could find, was to forbid the latter holding any conferences with the Christians, and confining their mission and preaching to those only of their own religion, whilst they contented themselves with excommunicating all converts from it to Christianity, and treating them as vile and execrable apostates; and accordingly loaded them with the most dreadful curses, both in their synagogues and at their private prayers.

and learned men to preside in them.

Excommunicate new converts.

THIS expedient did indeed so far answer their end, as to deter vast multitudes, not only from being converted, but even from listening to any thing which looked like an invitation or attempt towards it; but could not suppress the just and loud complaints of the Christian preachers against their foul proceedings, and frequently challenging them to public disputes, which being as stiffly declined and avoided by their adversaries, obliged the most learned and zealous of them to expose and confute them in writing. The misfortune was, that they were forced, for want of a sufficient knowlege of

Decline to dispute with Christians.

* See before, p. 140, & seq.

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the *Hebrew* and *Syriac* tongues, to make use of the Septuagint version, in their quotations out of the *Old Testament*, as they did likewise in their discourses, and other disputes. But this the *Jews* had, upon that very account, found means to cry down and condemn, as spurious and corrupt, and to substitute other versions to it, more suitable to their prejudices and designs [a]; and these illusive shifts gave still some palpable countenance to their obstinacy and jarring, whilst their disciples and agents were every-where employed in inventing, or dispersing, the most impious forgeries, and such defamatory libels against Christ and his doctrine, against his lineage and miracles, *&c.* as were most capable to inspire the people with the greatest contempt and abhorrence of him and his gospel [b]. We pass by a great number of other artifices and impostures made use of by them with the same view; such as corrupting and curtailing the *Hebrew* chronology, in order to make them believe, that his birth happened in the year of the world 3671; that is, 329 years sooner than it did, or than the time prefixed by the prophecies; the lying encomiums they have written on those of their doctors, who have inveighed most bitterly against the Christian religion; some of whom they have raised to the degree of saints, prophets, inspired penmen, and workers of miracles, in order to give the greater sanction to their writeings, and a kind of divine authority to those false glosses and interpretations, not to say wilful corruptions, of these prophecies and texts of scripture in dispute between us. These, and many more of the like nature, too absurd and bare-faced to deserve a farther mention, we gladly pass over, to come at some more interesting transactions relating to our subject, and which may be justly stiled the highest and most striking effort of *Jewish* policy and rabbinic craft.

Scandalous and impious forgeries against Christ.

THEY could not reasonably suppose, that so many learned and zealous antagonists as they had to deal with, would suffer themselves to be long baffled by their pretended cavils against the Septuagint version, in a matter of such high import, but that some of them would soon be induced to make themselves so far masters of the *Hebrew* text, as to be able to confute them, and beat them at their own weapons. It was therefore a thing of the utmost concern to them, to ward against a blow, which, once struck home, must prove fatal to their cause and nation, and expose their foul practices to all the world; for if those false traditions, glosses, and inter-

Their new artifice to discredit the Hebrew text;

[a] See Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 239, & notes. [b] Vid. int. al. SEPHER, Tholedoth Jesu.

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pretations of the sacred writings, with which Christ, his apostles, and primitive fathers, had so justly and severely censured them; and more particularly of those which relate to that most important point of the divine œconomy, the character, sufferings, and doctrine of the Messiah, the time prefixed for his coming, and nature of his spiritual kingdom; if these, we say, came once to be fully and clearly proved against them, on the authority of the sacred *Hebrew* text, and by persons thoroughly versed in that language; what could they expect from such a conviction, but to become the scorn and abhorrence of mankind?

by raising their Kabala above it.

To avoid, therefore, as much as possible, the fatal consequences of a discovery, which they knew to be out of their power to prevent, had for some time engrossed the thoughts and study of their ablest doctors; the unanimous result of which was at length, that their Kabala, or pretended oral tradition, was the most effectual rampart they could oppose against such a dreaded battery; and the most likely means, if not to repel the shafts of the enemy, yet at least to shield themselves and people from being either frighted or endangered by them. This Kabala we have given an ample account of in a former part of this work [c], and, as we hope, abundantly confuted, as a most artful and impious expedient, contrived and calculated by them to elude all the sacred scripture proofs alleged against them out of the sacred books, by declaring, upon its own bare authority, the whole *Hebrew* text, and much more so every version of it, a mere dead letter; the true genuine sense of which lies beyond all human reach, and is only to be found in the Talmudic books, whose compilers received it by an uninterrupted tradition from the mouth of the sanhedrin, or a great council of seventy, to whom alone *Moses* communicated it, in the same fulness and clearness as he had received it from the mouth of God, during his forty days converse with him on the mount (X). To this were added, a multitude of other oral

The pretended origin of its authority;

[c] See Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 7, & seq.

(X) They add, that *Moses*, upon his coming down from the mount, sent for his brother *Aaron*, and seated him on his right-hand, to whom he recapitulated all that God had said and enjoined to him. After him were introduced *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*, his sons, who being likewise seated on each side of them, he again repeated the whole *verbatim* to them. Next to these were admitted the seventy elders, who being also seated on each side of him, heard the same things recapitulated,

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oral precepts, injunctions, expoſitions, not to be committed to writing, but tranſmitted in the ſame traditional way, leſt, as they pretend, they ſhould in time come to the knowlege of, and be prophaned by, the gentiles: ſo that, according to them, this oral law had been preſerved by a Divine Providence, pure and uncorrupted, during that long ſeries of ages, till their frequent, and eſpecially their laſt, diſperſion; and the danger there was of any part of it being loſt, made it neceſſary to have the whole collected into one body; which was accordingly done, as we have ſhewn before, by their famed *R. Jehuda Hakodeſh*, or, the Saint, and afterwards publiſhed under the name of *Miſhnah* and *Talmud* [b], conſiſting of two parts, *viz. Miſhnah* and *Gemara*; by his learned diſciple *R. Juchanan*, under that of the *Jeruſalem Talmud*, enriched with a large and learned comment, in which he was aſſiſted by a great number of the moſt eminent rabbies of that age [c]. *above the Hebrew text.*

THIS was an effectual way to ſtop, if not the cenſures and complaints of the Chriſtians againſt them, at leaſt the ears of the *Jews* againſt all arguments and remonſtrances from that quarter; and thus far ſucceeded accordingly; for after having once impiouſly ſtripped the ſacred *Hebrew* text of its plain obvious ſenſe and authority, and transferred it to this pretended collection of divine pandects, or rather to *Fraught with carnal premiſes;*

[b] See before, p. 156, & ſeq. [c] Ibid. 17, & ſeq.

lated and expounded by him in the ſame manner as he had done to his brother, and to his two ſons. Laſt of all were admitted thoſe of the people, who were willing to come and be inſtructed; and had the ſame truths repeated unto them: ſo that by this time *Aaron* had the ſame truths recapitulated to him four times; his ſons, three times; the ſeventy, twice; and the people, once (2).

They have ſince introduced a more modern ſort of Kabala, which teaches how, by the power and affinity of numerical letters, to diſcover deep ſecrets and myſteries in nature and religion; but is of too trifling and uncertain a nature to deſerve any further notice. Only we cannot forbear obſerving here, that the adepts in it do greatly outdo lord *Peter* in their dextrous management of it; as whenever they cannot ſtrike out the ſenſe they ſearch after, either *totidem, verbis*, or *litteris* (3) they have found out a way of tranſpoſing and jumbling the latter together, ſo as to make them ſpell the word or name they want (4).

(2) *Vid. Maimon. Præfat. in Thalmud. Vid. & Auc. Hiſt. vol. x. p.* 489, *& ſeq. & alib. paſſ.* (3) *Tale of a Tub.* (4) *Vid. Buxtorf. Beſnag. & al. mult.*

this

this collection of human, if not helliſh forgeries, what could be urged, or objected to them, from the one, but could not be as readily exploded by the other? And now it was that the *Jews* began to triumph againſt all gainſayers, and to be more than ever confirmed in their old prejudices. What encomiums they beſtowed, both on the work and its compiler, we have already ſhewn[f]; and though the latter really was a man of the moſt conſummate pride and arrogance, have not ſcrupled to dub him a ſaint, an inſpired writer, and a miracle-monger. The Karaites, a more honeſt and rational ſect among them, of whom we have ſpoke in a former part[g], were the only ones who oppoſed them, and condemned the impoſture, decried all thoſe pretended traditions as vile forgeries, and cloſely adhered, and do ſo to this day, to the plain and obvious ſenſe of the ſacred text; and hence aroſe the diſtinction of Karaites and Talmudiſts, between whom hath reigned the moſt irreconcileable hatred ever ſince.

which allure and harden the people;

and augment their obſtinacy;

FROM that fatal period, we may date the invincible obſtinacy and blindneſs of the *Jewiſh* nation; their implacable hatred of Chriſt and his goſpel; of their irreconcileable prejudice and averſion to the notion of a ſuffering Meſſiah, and a ſpiritual deliverance and reign; and their unſhaken hopes and expectation of a temporal Meſſiah, opulent and glorious beyond all conception, and which is to extend itſelf over all the world, and to endure to the end of it. All theſe, ſuited as they are to their groſs and carnal genius, and authoriſed to them under the unqueſtionable ſanction of their Talmud, have been ever ſince ſo deeply rooted in their hearts and minds, that they have rendered them more than ever deaf and inflexible to all conviction, in all the various ſcenes of life, through which we have traced them in the courſe of this chapter. But we ſhall have leſs cauſe to be ſurpriſed at this obſtinate conſtancy, when we conſider, that, beſides the flattering proſpect above-mentioned, which that book gives of the Meſſiah's reign, it furniſhes them with ſuch objections againſt Chriſtianity, as thoſe who own the pretended divinity of that book cannot but think irrefragable; and, on the other hand, denounces ſuch dreadful curſes againſt thoſe who forſake the *Jewiſh* faith for it, as can hardly fail of deterring them from it. The greateſt wonder therefore is, that any motive ſhould ever have prevailed upon them to

[f] See before, p. 134, & ſeq. ſub not. 158, & notes. [g] Anc. Hiſt. vol. x. p. 485, (C). 486, (D). 487, (E). 490, & ſeq. & notes.

aſcribe

aſcribe to that wretched performance an authority ſo far ſuperior to that of the *Hebrew* text, for which all that went before them had preſerved ſo profound and inviolable a regard. This wonder will ſtill increaſe, if we reflect on the many groſs abſurdities, and monſtrous fables, theſe compilers, and their commentators, have filled that ſpurious volume with, in order to diſplay the pretended glories of that future reign, and the avidity with which they are ſwallowed down by that infatuated people. It would take up a whole volume to ſketch out the portendous wars which the Meſſiah is to wage againſt his two grand enemies *Gog* and *Magog*; and the manifold and unheard-of prodigies he is to work, in order to ſubdue and deſtroy them and their numberleſs hoſts; the many and vaſt mountains to be levelled; vallies filled up; rivers, lakes, and even ſeas, to be dried up; and every obſtacle to be removed that might obſtruct or retard the *Jews* from repairing under his ſtandards. But what are even theſe, to the aſtoniſhing care which the Almighty took, from the earlieſt days of the creation, to provide materials for a banquet ſuitable to his dignity, to crown his conqueſts, and regale his victorious *Iſraelites* (Y). But we ſhall readily diſpenſe ourſelves from the irkſome and unprofitable taſk of expoſing the monſtrous abſurdities of that book, and its infatuated commentators, which are ſo well known to every learned perſon, that is in the leaſt converſant in the *Jewiſh* writings, and which ſome of their ableſt men have endeavoured to allegorize into a more reaſonable ſenſe; whilſt others, conſcious of the impoſſibility of doing it, have been *though full of monſtrous abſurdities;*

(Y) They tells us, that God, in the beginning, created ſeven things before he made the world; theſe were, *Paradiſe*, or the *Garden of Eden*, the *Law*, the *Righteous*, *Iſrael*, the *Throne of Glory*, *Jeruſalem*, and the *Meſſiah*. And that among other living creatures that were created on the fifth day, two of them were of an immenſe ſize, one of each ſex: that to prevent their ingendring, he killed the one and ſalted it, and let the other live upon the earth, and gave it a thouſand mountains for its paſturage; that this alſo will be ſlaughtered in the reign of the Meſſiah, and both the one and the other be dreſſed and ſerved up at that banquet, to him, and all that have fought under his banner.

They likewiſe believe, there ſhall then be a general reſurrection of all the righteous ſeed of *Abraham*, who ſhall alſo be admitted to partake of it; and this hope is ſo firmly rooted in their minds, that they frequently ſwear by their title to a ſhare of it (4).

(4) *Vid. Munſt. in Gen.* i. & *in Ezekiel* 38, & *ſeq.* 2 *Eſdr.* vi. 46, & *ſeq.* *Galatt. ſub voc Eſdr. & al. pl.*

inſpired

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But such as may in time open their eyes to the truth.

inspired with a singular contempt of both. And may not this, in God's own time, prove an effectual means of opening the eyes of the whole nation, and make them at length sensible of the dreadful effects of departing from the plain and obvious sense of the Divine oracles, to follow the dictates of their own carnal prejudices; of attempting to measure the unfathomable depths of God's councils, by their own short and carnal line; and imagining, that all the glorious dispensations of the old and new covenant aimed at nothing more than the exalting of their nation above all others, and setting up a people to reign paramount over the whole world; who, of all others, if we may rely on the authority of an unerring judge of mankind [h], shewed themselves the most unworthy of it, and made the most ungrateful use of all his blessings and special promises?

A TRUE sense and acknowlegement of this, seems indeed to be all that is intimated in the scriptures to be wanting in them to hasten their conversion and recal: but how can they be ever induced to it, as long as that pernicious prejudice, in favour of their talmudic notion of a temporal and conquering Messiah, remains rooted and cherished in their minds? How shall they be convinced, that the promised Messiah really appeared in the true character, exact time, and true office, in which he had been delineated by the ancient oracles (and yet all other methods of converting them must appear ridiculous and ineffectual, till that capital point is fully proved to them), whilst their own melancholy state, and a wretched exile and servitude of near two thousand years, so sadly convinces them of the contrary; and that the greatest part of those extraordinary promises, so clearly revealed by the prophetic, and so gloriously displayed in almost every page of the talmudic writings, and were to make up the most distinguishing parts of the Messiah's reign, not only unfulfilled by every circumstance of their long captivity, but contradicted and confuted; the *Jewish* nation become the scorn and contempt, instead of the lords and rulers of the whole world; their city, instead of becoming the joy and glory of the whole earth, by the magnificence of the Messiah's court, and the vast inlargement of its walls and territories, reduced to a miserable slavery and merciless tribute, under a long series of insulting tyrants, and her once blest inhabitants scattered and vagabonds over the whole surface of it; the temple and sanctuary, instead of being become the centre of God's worship, and the joyful concourse of all nations, laid

Averseness to a spiritual Messiah and kingdom.

[h] See Matth. xi. 21, & seq.

level

level with the duſt, and the very ground on which it ſtood prophaned by the falſe reſpect paid to it by their worſt enemies the Chriſtians and *Turks*, inſtead of that additional extent, and unparallelled improvements which were promiſed to it under the eye and direction of the Meſſiah, and are ſo minutely deſcribed by the prophet *Ezekiel*, elegantly delineated by the Talmud?

THIS laſt particular, relating to the temple of *Jeruſalem*, and the additional extent, and other extraordinary embelliſhments it was to receive in that reign, we purpoſely mention, not only as it is one of the ſtrongeſt intrenchments the *Jews* fly to when hardly preſſed upon, but as it will obviate an objection which may ſtart into our reader's mind; *viz.* if this pretended authority of the Talmud be the main foundation of the *Jewiſh* obſtinacy, and rejection of a ſpiritual reign and deliverance, how come the Karaites, lately mentioned, who expreſs ſo great an abhorrence to that book, to perſiſt in the ſame infidelity with them, and not rather yield to the teſtimony of the *Hebrew* text, and acknowlege the Chriſtian Meſſiah, on the irrefragable evidence which he gave of his being really ſuch, and of his having amply fulfilled all that the law and the prophets had written concerning him?

Karaites not yet converted.

BUT here it muſt be obſerved, that though thoſe Karaites did wholly reject all the pretended traditions and legends of the Talmudiſts, in other reſpects they were as rank *Jews*, that is, as carnal, and as ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with the prejudice of a temporal Meſſiah, and of the peculiar bleſſings which their nation was to enjoy under his reign, as the moſt zealous Talmudiſts; and tho' they did not underſtand the prophecies concerning it in that groſs and carnal ſenſe that they did, yet a temporal and glorious Meſſiah they did and do ſtill expect, who was to bring the whole world under his obedience, and fill it with the knowlege of God, of his laws, and his worſhip; and, upon their due obſervance of theſe, was to diſpenſe to them a fulneſs of all ſpiritual and temporal bleſſings, whilſt the ſtubborn and recuſants were to be puniſhed with a total excluſion from both.

Carnal fondneſs for a temporal reign;

THIS is the ſenſe in which they underſtood that future reign, and the glory with which it was to be accompanied: but this did not hinder their adhering to the old prejudice, that their nation would paramount above all others, reinhabit the portion of their forefathers, be neareſt of all to the city of *Jeruſalem*, enlarge their borders in proportion to their increaſe, and be abundantly ſupplied with every thing that was neceſſary for life, delight, or grandeur, by the voluntary

and the reſtoration of the temple, &c.

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tary tribute of all the nations round about them: but above all, they firmly believed, and still do with the Talmudists, that the temple and sanctuary shall be rebuilt and enlarged in proportion to the vast increase of its votaries; the sacrifices and festivals, and other *Mosaic* rites, be revived, and resorted to by all the people of the earth, and perpetuated to the end of time. In the full hope and expectation of all which changes and blessings, they think themselves sufficiently supported by the sacred text; particularly by the writings of the prophets, especially *Ezekiel* [1], without having recourse to the fabulous legends of the Talmud, much less to that pretended superior authority, which is impiously ascribed to it by its adherers, and was calculated merely to invalidate that of the *Hebrew* text, and the proofs drawn from it against them and their temporal reign; from which *Mohammed* hath, in all probability, fetched the greatest part of the materials of his carnal paradise. Our readers, therefore, we hope, will not be displeased, if we here subjoin a short sketch of the said temple and its dimensions, its economy, worship, and offerings of the tribes, their situation about, and with respect to, *Jerusalem, &c.* according to the prophetic delineation of it, divested of all its talmudic embellishments, and rabbinic reveries; and in the order in which not only the Karaite *Jews*, but many very learned, and, in other respects, orthodox Christians, believe they will be disposed by the Messiah, at his first coming, according to the former; but at his second, according to the latter, or, as these term it, his millenarian reign upon earth. And we think, moreover, this system, or opinion, so much the more worthy a place in this close of the *History of the* Jews *Dispersion*, inasmuch as the pains which some zealous Christians have taken to explode it, and every argument they have urged against it out of the *New Testament*, hath proved an unsurmountable obstacle to their conversion, and been treated by them as a manifest contradiction to some of the plainest prophecies of the *Old*. It was doubtless this consideration, which induced so many fathers of the church, who were neither sectaries nor heretics, but men of piety, judgment, and learning, to embrace and defend that notion, long enough before the compiling of the Talmud; and which, though then very rife among the *Jews*, as may be seen by some of their apocryphal books [k], they were far enough from embracing out of complaisance to them, much

and all nations coming to its worship.

Several learned Christians of that opinion.

[1] Ezech. & Isai. ub. sup. [k] Vid. int. al. 2. Esdras, iv. 35, & seq. vi. 18, & seq. Tobit, xiii. 9, & seq.

less

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leſs from founding it upon their authority, as has been unjuſtly ſuggeſted, but chiefly believed it on that of the prophetic ones of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, we mean *Ezekiel* and the *Apocalypſe* [l], and other collateral proofs from the canonical books of both. The misfortune was, that *Papias*, biſhop of *Hierapolis*, and formerly a diſciple of St. *John*, who is ſuppoſed the firſt who wrote in defence of that ſecond reign, adopted into it, probably in order to allure the *Jews* to acknowlege Chriſt to be the true Meſſiah, ſundry of their ſelfiſh prejudices and carnal notions; which being found moſtly antiſcriptural, or at beſt, founded only on the allegorical expreſſions concerning it, brought the very notion of it into contempt among the Chriſtians, and, by the fatal ſpirit of oppoſition, drove the oppoſers of it into the other extreme; and, in ſpite of all his arguments in favour of it, and pretenſions that he had received it from the apoſtles, to deride, and treat it as chimerical, and a forgery of the arch heretic *Cerinthus* [m]; though, in fact, had they examined it with that candor and impartiality which the ſubject deſerved, they would have found, that it wanted nothing but to be ſtripped of all thoſe traditionary *Jewiſh* conceits, to make it appear more truly ſcriptural, and better founded than that of his opponents and cenſurers, as will more fully appear by the following delineation of its moſt remarkable tranſactions relating to, and foretold of, it.

Founded on the ſcriptural prophecies;

and diſplayed.

FIRST then, if we ſeriouſly examine that notable prophecy, wherein Chriſt's reign is ſo elegantly diſplayed, and the compleat return of *Judah* and *Iſrael* (Z) into their own land, and Ezekiel under

[l] Ezech. xxxix, & ſeq. Iſai. ii. paſſ. Apocal. xx. 2, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. [m] Vid. EUSEB. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. c. 28, & 39. Vid. & DUPIN diſſert. in Apocal. & al. pl.

(Z) The words of the prophet are theſe (5), after having prefaced that wonderful tranſaction under the moſt beautiful alluſion of a reſurrection of dry bones, re-cloathed with ſkin and fleſh (6), "Thus ſaith "the Lord God; behold, I "will take the children of *Iſ-* "*rael* from among the hea- "then, whither they are gone; "and I will gather them on "every ſide, or from every "place, and bring them into "their own land. And I will "make them one nation in "the land, upon the mountains "of *Iſrael*, and one king ſhall "reign over them all; and they "ſhall be no longer two na- "tions, nor be divided into "two kingdoms any more. "Neither ſhall they defile "themſelves any more with "their

(5) Ch. xxxvii. paſſ. (6) Ibid. ver. 1, & ſeq.

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under his conduct, so distinctly specified, we shall be forced to own, that it cannot, without the greatest violence to its plain and obvious meaning, be restrained to those small numbers which came back from the *Babylonish* captivity; and was by the *Jews* themselves compared, with respect to the rest, to the bran of the nation, and the flour to those that staid behind [n]: much less still can those few stragglers from among the ten other tribes, which are supposed to have come up with them [o], be supposed, in any sense, to include all that the prophet meant by the return of the complete tribes of the *Israelites*; or the fluctuating state the *Jewish* church and common-wealth hath been in ever since that time, answer the glorious and permanent one, which God expressly promises them in that chapter [p]. We must therefore either look for the completion of that promise to some future period, or elude the force of it by such allegorical explication, as will hardly be admitted by any candid Christian, and must be despised by a *Jew*.

and the complete return of the Israelites.

Division of the land.

THE same may be said with respect to the other particulars, which were to dignify the Messiah's reign; such as dividing the land between the twelve tribes, and assigning to them particular lots and stations, with respect to their city and temple: according to which disposition, that of the priests was to be on the north, and that of the levites on the south; and between these two was the temple to be built, and, at a due distance round about it, the city of *Jerusalem*.

Portion of the priests, &c.

This portion, which the prophet stiles תרומה *terumah*, and our version rightly translates *oblation* [q], was to compose a square of 20,000 measures; which, if we reckon by the cubit only,

[n] See Ant. Hist. vol. x. p. 180. [o] Ibid. & seq.
[p] Ezech. xxxvii. 24, & seq. Vid. & Isa. xl. 11. Jerem. xxv. 3, & alib. pass. [q] Ezech. xlv. 2, & seq.

" their idols, &c.—And *Da-*
" *vid* my servant shall be their
" king, and they all shall have
" one shepherd (7); and they
" shall dwell in the land that
" I gave unto *Jaacob*—where-
" in your fathers have dwelt
" —they and their children for
" ever; and my servant *David*
" shall be their prince for ever.
" Moreover, I will make an
" everlasting covenant of peace
" with them, and I will settle
" and multiply them, and set
" up my sanctuary in the midst
" of them for evermore—And
" the heathen shall know, that
" I the LORD do sanctify *Is-*
" *rael*, when my sanctuary
" shall be in the midst of them
" for evermore (8)."

(7) *Ibid.* ver. 21, *et seq.* (8) *Ibid.* ver. 26, *ad fin.*

will

will amount to above eight miles on every ſide (A); of which portion, that of the prieſts on the north is to be 25,000 long, and 10,000 broad; or above eight miles in length, and about three and a quarter in breadth, and will be equal to that of all the reſt of the tribe of *Levi* on the ſouth, in which ſtood mount *Zion*, the place on which the temple is to be built. The other intermediate ſpace between thoſe two, will probably be the city of *Jeruſalem*, and its ſuburbs, each according to their reſpective dimenſions, mentioned in the prophecy, as well as the portion of land by which its inhabitants, who are to conſiſt of a proportionable number out of the Chriſtian tribes, are to be maintained [r].

THE city, which is likewiſe to be of a ſquare form, is to have twelve gates, three on every ſide, according to the number of tribes that inhabit it, and which are to be called by their names. The ſtreets, which will probably run in ſtrait lines, like thoſe of *Babylon*, from gate to gate, will divide the city into ſixteen ſquares, each having ſtreets running to all the gates, will render it exceedingly airy, healthy, and commodious, not only to its inhabitants, as well as to that vaſt concourſe of the other *Iſraelites* from all parts of *Paleſtine*, to the ſolemn feſtivals of the temple, but much more ſtill for that multiplicity of nations that were to reſort thither, at proper ſeaſons, from all parts of the world, to the worſhip of the true God [s].

THUS far we have ſeen how the firſt diviſion of the land was to be made, and what portion the prieſts and *Levites* were to have in it in this reign of the Meſſiah. We ſhould be led too far, were we to go through the ſame examen of the portions of the other tribes, of which that of *Judah*, (which was to lay north of that of the prieſts, as that of *Benjamin* was to be on the ſouth of that of the *Levites*) was

[r] Ibid. ch. xlviii. 15, & ſeq.

[s] De his, vid. Zechar. viii. 20, & ſeq. xiv. ib. & al.

(A) The text doth not ſpecify which, whether feet, cubits, or reeds: our *Engliſh* verſion ſuppoſes it by the laſt; which, if right, will increaſe the largeneſs of the ſquare in proportion: but we think a cubit is more probably meant, ſeeing, that even according to the *Jewiſh* meaſure, which is twenty inches and three-quarters, the whole will extend to above eight miles on every ſide, which may be deemed a ſufficient allotment; whereas reeds, or even yards, would ſtretch it to an immoderate largeneſs (9).

(9) *De hoc cubit. vid. Ezech.* xl. 5. xliii. 13, *et alib.*

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to be by far the largeſt, excepting that of the Meſſiah, which was to be by much the moſt conſiderable of all; as extending itſelf weſtward the whole length of the kingdom, quite to the great, or *Mediterranean* ſea; and on the eaſt, quite to the river *Jordan*. The remainder of the land was next to be divided between the other tribes, in proportion to their numerouſneſs; and with this proviſo, that there was likewiſe a ſufficient quantity to be ſet apart for the encouragement and benefit of their proſelytes of either claſs [t].

THIS diſtribution of the land, according to the divine appointment, by which every man, or maſter of a family, was to know the extent of his poſſeſſions, was to be ſettled by the principal article of all, the building of the temple, according to the plan and dimenſions given to the prophet by God [u]; but not now upon mount *Moriah*, where thoſe of *Solomon* and *Zorobabel* had ſtood, but upon mount *Zion*, the place he had now made choice of for the habitation of his glory, and to which all nations were to repair, to pay their vows and adoration to him [w], in common with the twelve tribes; whence it is elegantly ſtiled by the Pſalmiſt, the joy and wonder of the whole earth [x]; and is by him, and ſeveral other prophets, marked out for the centre of his future religion and worſhip, for all nations and people to repair to. It was moreover the higheſt hill in *Jeruſalem*, and conſequently the fitteſt to diſplay the magnificence of that ſtructure, which was to be erected upon it, to the greateſt advantage. We ſhall, however, diſpenſe with troubling our readers with the farther particulars of it, as delineated by the prophet, which they may ſee at large in the authors quoted in the margin [y], it being ſufficient to our preſent purpoſe, that no ſuch edifice hath been erected on that mount; and we may add, nor any part of the prophecy above-mentioned, either with reſpect to the complete return of the twelve tribes, the diviſion of the land among them, *&c.* has been ever literally fulfilled, from the time of their prediction to this day: much leſs was it after the return of the *Jews* from *Babylon*, to which this whole prophecy is pretended to relate; for during that period, the tribe of *Judah*, to whom the poor remains of the regal dignity belonged, was ſo far

[t] De his, vid. Anc. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 115, 117, & 119, (M). See alſo Ezech. xlvii. 22, & ſeq. [u] Ezech. xliii. 1—10. xliv. 1—5. [w] Pſ l. 2. lxv. 1. xlviii. 2. [x] Pſ. lxxvi. 2, & ſeq. lxxviii. 69, & ſeq. lxxxvii. paſſ. & alib. plur. See alſo Micah iv. 7. Joel iii. 17, 21. Zech. viii. 3. Iſai. iv. 5, & al. pl.
[y] NEWTON Chronol. WHISTON, preface to his Verſ. of Joſeph. & al.

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from having the largeſt portion allotted to it, that it ſcarcely enjoyed the ſhadow of it, and that too under a hard ſervitude to the *Babylonians*; and to ſum up all, was even ſtripped of that ſhadow by the warlike *Maccabees*, and never recovered it from that time; and as to what degree of obſcurity and poverty the houſe and deſcendents of *David*, from whom the Meſſiah was to ſpring, were reduced, by jealouſy and hatred of the *Idumean* tyrants, eſpecially *Herod* the Great, the abject condition into which the whole kindred of that Divine Redeemer was plunged at the time of his birth, ſufficiently ſhews. So that this large promiſed portion of the tribe of *Judah*, and of that principal branch of it, the houſe of *David*, plainly appears to have been wholly poſſeſſed, and ſwallowed up, during this whole period, (that is, from their return from *Babylon* to the birth of Chriſt) one while by the prieſtly tribe, and during the remainder of it, by utter ſtrangers.

BUT what doth farther demonſtrate, beyond all contradiction, that this reſtauration of the *Iſraelitiſh* church and commonwealth, ſo amply deſcribed by the prophet, cannot in any ſenſe be applied to their return from *Babylon*, is, that he uſhers it in with a complete victory gained over ſome inveterate and powerful tyrant, whom he names *Gog* [z], in the land of *Magog*, and ſtiles chief prince of *Meſhech* and *Tubal*; which victory was to pave a way, not to their entrance and re-poſſeſſion of their land, but to that peace and happineſs which they were to enjoy in conſequence of it, and to thoſe bleſſed changes, and glorious improvements, which were to eſtabliſh their religion and commonwealth on a moſt laſting baſis [a] under the Meſſiah. We ſhall not here enter into a tedious enquiry about the prince and country, intimated by the names of *Gog* and *Magog*, *Tubal* and *Meſhech* (B); it being ſufficient for our preſent purpoſe, to obſerve, that

[z] Ezech. xxxviii. 2, & ſeq. [a] Ibid. ch. xxxix, et ſeq. paſſ.

(B) It will not, however, be foreign to our ſubject, to obſerve, that in the language of the *Old Teſtament*, thoſe nations, commonly called the northern *Celtes* and *Scythians*, are underſtood by the deſcendants of *Gomer*, the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet*, and of *Magog* his ſecond ſon (10), as we have plainly ſhewn in a former part of this work (11), whilſt *Madai*, *Javan*, *Tubal*, *Meſhech*, &c. formed other branches of that numerous family, which firſt inhabited thoſe northern regions of *Tartary Scythia*, and extended

(10) *Geneſ.* x. 2. (11) *See Anc Hiſt. vol.* vi. *p.* 1, *et ſeq et alib. paſſ.*

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that the *Jews*, at their return from *Babylon*, were neither under a neceſſity, nor indeed in a condition, to wage a war againſt ſo powerful an enemy, but were diſmiſſed from their captivity, and ſent back in their own country by an imperial decree [b], which abſolutely forbad, and excluded all oppoſition to their entrance into it, and re-poſſeſſed it accordingly without any obſtruction, but what was afterwards occaſioned by their refuſal to admit the *Samaritans* to join with them in the ſervice of God, and rebuilding of the temple [c]. But this ſquabble can have no relation to their war with *Gog*, hinted at by the prophet; the one being a ſervile obſcure people, under the ſame ſubjection with the *Jews*, and the other a powerful prince, and inveterate enemy, to whom they gave a total and final overthrow, whilſt the former never ceaſed plaguing and annoying them with the bittereſt hoſtilities, all the time they continued in their neighbourhood.

MANY, therefore, have underſtood this victory and reſtauration of that glorious ſtate, which the *Jews* enjoyed under the *Maccabees*, and the many ſignal victories which they gained over *Antiochus*, and other enemies of their nation [d], as well as that over their great perſecutor *Ptolomy Philopater*; and that they were the enemies intimated by the prophet, under the name of *Gog* [e]. But beſides that neither thoſe *Syrian* and *Egyptian* tyrants, rightly ſquare with the ſcriptural meaning of the names, and other expreſſions in the prophecy, as we have ſhewn in the laſt note, there is one irrefragable objection againſt that ſuppoſition, *viz.* that the tribe of *Judah*, according to the prophecy, was to be paramount above all the reſt, and to have by far the largeſt

[b] De hoc, vid. Ezra, 1 paſſ. p. 184, & ſeq. & (L). Anc. Hiſt. vol. x. p. 263, & ſeq.

[c] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. x.

[d] 2 Maccab. iv. & ſeq. vid. &

[e] Ibid. p. 398, & ſeq.

themſelves quite through *Muſcovy*, *Sarmatia*, &c according to their ſeniority, and left everywhere ſome footſteps of their ancient names and families, through which the learned and indefatigable *Bochart* hath been at the pains to trace them (12). The generality of the learned *Jews*, who are not infected with the romantic legends of their Talmud, are of the ſame mind; and as the *Turks* are now univerſally allowed to be the deſcendants of theſe northern patriarchs (13), they underſtand by this defeat of *Gog*, the total overthrow of the *Othman* empire (under whoſe yoke they have ſo long groaned) in the reign of their promiſed Meſſiah, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel.

(12) *Phaleg.* (13) *See Anc. Hiſt. vol.* xx. *p.* 6, *et ſeq.* xvii. 3, *et ſeq. See alſo before, vol.* iv. 1, *et ſeq.*

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allotment; whereas, as we lately obſerved, in the period above ſuppoſed they were ſtripped of both by the *Maccabitiſh* princes, and languiſhed in an obſcure and ſervile ſubjection to thoſe politic chiefs. Upon all theſe accounts, the generality of Chriſtian commentators, both ancient and modern, have choſen to take the words *Gog* and *Magog*, in this place, and the Apocalypſe [f], in an allegorical ſenſe, and to ſignify the enemies of the *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian church; whilſt the whole *Jewiſh* nation, being more attached to the letter of it, as being more ſuited to their carnal minds and worldly views, firmly believe the nation meant by *Gog*, &c. to be that of the *Turks*, long ſince in poſſeſſion of their wiſhed-for *Canaan*, and holding them under a ſevere ſubjection, and wait impatiently for the happy completion of the latter part, by the total ſubverſion of that powerful empire, by the irreſiſtible arm of their Meſſiah; who having once wholly deſtroyed thoſe enemies of their nation and law, will then complete the remainder of the prophet's prediction, and raiſe their church and commonwealth to that ſummit of power and glory, opulence and perpetuity, which is there promiſed by God [g].

THIS is the general belief, and firm expectation, not only of all the Talmudiſts, but of all the learned and ſober *Jews*; and what hath ſupported them through ſuch unheard-of perſecutions, and other misfortunes, ever ſince their diſperſion. From what we have hitherto ſaid on that ſubject, our readers will eaſily judge, that it is not founded on the authority of an uncertain and exploded tradition, much leſs on the legendary dreams of its numerous herd of biaſſed interpreters and commentators, but upon the indiſputable evidence of an expreſs prophecy, explained and interpreted in all its various circumſtances, according to the plain and obvious ſenſe of the ſacred text. The only misfortune is, that a too fond and ſelfiſh prejudice, in favour of a temporal and conquering Meſſiah, hath ſadly miſled them to underſtand all the many promiſed bleſſings of his reign in too literal and carnal a ſenſe, inſtead of that more noble and exalted one, which the genius of their language, and the nature of thoſe prophetical allegories, they are couched under, both in this and other prophetic writers, might be juſtly deemed to imply. And it was from this, and other ſuch groſs prejudices and conceits, that Chriſt, the true Meſſiah, the Light

[f] Ch. xx. 7. [g] Vid. ESPERANZA D'ISRAEL, and the generality of Jewiſh comments on the above prophecy. Jos. MEDE on the Apocalypſe, ad fin. et al. plur.

of the world, and minister of the new promised spiritual covenant [h], strove in vain to deliver them, upon the testimony of the scripture, as well as by his own authority and example; though this last, which should have proved the most powerful antidote against it, had they paid a due regard to either, served only to harden them the more in it.

NEITHER indeed could it happen otherwise, seeing the least degree of conviction, of his being that promised Messiah, must have effectually deterred them from accomplishing the determinate council of God, in condemning him to an ignominious death [i]. But then, as nothing but a firm persuasion of the contrary could have emboldened them to pronounce that unjust sentence against him, to which their fatal prejudice furnished them with a sufficient number of pretences; so their blindness and ignorance of the profound mystery of his suffering, was to be no longer pleaded as an excuse for it, than till that was more fully proved by the event, and confirmed by such irrefragable proofs, as it actually was after his resurrection, by himself and his apostles; for if after all this additional evidence they still refused to acknowlege him in his suffering character; if, still allured by the glaring prospect of a glorious temporal kingdom, or disgusted by their carnal prejudice, from accepting of that more exalted and spiritual one that was offered to them, they became equally guilty, as if they had wilfully and knowingly murdered him, and actually ratified (as they continue still to do to this very day) the sentence they had pronounced against themselves, *His blood be upon us and our children* [k], by breeding and confirming these by all possible, and even by the foulest means, in the same fatal unbelief, and abhorrence of him and his gospel [l].

WE have now gone through with our promised enquiry into the true causes of the *Jews* unbelief; and have, we hope, set forth their principal objections, prejudices, and other obstacles to their conversion, with all the candour and impartiality that the subject demands, and with that brevity which our stated bounds oblige us to. Some others we might have added, no less obstructive to it; such as their over-bearing confidence on their election, and being the offspring of *Abraham* [m], and of their being justified by the works of the law, and not by the righteousness of faith [n]; and this, even to the monstrous neglect of the moral law,

[h] Deuter. xviii. 15. John i. 9, et seq. [i] Conf. Acts ii. 23. iii. 17, et seq. [k] Matth. xxvii. 25. [l] See before, p. 466, & alib. pass. [m] Rom. ii. pass. 28, et seq. viii. 3, et seq. ix. 31, et seq. et alib. pl. [n] Ibid.

justice,

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juſtice, mercy, charity, *&c.* [9]. But of all theſe, they are ſo clearly charged and cenſured in the goſpel, that it were needleſs for us to inſiſt longer upon them: and therefore, to thoſe ſtubborn obſtacles, already mentioned, we ſhall now, in juſtice to them, add a few more, no leſs powerful and cogent, which have been as unhappily as injudiciouſly laid in their way, from the time of their laſt diſperſion, by thoſe fathers and doctors of the Chriſtian church, who have moſt zealouſly endeavoured to convert them.

VARIOUS were the ways and methods which theſe pious primitive preachers tried, according as their temper, genius, and courſe of ſtudies, led them, to reconcile both the bulk of the *Jewiſh* nation, and eſpecially their new converts, to the perſon and character of Chriſt, and the true nature of his ſpiritual reign and ſublime doctrine, from the earlieſt ages of Chriſtianity; but few, if any, which did not rather tend to confirm them in their innate hatred againſt the one, and contempt of the other. They ſoon began to be divided likewiſe about the treatment they ought to uſe towards them; more eſpecially after their diſperſion; the warmer ſort obſerving them to perſiſt in their inveterate obſtinacy, and looking upon them as rebels to God, betrayers and murderers of his Son, the blaſphemers of his name and goſpel, the aſperſers of his character, memory, lineage, and miracles, by the blackeſt calumnies and forgeries, looked upon all the miſeries which attended their exile, as juſt judgments for their unbelief, and obſtructing the propagation of Chriſtianity, and thought they could not be treated with too great ſeverity, contempt, and even abhorrence. Some went ſo far as to charge them with the irremiſſible ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and of courſe pronounced them irrecoverably loſt, and doomed to the divine diſpleaſure both here and for ever. In conſequence of which, and in violation of the divine and human laws, they declared them, in regard to the reſt of mankind, unworthy of enjoying either liberty, or any ſocial right; eſpecially that of bringing up their own children; which ought in charity to be ſnatched from them, as brands out of the fire, and be educated in the principles of Chriſtianity; no mercy was to be ſhewn to the parents that refuſed to deliver them up for that purpoſe, or ſecreted them to avoid it, ſeeing that was the only likely means to put an end to their incredulity, and to bring, in time, their whole poſterity into the Chriſtian church.

[9] Matth. xxiii. 23, et ſeq. Luke xi. 39, et ſeq. et alib. paſſ.

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OTHERS, on the contrary, weighing the matter with more becoming charity and impartial coolneſs, and reflecting ſeriouſly on thoſe prophecies, not only of the *Old Teſtament*, but on the prediction of Chriſt and his apoſtles, particularly St. *Paul*, which promiſed them a recall, and univerſal converſion to the goſpel, and that all *Iſrael* at length ſhould be ſaved (C), did not only condemn, with a true Chriſtian zeal, all ſuch violent and unjuſt treatment, as point-blank oppoſite to the ſpirit of the goſpel, but clearly confuted the falſe and uncharitable ſurmiſes of their pretended total rejection, from the plain and obvious ſenſe of thoſe predictions; in conſequence of which, they judged, on the contrary, that

(C) We have had occaſion to mention already ſome of thoſe remarkable prophecies, and more particularly that expreſs and irrefragable one of *Ezekiel*, concerning their return and re-eſtabliſhment in *Judea* (14). That of the prophet *Hoſea* is no leſs pregnant of the ſame kind of promiſes; where, after having elegantly deſcribed their long and dreadful captivity, under the figure of a people deſtitute of their king, prieſts, ſacrifices, and altars, and other exterior marks of worſhip, concludes at length with theſe words: *Afterwards ſhall the children of* Iſrael *return, and ſeek the Lord their God, and* DAVID *their king* (15). By which laſt, both *Jews* and Chriſtians rightly underſtand the Meſſiah, or promiſed deliverer.

Accordingly, the apoſtle having affirmed that all *Iſrael* ſhould be ſaved, after their long rejection to make room for the gentiles (16), adds in the ſame verſe, that their promiſed deliverer ſhould come out of *Zion*; or, as ſome underſtand it, as more appoſite to the apoſtle's deſigns (17), ſhould come to *Zion*, the mountain now on which (and not that of *Moriah* as formerly) the new temple, whether to be underſtood ſpiritually or literally, was to remain, during the Meſſiah's reign, as we lately ſhewed: which Meſſiah, St. *Peter* tells the *Jews* of his time (18), *the heavens muſt receive, until the time of the reſtitution of all things, when the time of refreſhing ſhall come from the preſence of the Lord; when he ſhall ſend Jeſus Chriſt, which had been formerly preached unto you* (19); and then will that prediction of the redeemer be accompliſhed. *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, you ſhall ſee me no more, until the time come when ye ſhall ſay, Bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord* (20). Many other places might be quoted to prove this reſtoration, but theſe we hope will be ſufficient for our purpoſe.

(14) *Ezek. ch.* xxxvii. *et ſeq. paſſ. See before, p.* 479, *&ſeq.* (15) *Hoſea*, iii. 4 *et* 5. (16) *Rom.* xi. 25. *et ſeq.* (17) *Joſ. Mede, Jurieu. Baſnag. et al.* (18) *Acts* iii. 21. (19) *Acts* iii. 19, *&ſeq.* (20) *Luke* xiii. *verſ. ult.*

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no kind uſage, careſſes, or encouragements, ought to be neglected, to allure them to the goſpel.

THESE oppoſite opinions and methods were ſtrenuouſly maintained and put in practice by their reſpective partiſans; and each ſide had for ſome time the pleaſure of being attended with a ſurpriſing ſucceſs; and that the deſperate ſtate the whole *Jewiſh* nation then groaned under, had ſo far rendered them equally ſuſceptible of both, that each greatly contributed to the daily increaſe of their new converts; and thoſe which could not be deterred by the threats and ſeverity of the one, were yet eaſily allured by the careſſes and generous treatment of the other, into a ſeemingly zealous converſion to Chriſtianity.

IT was not long, however, before both ſides had the mortification to ſee their pretended Neophites degenerate, ſome into vile and imbittered apoſtates, and others into blaſphemous ſcoffers of every thing that was held ſacred and holy by the Chriſtians; and that more eſpecially, whenever the church, whether the *Latin* or *Greek*, laboured under the diſpleaſure of, or a perſecution from, the ſecular power; and they gladly beheld themſelves at full liberty, not only to relapſe and apoſtatize, but to vent their moſt invenomed rancour againſt Chriſt and his religion, by ſuch horrid curſes and blaſphemies, as eaſily convinced the world that they ſtill retained, under the ſpecious cloke of proſelytiſm, the ſame obdurate and invincible averſeneſs againſt the goſpel and its profeſſors.

THIS plain and open perfidy of theirs, of which we have given ſo many pregnant inſtances through the courſe of this chapter, and to which they were either driven by the ſevere, or allured by the generous treatment which they met with from both clergy and laity, could not fail of awaking their diffidence, and diſlike of all ſuch forced and indirect converſions. Accordingly, ſome councils were convened, both by the *Latin* and *Greek* patriarchs, and ſundry wiſe precautions enacted by both, to prevent all ſuch ſcandalous abuſes for the future. One of them was, that they ſhould not be admitted to baptiſm, but kept as catechumens till they had given ſufficient proof of the ſincerity of their converſion; and another, that ſome bounds ſhould be put to that profuſe liberality, which uſually accompanied their admiſſion into the church, leſt that ſhould ſtill prove an inducement to a poiſonous vermin to creep into her boſom. In other reſpects they were ordered to treat them with kindneſs, and a compaſſionate regard to their ignorance and prejudices of education, and to avoid every thing that might give them a diſguſt to the goſpel,

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gospel, or revive their native fondness for the more pompous and delightful rites of the *Mosaic* law. But these wholsome injunctions did not long continue in force, before their old jealousies awakened again, too probably, by the untoward behaviour of their proselytes, and obliged them, especially those of the *Greek* church, to have recourse to different measures, and such as, how expedient soever they might then think them, will, we doubt not, appear very injudiciously calculated, either to assure the church of their sincerity, or to confirm them in the faith they were going to profess, as the reader will see by the sketch we shall here subjoin of them, taken out of their own formularies (D).

1. THEY were first of all to make them protest in the most solemn manner, that their desire to become Christians was entirely free from all wordly views, and uninfluenced by any secular hopes or fears; that neither poverty nor violence, nor the desire of riches or honours, or any other sinister motive, had any share in their conversion. 2. They were in the same solemn manner to protest themselves guiltless of any crime or misdemeanour, which might render them obnoxious to the punishment of the law, and make them seek to avoid it by their change of religion. 3. They were obliged to abjure every branch of the *Jewish* worship; the observation of the passover, unleavened bread, the sabbath, and other *Jewish* festivals, their fasts, *&c.* 4. They obliged them to anathematise all the various sects of the *Jews*, not excepting that

(D) *Cotelerius* mentions two of these formularies, the one inserted in the *Greek* ritual, and another he found in the *French* king's library, which is of a later date, and contains some articles of abjuration which are not in the former (21); and amongst them, that mentioned above, under the head of their disculpating themselves from having incurred any civil punishment. But the most remarkable is that whereby they oblige the convert to profess his full and sincere belief of transubstantiation, in the following terms: "I believe that the "bread and wine, mystically "consecrated by the Christi-"ans, are the body and blood "of Christ, which are thus "changed by his Divine Power, "intellectually and invisibly, "and above all possible con-"ception, and only known "unto himself." From these two articles, but especially from the last, of which there is not the least hint in the old *Greek* ritual, it may be reasonably inferred, that new ones were added to the old ones, according to the exigence of the time (22).

(21) *Ordo et Catechism. ex Hebræis ap. Goar. Buinag. Hist. des Juifs, lib. ix. cap. xlix. §. 8.*

(22) *De his, vid.*

of

of the Phariſees; together with their ſuperſtitious waſhing of pots, and other veſſels, and all their other traditions. They made them likewiſe anathematiſe all that obſerved the feaſt of *Purim*, or of *Eſther* [p], and the author of another called *Monopodana*, or more probably ſome *Jewiſh* dance in that way. To theſe they added the names of four other infamous villains of their nation; and above all, that of the Meſſiah whom the *Jews* expect; that is, according to their ſenſe of it, Antichriſt, that is to appear at the end of the world. 5. The Neophite was to make a public confeſſion of his Chriſtian faith, to which they added or changed ſome of the articles, as the time, or the preſent occaſion, required. 5. The whole ceremony was concluded with a proteſtation of his ſincerity; and wiſhing that if he was not really ſo, if he entertained the leaſt deſire in his heart of returning to his old *Judaiſm*, or held any converſe with thoſe that perſiſt in it, either by going to their ſynagogues, or even eating and drinking with them, that all the curſes of the law, the guilt and trembling of *Cain*, the leproſy of *Gehazi*, *&c.* might fall upon his head, and that his ſoul might go to the devil.

THE *Latin* made likewiſe ſundry wholſome regulations concerning their converts, in ſeveral of their ſynodical councils; yet all too weak to put an effectual ſtop to thoſe abuſes, and to the juſt ſuſpicion which their behaviour frequently gave them of their ſincerity: and hence proceeded thoſe pathetic complaints, and bitter indictments exhibited againſt them on the one hand, and the ſevere treatment which they brought upon themſelves by their perfidy and hypocriſy, on the other. They found indeed, in ſome countries, a more effectual expedient to aſſure themſelves of the ſincerity of thoſe converts, particularly in *France* and *England*, where, immediately after their baptiſm, they were ſtripped of all their goods, and reduced to live upon the charity of the clergy and laity, and often forced to beg their bread [q]; the king, and peers of the realm, not only countenancing that injuſtice, but being partakers of the fruits of it; if that was not done rather to deter them from embracing Chriſtianity, as it is likely too many did merely from ſuch ſiniſter motives (E).

UPON

[p] De hac, vid. Anc. Hiſt. vol. iii. 34. [q] De hoc, vid. CAROLI vii. letter, ap. Mabil. annal. & Baſnag, ub. ſup. ch. 33. (X).

(E) This abuſe, it ſeems, of as long ſtanding as it was was a practice amongſt them, univerſal; inſomuch, that the emperor

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UPON the whole, the experience of above ſixteen centuries hath ſufficiently ſhewn, what right unbiaſſed reaſon might have ſuggeſted to every thinking Chriſtian, concerning theſe two oppoſite ways of converting this hardened and carnal people; *viz.* that how well and piouſly ſoever deſigned they might be, they would prove little better than incentives to the generality of them, to the moſt abominable hypocriſy and flagrant impiety, and a means of alluring, or frighting them, into the feigned worſhip of a divine Meſſiah; whom, far from believing to be ſuch, they abhorred and curſed in their hearts, and would be ready to do ſo openly, whenever they found themſelves in circumſtances to do it with impunity.

WE come now to ſome others, which have been tried for the ſame charitable ends, and which have proved no leſs unſucceſsful and obſtructive to their converſion. One of theſe, which was attempted by ſome learned doctors of the church, was the pretending to prove to them the myſteries of Chriſtianity by the writings of heathen philoſophers; ſuch as thoſe of the Trinity, Incarnation, and death of the WORD, or Meſſiah, *&c.*: for if thoſe philoſophers, who knew nothing of revelation, and followed only the dictates of reaſon, could yet diſcover and believe thoſe myſteries, they concluded from thence, that there could be nothing in them contrary to reaſon, and conſequently, that the *Jews* could have no objection to the belief of them: which way of reaſoning, whatever impreſſion it might make upon a candid Deiſt, could be of no weight to a *Jew*: for beſides the ſingular contempt, which, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, that nation hath always diſcovered for prophane learning [z], it is not from reaſon, but from the ſcriptures, that they fetch their objections againſt thoſe myſteries; and from a multitude of texts, both in the Pentateuch, and other books of the *Old Teſtament*, wherein the unity of God is indicated in the ſtrongeſt and moſt expreſs

[z] See Anc. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 232. (N).

emperor *Arcadius* having obſerved that the greateſt part of them became proſelytes merely to ſkreen themſelves from juſtice, either for crimes, debts, or law-ſuits, enacted a law, forbidding the admiſſion of them into the church, till they had made full ſatisfaction in all thoſe reſpects (23); which law was, in all probability, in force in *Balzamon*'s time, who makes particular mention of it (24).

(23) *Arcad. Cod. Theodoſ. p.* 71. *ap. Baſnag. ub. ſup.*

(24) *Balz. in nomine, Phot. tome* iv.

terms.

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terms. And they are too groſs and ſtupid, as well as averſe to human learning, to underſtand, much leſs to admit of the ſolutions and arguments which have been urged in vindication of, thoſe Divine Myſteries: ſo that the calling in the heathen philoſophers in confirmation of them, from whatever quarter they might have received thoſe extraordinary lights, (which we have not room to enquire into) hath had this malignant effect upon the whole *Jewiſh* nation, that it hath confirmed them in a belief that moſt of the other ſuperſtitious ceremonies which they ſee practiſed in the *Latin* and *Greek* churches, ſuch as the worſhip of images, praying to ſaints, reliques, pilgrimages, and a great number of others, were, like the myſteries above-mentioned, of heatheniſh extract; and, as ſuch, were, with the utmoſt vehemence and zeal, cried down by the unanimous voices of all the *Jews* who aſſiſted at that grand conſultation, of which we have lately given an account [a].

THE ſame ill ſucceſs have the great *Picus de Mirandola*, and other learned Chriſtians, likewiſe met with, who have had recourſe to the *Jewiſh* Kabalah for proofs of thoſe myſteries, as if the authority of the *New Teſtament* was not ſufficient to ſupport itſelf, and them, without the aſſiſtance of ſuch precarious props. How much eaſier and effectual, if any thing can be ſo, againſt a people ſo ſtrongly biaſſed by temporal views and expectations, to have proved to them the Divine Authority of the *New* Teſtament; which is in a great meaſure founded on that of the *Old*; and comes farther confirmed by the numberleſs miracles of its Divine Author and his diſciples, as well as by the irrefragable evidence of his predictions; of which their long diſperſion, and the ruins of their city and temple, are ſuch ſtanding and unqueſtionable monuments. By this method (without the help of ſuch lame auxiliaries as the precarious notions of a *Pythagoras*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Hierocles*, or of the *Sibylline*, and other heathen oracles, and much more of an enthuſiaſtic Kabala) they might have cut the controverſy ſhort, and proved the chief and fundamental point beyond all reply, That the Meſſiah was really come at the predicted time, and that the Chriſt acknowleged by Chriſtians as our Redeemer, is that very Divine Deliverer, ſo promiſed and foretold, both in the law and the prophets.

BUT the moſt injudicious, as well as the moſt unlikely method made uſe of to convert them by the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, but eſpecially by the latter, was the appealing to

[a] See before, p. 428, & ſeq.

their

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their own peculiar miracles; such as were done, or pretended to be wrought, by the intercession of their saints, by crucifixes, reliques, images, and other consecrated places and things; especially by their miraculous host, or consecrated wafer, of which we have given many instances through the course of this chapter; not considering that if they were ever so real, or even were they to see them with their own eyes, they would still retort to them what the *Egyptians* did to *Moses* upon the like occasion, "Thou bringest coals to "*Newcastle*, when thou pretendest to work thy miracles in "a country so plentifully stored with magicians:" for as we have shewn already more than once, there is scarcely a nation in the world that lays a greater claim to them, whether for number, or greatness, than the *Jewish* (F), to counterbalance all that can be alleged against them from any other quarter. Should any one exact from them a greater regard to be paid to the authority of the church legends, than to their fabulous rabbies, they will, besides the obvious retortion one may justly expect to such a demand, immediately recurr to that passage in *Deuteronomy*, wherein they are not only forbid expressly to be seduced by any miracle, how specious or apparently real soever, from the worship of the true God, but even to put that prophet, or worker of the miracle, to death; alledging, that God permits such things to be done in order to prove their faith and obedience [t]. And it is in consequence of this command, that their Talmud, which acknowleges the miracles of Christ, justifies the repulse and

[t] Ch. ix. 1, & seq.

(F) We have had occasion to mention a great number of them, pretended to have been wrought, if not by, yet in favour of, some of their great saints, and eminent doctors, as a testimony from heaven of their exemplary sanctity, and of the profound regard that was due to their writings (25). Such was moreover that which they report to have been wrought at the school of their famed rabbi *Joseph Karos*; not once or twice, but daily; not in the dark, but in open day; not in a corner, but in the presence of a number of other learned rabbies: and of his scholars, who constantly heard a voice from heaven, explaining to them the deepest mysteries of their religion, and were so many authentic witnesses of the miracle; for which, and for his singular piety, and vast erudition, he was stiled *Mopheth Hador*, a prodigy of the age (26).

(25) *See before, p. 26, et seq.* (B), *et alib. pass.* (26) *De hoc, vid. sup. p. 369, sub voc. Vid. a Tod, Khanakah, Shalsheleth, R. Gantz, Wolf. Bibl. Rabin. sub voc. Joseph.*

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ſevere treatment he met with from the Sanhedrin; and that the whole nation is taught to reject all ſuch as falſe evidences, and as deſigned to allure them from the true worſhip of God to their own ruin.

We ſhall paſs over ſeveral other methods which have been tried to convert them; ſuch as the founding of ſeminaries for inſtructing clergymen how to handle a controverſy againſt them, preaching weekly lectures againſt them, and obliging them to be preſent, under ſome penalties, and others of the like kind; all which either proved abortive, or ſerved only to confirm them the more in their prejudices [u]. But upon the whole, we hope we have clearly ſhewn, that of all the obſtacles which our Chriſtian divines, of almoſt every church, have laid in the way to their converſion, that of their ſo ſtiffly denying the ſecond advent of Chriſt, and their univerſal reſtauration, in that glorious manner in which we have ſeen it deſcribed by *Ezechiel*, and confirmed by other prophecies and predictions both of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, hath proved the moſt deterring and inſurmountable to them; inaſmuch as it not only deprives them of all thoſe bleſſed proſpects they are taught to expect from his future reign, but leads them to utter deſpair of ever receiving the leaſt benefit from his coming, much leſs of ever ſeeing the accompliſhment of thoſe glorious promiſes ſo ſolemnly made, and ſo often repeated in the ſacred writings. Inſtead of which, (if all expectations of his ſecond coming, before the great day of judgment, muſt be excluded) their retroſpection of all their paſt miſeries ſerves only to make them look upon him as a moſt ſevere, and all their future ones, as a mercileſs and inexorable judge. This is, at leaſt, the light they imagine all Chriſtians behold their whole nation in, and the ſad and deſperate condition, to which thoſe that deny a ſecond coming and reign of Chriſt, apparently doom them, that do not embrace his goſpel: and can we wonder at their averſeneſs to it, and uſing all poſſible means to diſcredit and oppoſe it, not only among themſelves, but with all other nations? But is that indeed the doctrine of Chriſt and his apoſtles? And doth it really exclude all hopes, all probability, of a recall and reſtauration under him in any ſenſe? Let thoſe look to it, be they of what church or ſect ſoever they will, who maintain ſo uncharitable and antiſcriptural a notion; and, by pretending to found it on the authority of the *New Teſtament*, have added one obſtacle more to all the reſt, to diſguſt and deter them from becoming converts to it.

[u] De his, vid. ſup p. 407, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ.

Thoſe

Thoſe who deſire to ſee this diſputed point ſet in a true light, may, among many others, conſult the authors mentioned in the margin [w]. As for us, whoſe province and narrow limits exempt us from entering into the merits of that controverſy, we think it ſufficient to have pointed out the main cauſes of their unbelief, and the means by which they have, in ſpite of ſo many diſadvantages and diſcouragements, as have attended their long diſperſion, been able to preſerve amongſt them ſo firm and general an expectation of a temporal Meſſiah. Difficulties and diſcouragements, we ſay, not only from the Chriſtians and other nations, but much more from their own doubts and anxieties about that capital point, Whether he was ſtill to come, or was already come.

For however confident of the former they may outwardly appear, when they converſe with Chriſtians, or ſtrangers, (which plainly ſhews how glad they are to catch at a ſhadow of hope, rather than live under the diſmal apprehenſions, which the contrary opinion, as held by the generality of Chriſtian divines, muſt of courſe fill them with) yet there can be no greater proof of their extreme perplexity about it, than the debates and unhappy reſult of that grand aſſembly of theirs on the plain of *Ageda* in *Hungary* [x], formerly mentioned; eſpecially if we add to it, the ſtrenuous, and hitherto fruitleſs pains they have been at, to diſcover the royal ſceptre of *Judah* ſtill ſubſiſting in ſome part or other of the globe, as the only ſtay they have left to ſupport their expectations. We lately took notice both of their triumph and diſgrace, upon their hopes of having found it in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate as the *Abiſſinian* empire: the reſult of which diſappointment was, that ſince it could not, with all their laborious ſearches, be found in the old world, they had now no other way left, than to ſend in queſt of it in the new. They accordingly diſpatched ſome of their own nation into thoſe but lately diſcovered countries, with proper orders and directions for that purpoſe; but with as little ſucceſs or ſatisfaction to the reſt; and it was not till *Cromwell*'s time, that they received ſome intelligence that any *Iſraelites*, much leſs any *Jews*, were ſettled there [y]. This at firſt came by a letter directed to the rabbi *Menaſſe Ben Iſrael*, from *Aaron Levi*, alias *Monteſinos*, or *Monteſini*, then travelling in ſome of thoſe parts, and through the province of *Quif*, under the

[w] De duplici adventu Meſſiæ diſſertat. dux cont. Judeos 1701. Jurieu's prophecies, vol. ii. Mede in Apocalypſ. reſtaur. of Iſrael, Lond. 1747. [x] See before, p. 428, & ſeq. [y] De hoc, vid. p. 462, & ſeq.

conduct

conduct of an *Indian*, as he thought him, but whom he afterwards found to be a *Jew*; and who aſſured him that there were vaſt numbers of them who lived concealed behind the long ridge of mountains called *Las Cordilleras*. He added, that his curioſity inducing him to purſue his journer farther towards them, he came at length to the banks of a river, where, upon a ſignal given by his guide, they perceived a great number of them on the other ſide, and heard them pronounce theſe words diſtinctly in the *Hebrew* tongue: "Hear, O *Iſrael*; The LORD thy God is one "LORD [z]." The farther account they gave of themſelves was, that they were brought thither by a kind of a miraculous providence, and had had frequent wars with the idolatrous natives, and as often overthrew them. They added, that they were the deſcendants of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jaacob*, and of the tribe of *Reuben*; and that the reaſon of the *Indians* being ſo often at war with them, was, that their magi, or prieſts, had revealed to them, that the God of *Iſrael* was the true and only God, and that his people would become maſters of the whole world, about the latter end of it. Thus far the letter [a]; wherein, however, there is not a word about the other tribes, much leſs of that of *Judah*; which one might have expected would have been preferably mentioned before that of *Reuben*, if the relation had been a forgery, either of *Monteſini*, or of rabbi *Menaſſe*, as ſome learned men have ſuſpected it [b]; though others have taken ſome pains to vindicate and back it with probable conjectures [c].

HOWEVER that be, the latter ſeems to have laid ſuch ſtreſs upon it, that it induced him to publiſh his *Eſperanzæ de Iſrael*, a book often quoted in this chapter; wherein he not only attempts to prove the vaſt number and power of the *Iſraelitiſh* nation, from thoſe that are found in *America*, but hath been at the pains to find out a new, and till then unthought-of, route, to bring them out of *Aſia* into that new part of the globe, by affirming, that theſe two were anciently joined, and made but one large continent; but were parted aſunder by a miraculous providence at the ſtreights of *Anian*, after his people were got ſafe on the other ſide, from which they retired farther into the inland and mountainous parts for their greater ſecurity. This was a ſtrange way of

[z] Deuter. vi. 4. [a] Vid. R. PETACHIAH, Pereg. printed ann. 1644. [b] Vid. SPIZEL, Relevat. Prelat. MONTESINI, BASNAG, CALMET, et al. [c] ACOSTA exemp. vit. hum. l. i. c. 16, et al.

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extolling the glory of his nation: but as he was then ſoliciting the *Engliſh* parliament, who were all enthuſiaſts, for their re-eſtabliſhment in this country, he might think that a proper plea enough to obtain their conſent, and with that view dedicated his book to them: and we have ſeen already how well he ſucceeded, ſince he obtained not only their approbation and thanks, but a grant to his requeſt.

MANASSE was not the only perſon who hath attempted to prove this early ſettlement of the *Jews* in *America*; many others have done the ſame, tho' without following his route, or pretending to aſſert any of their own, much leſs tacking a miracle to it. And it muſt be owned, that one finds in moſt parts of that ſpacious continent ſo many apparent traces of *Judaiſm*, as might incline one to believe them to have been ſome, if not the very firſt, inhabitants of it [d]: but when one weighs them on the other hand with the vaſt multitude of ſtrange heatheniſh rites and ſuperſtitions, barbarous and inhuman cuſtoms with which they are every-where blended, even where one finds the plaineſt traces of *Judaiſm*, one is at a loſs how to reconcile them with that notion. But as we ſhall have occaſion to reſume this ſubject in our hiſtory of that country, we ſhall enlarge no farther upon it, than obſerving, that ſuch abominable degeneracy is far from being inconſiſtent with that bent which the *Jewiſh* nation ever ſhewed to it, from their firſt coming out of *Egypt*. Witneſs that ſtrange inſtance of it which the brave *Judas Maccabeus* diſcovered among his ſlain troops, ſo long after their return from *Babylon*, and after they had ſmarted ſo ſeverely for their old heatheniſh ſuperſtitions, and of which the reader will find an account in their hiſtory [e].

FROM all the above-mentioned excurſions and fruitleſs ſearches after the *Judaic* ſceptre and royalty, our readers cannot but be fully convinced of the vanity and perverſeneſs of the *Jewiſh* writers and doctors, who have hitherto endeavoured to obſcure the glaring evidence of a divine oracle, which all their united force of learning and ſophiſtry could never repel; by ſubſtituting, in lieu of it, a variety of pretended dynaſties, in *India*, *Tartary*, *Abiſſinia*, and other parts of the world, equally uncertain and impertinent. For, not to men-

[d] De his, vid. Sir WILLIAM PENN's letter of the preſent ſtate of the Americ. colon. p. 143, 156, & ſeq. ZARAT diſcovery of Peru, l. i. c. 10. ACOSTA, ubi ſup. LAET orig. Gent. Americ. p. 83, & ſeq. & al. plur.

[e] 2 Maccab. xii. 39, & ſeq. vid. & Anc. Hiſt. vol. x. 295, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. See this vol. p. 123, & ſeq.

tion

tion the ſhort duration of thoſe boaſted dynaſties; whereas that of the Meſſiah was to laſt to the end of time; it is plain, even from their own confeſſion, that none of them did or could belong to the tribe of *Judah*, of which the oracle there ſpeaks, but at the beſt only to ſome other of the 10 *Iſraelitiſh* tribes, formerly led captive, and diſperſed through the *Aſſyrian* empire; though, in proceſs of time, they had been ſo blended and confounded with each other, that they had loſt the very memory of their origin and diſtinction; and been ſuppoſed to have been of *Iſraelitiſh* extract, on account of their circumciſion, and ſome other rites no leſs known and practiſed by the other ſons of *Abraham*, by *Keturah* [f], whoſe poſterity therefore they might as probably be as that of *Jaacob*: though, even according to this laſt ſuppoſition, had any one, or even every one, of the tribes ſettled itſelf into a monarchy even from the earlieſt times of their captivity, and their government continued *in ſtatu quo* unto this day, nothing of all this could have affected or interfered with the prophecy above-mentioned, which was to be accompliſhed only in the tribe of *Judah*, and in the perſon of the Meſſiah, the ſole heir, and laſt poſſeſſor, of the *Jewiſh* ſceptre, whoſe reign, in every reſpect more glorious and extenſive than that of any of his anceſtors, was to continue till the end of the world, and to be diſtinguiſhed from them all by ſuch extraordinary bleſſings as we have been deſcribing above.

But we have dwelt long enough on that ſubject, and ſhall only add, with regard to the tribe of *Judah*, to whom that ſceptre was promiſed, that it ſeems to have been preſerved by a particular providence, together with that of *Benjamin*, which alone adhered to it in the rupture of the two kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael* [g], from being removed into thoſe diſtant and unknown countries at their laſt diſperſion, into which the other ten had formerly been [h], and to have ſuffered them to be ſcattered only through ſeveral parts of *Europe*, where they have, for the moſt part, continued ever ſince, ſome only excepted; who, being baniſhed out of *Spain*, went and ſettled on the oppoſite ſhore along the coaſt of *Barbary* [i], where we are well aſſured they were ſo far from being in a condition of reviving their old pretenſions to the *Judaic* ſceptre, that the far greater part of them periſhed thro' want and miſery, and the ſurvivors have continued in a ſad ſtate of ſlavery ever ſince.

[f] Geneſis xxv. paſſ. [g] 1 Kings xii. paſſ. [h] 2 Kings, xvii. 5, & ſeq. See alſo Anc. Hiſt. vol. iv. p. 314 (F). [i] See before, p. 354, & ſeq.

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THAT *Europe*, especially the southern part of it, was that part of the world into which those two tribes were sold for slaves by the *Roman* emperor, is indeed denied by the most celebrated *Jewish* writers, particularly by those of the talmud [k], and the authors of the *Bereshith Rabbah*, or large comment on *Genesis* [l], and of the *Sedar Holam* [m], who pretend that they are dispersed over the whole globe. *Manasse Ben Israel* affirms the same thing; but adds, that he sent the most considerable chiefs of that tribe captives into *Spain* [n]; and it is not unlikely that that monarch did it with the same view that he is said to have destroyed all he could find of the seed of *David* [o]; namely, to prevent their too great distance from *Rome*'s encouraging them to reunite themselves into one government under some enterprising chief of their tribe; or to be nearer at hand to suppress it, if any such thing was attempted. However that be, whether confined to *Europe*, or dispersed through the world, we do not find that any *Jewish* writers of credit, or indeed any but the fabulous *Benjamin*, and one or two other travellers of the same stamp, whom we have elsewhere sufficiently exploded [p], have pretended that the *Jewish* sceptre or monarchy hath been any-where reclaimed, much less manifestly restored or continued. On the contrary, some of their more learned have in vain endeavoured to prove it sufficient to answer the design of the oracle, that it still subsisted under their chiefs of the captivity, and the heads of their most celebrated academies. Those of a more modern date, and of greater candour and impartiality, have freely confessed that it had long since ceased to subsist; *even*, says their great and learned *Maimonides*, *ever since they were driven out of their land, they have lost the judiciary power of life and death.* [q]; for which he gives this remarkable reason, *that they were forbid (by the* Mosaic *law) to exercise it any-where out of it.* What is still more worthy of our attention is, that this excellent Rabbi flourished at the same time with the fabulous *Benjamin* above-mentioned; from which we may judge what credit he gave to his infamous legend of their *Jewish* kings, and their pretended extensive power and splendid court at *Baghdad* [r], and other fabulous dynasties of the *Jewish* nation, with which that author hath embellished his romance. For if their grand sanhedrim, in whom the su-

[k] Tractat. Sanhedrim ap. Elsenmeng. Endek. Indent. part ii. c. 10. [l] Sect. 73. [m] ZUTTA, fol. 35. col. 2. [n] ESPERANZ. D'ISRAEL, fol. 40. col. 2. [o] JOSEPH. bell. Judaic, ad fin. [p] See before, p. 291, & seq. [q] Tract. BABA KAMA, ap. L'Emper. not. in eund. [r] See Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 629, & seq.

preme

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preme power was lodged, and to whom their very monarchs were ſubjected, even by the common conſent of all the *Jewiſh* doctors, could not ſit in judgment in any other place but in *Jeruſalem*, as hath been formerly ſhewn, how could it be lawful for them to exerciſe that juſticiary power out of *Judea*, and among foreign nations with whom they lived either in a ſtate of captivity or tribute, or at beſt under the notion of ſtrangers, and deſpicable exiles and vagabonds? What nation under the ſun would be compaſſionate enough to allow them ſuch an extraordinary privilege? But we have ſufficiently ſhewn, through the courſe of this chapter, how very oppoſite their condition hath been in every country and period ſince their diſperſion, and ſhall only add one or two teſtimonies to that of *Maimonides*, from a great number of others of their later writers, who agree with him that this hath been their real ſtate ever ſince that fatal æra. The learned *David Kimchi*, an account of whom and his works we have elſewhere given †, in his comment on the famed prophecy of *Hoſea, that the* Jews *ſhould continue a long time without king or prince, without ſacrifice, &c.* gives this remarkable expoſition of it[s]; *Theſe are the days of our exile and calamity, under which we groan at this very time, having neither prince or king, but being in ſubjection to gentile monarchs, and under the authority of their heathen potentates.* Even the famed *Iſaac Charbonel*, when in the height of his proſperity, and high favour with the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, reckoned it *one of the three calamities that attended their exile, that they had now neither king nor kingdom, dominion, ſceptre, nor judiciary power*[t]. But we have dwelt long enough upon this ſubject, and have reaſon to fear our readers, by this time, are tired with following that unhappy nation through ſuch a variety of countries, and ſo long a ſeries of time, and will be glad at length to ſit down, and take a nearer as well as more intereſting view of thoſe that were ſettled within our own country; of whom, though we have already given ſome account in the courſe of this chapter, we have yet ſome farther remarks to add with reſpect to their ſtate and condition in it, and the ſeveral laws which have been from time to time enacted for and againſt them ſince the conqueſt, as they have been traced and extracted out of antient records by our learned antiquary *Selden*, and ſince abridged by the reverend *Samuel Purchas*, author of the *Pilgrims*, who hath preſerved to us that

† See before, p. 288, & ſeq. [s] Hoſea x. 4. [t] Comment. in Iſaiah, iii. 8.

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curious collection among his other works [u]. A summary review of the most material of which we hope they will not be displeased with, at a time in which our nation hath been so divided in their opinion about the passing and repealing the late act for their naturalization, and in which several of their apocalyptical friends among us, as well as their own doctors, expected to see some eminent prognostics, and forerunners of their final deliverance, and long-wished-for restoration (H).

We

[u] Relat. of the world, lib. ii. c. 10. §. 7.

(H) By those prognostics are not meant those ten surprising ones which *Buxtorf* hath collected out of the *Jewish* books (27), and which are of so dire and threatning a nature, as if they thought the phials of the divine vengeance against their nation so far from being exhausted by their long and severe exile, that he still kept these in reserve against them, as the most terrible of all, to be poured upon them successively before he sent to them the promised deliverance. Our reader may see them at full length in the author himself, or more succinctly displayed in his *English* abridger, published *an.* 1734, in two volumes octavo; where he will likewise find an equal number of extraordinary blessings, which are there added to counterbalance them, and are to begin and accompany the whole reign of the Messiah. In both which he will meet with such a surprising fund of rabbinical invention, together with such an artful perverseness in distorting every even the most distant texts of the sacred writings, in proof of their own carnal reveries, as can only be accounted for by those more explicit ones, which declare them to be given up to a judicial blindness.

But, 2dly, neither do we mean by those prognostic signs of their conversion, what several zealous enthusiasts, Christians as well as *Jews*, have with more confidence than probability ventured to obtrude for such; as the downfal of the *Othman*, and *Roman* empires, of the papal power, and other like vague conjectures, in which those have been found most erroneous, that were ushered in with the greatest assurance (28).

The signs here meant by the maintainers of a final and universal restoration of the *Jews*, are such as are plainly hinted at in the gospel, as the sure forerunners of Christ's second coming; *viz.* a general defection from the faith (29), an inundation of unbelief and immorality, bloody wars and horrid devastations (30), fraud, treachery, and every kind of oppression and cruelty (31), earthquakes, famine, and other a-

(27) *Buxt. tradit. Hebr. extr. ex lib. Abakort. Rachal. five pulvis aromat.* (28) *Vid. int. al. Jurieu L'Abadie, Ward hiſtor, London, & al.* (29) *Luke* xvii. 9, *& ſeq. & alib. paſſ.* (30) *Matt.* ii. 9, *& ſeq.* iii. 8, *& ſeq.* (31) *Ibid. verſ.* 22, *& ſeq. Mark* xiii. 5, *& ſeq. & alib. paſſ.*

wakening

WE lately took notice of a ſtrange expedient which the government took, both in this and in a neighbouring kingdom, to aſſure themſelves of the ſincerity of their *Jewiſh* converts, by confiſcating all their goods, and reducing them to live upon charity [w]; the conſequence of which was, whether owing to their ill behaviour after their converſion, or want of compaſſion in the clergy and laity, that many of them were reduced to the loweſt degree of want and miſery, and became a public determent to the reſt of their nation from following their example, and daily leſſened the number of new converts.

THE motives of this ſevere treatment our author hath not thought fit to acquaint us with; though we doubt not but they were hinted at in the preamble of thoſe edicts or ſtatutes which inforced it. But as we find by one of the firſt of thoſe of that kind, mentioned by him, relating to their toleration, and ſtiled *Statutum de Judaiſmo*, it plainly appears, that, both before and ſince the conqueſt, the *Jews* were held here in a ſervile condition, and had no property of their own, except by the king's permiſſion; *Judei, & omnia ſua, regis ſunt, &c.* which frequently ſubjected them to great oppreſſions and hardſhips, from which thoſe might be exempted who became Chriſtians. It is not improbable that this might encourage great numbers of them to embrace Chriſtianity more for the ſake of that than any real conviction, or abating one grain of their prejudice and inveteracy againſt it.

HOWEVER, with reſpect to thoſe in *England*, it is plain, from *Selden*'s own words, who had all thoſe ſtatutes before him, that this ſevere precaution became not in force againſt them till the 17th year of the reign of *Henry* III. and, conſequently, not till a proper proviſion was made, and an edifice reared for the reception and maintenance of thoſe converts, called from them, *Domus converſorum*, (the ſame that is now called the *Rolles*); to the intent that they might live *ſub quadam honeſta vivendi regula, & certum haberent, in tota vita ſua, tutumque domicilium, refugium, & ſufficiens ſuſtentamentum, ſine ſervili labore & fœnoris emolumento*, as *Mathew Paris* expreſſes it.

[w] Page 491.

wakening judgments and events, which, with reſpect to time and other dignoſtics, are not however ſo explicitly particularized, as not to leave room for men of different perſuaſions to interpret them according to their different ſyſtems and prejudices.

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THIS provision however proved but a cold encouragement to the generality of them; and the confinement to the rules and maintenance of the house, joined to their deprivation of all other property, did but little suit their wandering, mercantile, and avaritious temper; so that few but the idlest and poorest cared to accept of it; insomuch that, in the reign of *Edward* I. a new law was enacted in their favour, whereby one half of their effects was allotted to the maintenance of the house, and the other to themselves. This appears from the placidness of that monarch, wherein it is said that *Jo. de S°Dionysio custos domus conversorum*, or master of the converts house, had a writ for the moiety of the goods of *Beleaguer* and *Huccoth*, two *Jewish* converts of *Oxford*; and the other half was allowed to them, *&c.*; and on this foot it seems to have remained till their total expulsion out of the kingdom, when the house above-mentioned was converted into a repository for the rolls, and hath continued so ever since. As to the unconverted *Jews*, we have already taken notice of the servile state and vassalage the statute *de Judaismo* laid them under to the king; which in the main was no other than what they were subjected to in all other Christian kingdoms. They were allowed their synagogues and burying-places, and the free use of their religion, laws, and customs, and such liberty of commerce as to enrich themselves by it, though most commonly by usury and extortion; which was the usual complaint raised against them by the people, and rose sometimes to such a height, as came little short of persecution; but which they had the address to avert by some large presents, or a good sum, either to the reigning monarch, or his prime ministers. They had one among them who held the office of *Presbyteratus omnium Judeorum totius Angliæ*, who was appointed over them by the king, as appears by the charter of king *John* (I); which office Mr. *Selden* takes to mean the chief priesthood of their synagogues, and not a mere secular eldership, of which he doth not find the least mention in the pleas of the exchequer. In this charter is likewise mentioned a former one granted to them by king *Richard* I.

(I) *Johannes Rex omnibus fidelibus suis, & omnibus & Judeis & Anglis salutem. Scite nos concessisse, & presenti chartâ nostra charta confirmâsse Jacobo Judeo de Londoniis presbytero, Judeorum presbyteratum omnium Judæorum totius Angliæ habend' & tenend' quamdiu vixerit, libere & honorifice & quiete & integre, ita ut nemo ei super hoc molestiam aliquam aut gravamen inferre præsumat. Quare, &c. &c. Datum apud Rothomagum 31 die Julii, anno regni nostri primo.*

by

by which certain juſtices were appointed *ad cuſtodiam Judæorum*, before whom pleas between themſelves, or between them and others, were held, and matters adjudged *ſecundum legem & conſuetudinem Judaiſmi*, as the entry often words it.

In moſt towns of note were two Chriſtians and two *Jews*, or only one of each, appointed as public notaries for all their deeds and contracts; and thoſe notaries had one cheſt with ſeveral keys, for the ſafe keeping of ſuch deeds; and theſe were called *Chirographarii Chriſtiani & Judæi*, of ſuch and ſuch a town, and in the ſtatute *de Judaiſmo*, *les bouches cyrografes*. And it was by theſe chirographers that the *Jewiſh* deeds, contracts, *&c.* which are ſtiled *Starra* from the *Hebrew Shatar*, were to be tried, as *Solomon de Stanford agnovit* by *Starrum ſuum*. If any doubt or diſpute intervened on account of thoſe *Starra*, the common courſe was to iſſue out a proceſs to the ſheriff of the county, or to the conſtables of the caſtles of great towns, to make proclamation on three of their ſubſequent ſabbaths, ſummoning all *Jews* of this or that ſynagogue to appear at their exchequer, to account with ſuch as had raiſed the ſaid doubts or diſpute. Theſe proclamations and *venire facias's* were uſually made or written in the *Latin* or *Hebrew* tongue, as appears from ſome recorded inſtances of that kind (K). In the like manner, ſays our author, did all other ſheriffs and conſtables make their returns in *Hebrew* and *Latin*; both thoſe tongues being then in uſe not only in thoſe *Jewiſh* deeds, the one on one ſide, and the other on the other, but likewiſe in records of law, as likewiſe of their *venire facias*, or ſummoning of *ſex probos & legales homines, & ſex legales Judeos*.

What form of ſwearing was preſcribed to them at that time, our author could not find among the many records he peruſed on that ſubject, but adds, that *R. Moſes Mikkotzi*, who lived in *Henry* III's time, affirms, in his comment on the affirmative precepts, that the holding up of the roll of the Law or Pentateuch between their arms, was equivalent to the verbal calling to the God of *Iſrael* to witneſs to the truth of the given evidence; as that is eſteemed amongſt them the moſt ſacred and authentic of all the books of the Old Teſtament.

(K) Thus: *An.* 52 *Henr.* 3. *præceptum eſt vice-comiti Eſſex quod clamare faceret per ſcholas Judæorum Colceſtriæ, per duo vel tria ſabbata, ſi aliquis Judæus aut Judæa, aliquod debitum exigere poterit de Rogero filio Petri.* And again: *Et vice-comes Mandavit tam littera Latinâ quam Hæbraica quo nullus Judæus nec Judæa aliquod debitum exigit de prædicto Rogero, &c.*

The

THE ſtatute *de Judaiſmo*, as well as ſome others ſince enacted, obliged every one of them, male or female, above ſeven years of age, to wear upon their upper garment a mark of diſtinction, whereby they might be known, not unlike that which had been enjoined them by the council of *Lateran*. This was afterwards ordered by the provincial council of *Oxford*, held under *Stephen* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *an. Henr.* III. VIII°. to conſiſt of two pieces of cloth of a yellow or ſome other colour, different from their garment, of about two fingers breadth and four in length, ſown upon the breaſt. They were moreover obliged to pay tythes and other taxes, and were forbid to build new ſynagogues. We have moreover ſeen them, through the courſe of this chapter, frequently fined heavily, and as often ſeverely proſecuted, ſometimes for real, but moſt commonly for pretended, high crimes and miſdemeanors of a civil or religious nature. Of the former kind were their but too well known extortions, uſury, frauds in commerce, and ſuch-like; in all which, and the like caſes, the wealthy amongſt them were often redreſſed and ſcreened by an appeal to the king and council, backed by a good round ſum. But it was far otherwiſe in thoſe of a religious nature; ſuch as the circumciſing and crucifying of Chriſtian children, for which many of them have been put to various and ſevere deaths; or for indignities offered by them to the holy wafer, to the croſs, churches, clergy, *&c.* in all which caſes they were excluded from appealing to the king's council; the cognizance of ſuch belonging only, as was alleged by biſhop *Ralegh*, to the church and ſynod. *Hæc ad eccleſiam ſpectant, non ad regalem curiam, cum de circumciſione, & de fidei læſione, quæſtio ventiletur.* Notwithſtanding all which ſeverities, they became ſo obnoxious to the whole realm for their avarice and extortions, as well as for the many atrocious indignities laid to their charge againſt Chriſt and his religion, that they were at once condemned to a perpetual baniſhment by *Edward* I. *an.* 1291, in the 19th year of his reign, their moveables only being allowed to them, or, as *Walſingham* affirms, only ſo much of them as would defray their paſſage. His example was followed ſoon after by *Philip the fair* of *France*; and, a little above a century after, by *Ferdinand*, out of *Spain* and *Portugal*, as we have elſewhere ſhewn †; ſo that *England* was the firſt country of all *Chriſtendom* out of which the *Jews* were totally baniſhed, to the number, according to *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter*, of 160,511. To this we may add, that even ſince their readmiſſion into this realm,

† See before, p. 339, & ſeq. 352, & ſeq.

though

though they have behaved with much greater circumſpection than it is likely they had done before their expulſion, and the ſpirit of prejudice and perſecution had been greatly allayed by the reformation; yet neither the one nor the other hath been able ſo totally to reconcile their nation to the bulk of this, as to acquieſce to their naturalization. And it was doubtleſs with this view of abating at leaſt, if not of removing, this popular diſlike to it, that the late famed Mr. *Toland* undertook to write a kind of apology for them, and attempted to prove, from arguments merely ſecular and lucrative, how much it might conduce to the intereſt of *England*, to naturalize a people ſo induſtrious, ſo wholly given to, and ſo well experienced in, moſt branches of public commerce; eſpecially as they were known to be ſo unconcerned, if not averſe to all civil as well as religious feuds and differences among us, that there could be no danger of their interfering either for or againſt any of them; and much leſs ſtill of their rivalling our natives in any promotions in church or ſtate. The ſmall regard which that performance (which was publiſhed *an.* 1715, in 8°) met with then, notwithſtanding the credit which its author was in among a powerful ſet of men, and the general diſcontent and clamour raiſed againſt the late act in their favour, have ſufficiently ſhewn how unacceptable all ſuch attempts are to our nation, whether the general diſlike be well or ill founded, which we ſhall not take upon us to diſcuſs, but cloſe up this *Jewiſh* hiſtory with a ſhort abſtract of that ſtupid and abominable romance of theirs, ofter quoted in this chapter, under the title of *Tholedoth Jeſu* (L). A piece which,

(L) Or (as it runs more fully in the *Hebrew*, and in imitation of the beginning of St. *Mathew*'s goſpel) ספו תולדות ישו, *Sepher Hatholedoth Jeſu*, *The Book of the Generation of Jeſus*; though the author doth not, like our evangeliſt, attempt to mention any of his anceſtors, but begins his fabulous account with the birth, and ſo goes on with the hiſtory of the life, actions, and death of his Jeſus, in his own baſe and blaſphemous way. The writer calls himſelf *Jonathan*, and pretends to have been an inhabitant of *Jeruſalem*, and contemporary with the perſon whoſe life he propoſes to write, and to have been an eye-witneſs of ſeveral of his miracles.

There have appeared ſeveral *Jewiſh* books under the ſame title of *Tholedoth Jeſu*, differing in ſundry circumſtances of the ſame hiſtory, and not without a manifeſt neceſſity. The two moſt conſiderable are this of the pretended *Jonathan*, and one publiſhed by the learned doctor *Wagenſeil*, in the ſecond volume of his *Tela igneæ Satanæ*, but whoſe author was ſo little acquainted with pro-

phane

which, though fraught with such monstrous forgeries, and flagrant anachronisms, that some of the most moderate and candid among their rabbies are ashamed to authorize it, though not so to own it to be of *Jewish* extract, is yet one of the main engines the rest of them make use of to confirm their vulgar in their contempt and hatred of Christ and his religion, by pretending to be fully convinced of the truth of every part of the forgery; and representing the whole as an authentic and unquestionable history, compiled by an inhabitant of *Jerusalem*, and an eye-witness of every fact; which they may the more confidently do, as they are so well assured of the readiness of their people to embrace the most extravagant legends against Christianity, or its odious founder, and to shut their eyes against, or overlook, the most glaring and palpable inconsistencies, which might otherwise stagger their belief.

We come now to give our readers the promised extract of the two chief books we mentioned in the last note, as the two most considerable that bear the title of *Tholedoth Jesu*, or *Generations of Jesus*; in which we shall confine ourselves to the most material transactions, as they have extracted, mutilated, and burlesqued out of the gospel, and pass by a great number of other puerile and ridiculous incidents, with which they both have interspersed their blasphemous narratives; adding only now and then a marginal note of such remarks as will best enable our *English* readers to judge of the ignorance and stupidity, as well as malice and impiety, of each performance.

We begin with the former; *viz.* that published by the learned *Wagenseil*[a], which begins with the birth of Christ,

[a] Tela ignea Satanæ, vol. ii.

phane history, that he hath been guilty of the most monstrous anachronisms, such as would of themselves sufficiently explode his performance, was it not moreover interspersed with the most malicious and absurd forgeries. And this it was which in all probability obliged the *Jews* to trump up a new one under the same title, in which the chronology and order of events doth more regularly follow that of the evangelists, tho' in other respects fraught with the most flagrant and impious forgeries. This last was published *an.* 1705, by the celebrated doctor *Huldrick*, with critical notes, which are so many eminent proofs of his skill in oriental learning (32). From that time those two have been distinguished among the learned by the titles of *Tholedoth Jesu* of *Wagenseil*, and of *Huldrick*.

(32) *Basnag. hist. des Juifs, tom.* v. *c.* 13. §. ii. *& seq.*

and inſtead of an immaculate virgin mother, makes him the ſpurious offspring of a young married woman, but debauched, as we have formerly hinted, by one *Pandera* or *Panther*[b], whom he gives him for his father; and adds, that he fled immediately to *Babylon*, and left his paramour to ſhift for herſelf. She was accordingly brought to bed of a ſon, who is the ſubject of his narrative, and named him *Jehoſhuah* at his circumciſion. She ſent him early to ſchool; but he proved ſo inſolent a boy, that he ſcrupled not to uncover his head before his betters, and even in the preſence of the prieſts, contrary to *Jewiſh* cuſtom, which looks upon it as a mark of diſregard, and obliges the diſciples to veil their faces before their ſuperiors. This ſingular boldneſs induced them to make ſome further enquiries into his extract; which being found and condemned as ſpurious and defiled, he went thence into *Galilee*; where having ſtaid ſome ſhort time, he removed thence to *Jeruſalem*, with a full deſign to penetrate into the moſt ſacred place of the temple, and to ſteal from thence the unutterable name of God (M); a theft ſo dreaded by the *Jews*, that, to prevent its being ever committed, they had, by the help of ſome magical power, formed a couple of large lions, and placed them on the right and left ſide of that moſt holy place, who, by their dreadful roar (which was ſuch, that whoever was bold enough to attempt it, loſt at once his memory and ſenſes) were to guard that miraculous depoſitum from ſacrilegious hands. This however, inſtead of deterring the young ſon of *Panther*, only put him upon an expedient to eſcape the danger; which he did, by raiſing the ſkin of

[b] See before, p. 466.

(M) We have formerly took occaſion to mention and explode the ſuperſtitious regard which the *Jews* ſhew to the name *Jehovah* above all others of the Deity; and what miraculous virtues they attribute to the true pronunciation of it (33); and ſhall here obſerve the impiety of ſuppoſing that it ſtill ſubſiſted in the hands of ſuch a notorious villain, who ſurreptitiouſly ſtole it, with no other view than to delude mankind, with the blackeſt and moſt helliſh impoſtures.

As to the additional circumſtances of placing two lions by magic art to guard the entrance of the holy place, and to ſcare every attempter out of his ſenſes by their dreadful roar, and the method which his *Jeſus* took to avoid it (34), they are too puerile and ridiculous to deſerve any further confutation than they carry along with them.

(33) *Anc. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 356, & ſeq.* (T).

(34) *Thaledath Wagenſ. ubi ſupra.*

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his thigh, and sliding the ineffable name between it and the flesh; and having passed the entrance unmolested, made the best of his way to *Bethlehem*, where he immediately raised a dead body, and healed a leper; the fame of which soon gathered a vast concourse of people unto him, who having seated him on an ass, led him in triumph to *Jerusalem*. The arrival of this strange cavalcade soon alarmed the whole convened priesthood, who unanimously agreed to present an address to queen *Oloina*, or *Helena* (N), who at that time reigned in *Judea*, jointly with her son *Mombaze*, *al. Hyrcan*; beseeching her to order *Jesus* to be apprehended and punished according to his desert. He was accordingly brought before that princess; but, by means of some fresh miracles, which he wrought in her presence, he easily brought her to espouse his interest against the complaining priests; which obliged them to have recourse to some other means to stop the progress of this new miracle-monger. Whilst they were deliberating

(N) Our author hath here displayed his ignorance of history in several instances relating to fact and time; and we are very sure that there was no such reigning queen at that time in *Judea*; whoever he might mean by his *Helena* and her son *Hyrcan*. A late critic, the more to expose the absurdity of the anachronism, hath endeavoured to prove that he meant the mother of *Constantine the Great* (35), whom, says he, he stiles *queen of the whole universe*; which title can only belong to an empress; and as the *Jewish* fabulist represents her as a great favourer of the Christians, on account of the miracles which, he says, Christ had wrought before her. But as, on the one hand, we do not find that he gives her any such pompous title, but styles her only the wife of *Jannæus*, who took the reins of government after his death; and, on the other, the monstrousness of such anachronisms is hardly to be supposed, even in a *Jewish* writer, it is generally believed that he meant *Helena* queen of *Adiabene*, who, *Josephus* tells us, came and dwelt a considerable time in *Jerusalem*, and proved a great benefactress to the inhabitants in the time of the famine which happened in *Claudius*'s reign; and was not at that time a Christian, as *Orosius* affirms (36), though she became one afterwards, but a *Jewish* proselyte (37). But even this *Helena* did not exercise any regal authority in *Judea*, it being then become a *Roman* province; so that it is absurd to make the *Jews* address their complaints against Christ to her. Add to this, that it was long enough after his death that she came to settle in *Jerusalem*; since she lived long enough there to see the destruction of that metropolis under *Titus*.

(35) *Le Moyne dissert. in Jerem.* xxi. *p.* 97. (36) *Histor. lib.* vii. *c.* 6.
(37) *Ant. lib.* xx. *c.* 2. *See also Anc. Hist. vol.* x. *p.* 165, *& seq. & notes* (A) (B).

about

about it, in came to them one of the prieſts named *Judas*, and offered to do it effectually, and beat him at his own weapons, provided they would charge themſelves with, or abſolve him from, the guilt which he muſt incur in getting the divine unutterable name. They had no ſooner complied with his propoſal, but he made himſelf maſter of his maſter's ſecret immediately; after which followed a dreadful ſtruggle between them; in which, by virtue of the ſacred word, they both raiſed themſelves to a great height in the air, from which *Judas* tried a good while in vain to give him a terrible fall. At length, having bethought himſelf of an expedient, and having let fall ſome urine upon him, they both, being defiled by it, came down upon the ground with a deſperate force. *Jeſus*, however, ſoon recovered himſelf from the fall, and ran to purify himſelf from his pollution in the river *Jordan*; by which means he was again in a capacity of working new wonders amongſt his followers. *Judas*, the more effectually to be revenged on him, pretended to yield to him, and become one of his diſciples, and, by that ſtratagem, eaſily dive into his inmoſt ſecrets, which he betrayed to the doctors and prieſts, particularly that of his having ſtolen the name of God out of the temple: upon which they ordered him to be apprehended, as he was entering into it, by ſome of their miniſters and menials. Some of his diſciples were likewiſe ſeized; but the greater part took themſelves to their heels, and fled into the high mountains of *Judea*. *Jeſus* was accordingly brought before the ſanhedrim, and condemned to be tied to a marble pillar belonging to the city, where he was ſeverely whipped, and crowned with thorns; and, upon his complaining of thirſt, was made to drink wine mixed with myrrh. The ſanhedrim, not thinking that puniſhment equal to his crime, condemned him to be ſtoned to death; which was accordingly done: but when they came to hang him on a tree, they found, to their ſurprize, that the criminal, who foreſaw what death he was to die, had, by virtue of the divine name, ſo enchanted all the trees, that they broke with the weight. Here *Judas* helped them again with a counter-charm; and having fetched a high cabbage-ſtalk out of his gardens, hanged his body on it faſt and ſure.

THEIR next fear was leſt his diſciples ſhould ſteal it away, and pretend that he was riſen from the dead; againſt which *Judas* likewiſe found out a freſh expedient, by burying it privately in the chanel of a brook, after they had turned the courſe whilſt the grave was digging and filling; after which they let the waters reſume their courſe. They accordingly publiſhed it all over the country that he was riſen; which

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was the more readily believed, as his body was no-where to be found; when *Judas* at once exploded the rumour by producing it out of the place where he had interred him; upon which it was immediately fastened to a horse's tail, and dragged along to the very royal palace, where the queen, who had before owned her belief of his resurrection, knew not what to answer to this new discovery, and left his body to the mercy of the people, who tore his hair from his head (from which the monks have taken the custom of shaving their crowns) and to be insulted at their discretion.

THIS ignominious treatment was soon followed by a total rupture of the *Nazarenes* (so he calls the Christians) and the *Jews*; the former of whom began to spread their doctrine far and near, chiefly by the ministry of twelve, who ran from kingdom to kingdom, preaching their master's fame and religion, with such surprizing success, as could not but greatly alarm the *Jewish* doctors and wise men; who, after much consultation, made choice of one *Simon Kipha* to put a stop to their progress. This man, having first learned the miraculous name of *Jehovah*, immediately repaired to the metropolis of the *Nazarenes (Rome)*; where having wrought such a number of miracles to convince them that he was an apostle sent by Jesus Christ, he easily engaged them to be wholly directed by him. He then advised them to oppose and ill-treat the *Jews* in every thing; to celebrate the festival of *Jesus*'s death instead of the passover, and the 40th day after, instead of their pentecost; all which they promised to comply with, upon condition that he consented to stay amongst them; to which he readily agreed. To this end they built a large tower, in which he shut himself up during the space of six years, at the end of which he died, having lived all that time upon bread and water only (O). Our author adds, that

(O) It will hardly be needful to observe here, that our *Jewish* romancer hath taken this story from that of *Simon Magus*, mentioned in the *Acts*, and in our Ancient History, who was converted at *Samaria* by *Philip*, after having for a long time bewitched that whole city with his sorceries (38). The scene is only removed from thence to *Rome*, (or, as he calls it, the metropolis of the Christians, tho' they had not then, nor for many centuries after, any city that bore that title); this, we say, as well as some of the feats which he relates between *Judas* and his master, are fetched, by way of reprisal, out of the apocryphal Acts of St. *Peter*, and his pretended contest with *Simon Magus*, which several ancient fathers have adopt-

(38) *Acts* viii. 9, *& seq. Anc. Hist. vol.* x. *p.* 623, *& seq.*

ed,

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that that tower was ſtill to be ſeen at *Rome*, or at leaſt a ſtone upon which he uſed to ſit, and ſtill bearing the name of *Peter*.

ELIJAH, or *Elias*, appeared ſoon after at *Rome*, and endeavoured to perſuade the people of that city that *Simon* was really an impoſtor, and that he had deceived them in pretending to have been ſent from *Jeſus*; for that himſelf was the perſon whom the Meſſiah had honoured with his commands; the firſt of which was to enjoin them to be circumciſed, under the penalty of being drowned; and the next, to obſerve the firſt inſtead of the ſeventh day as their ſabbath. But whilſt he was preaching theſe new orders to them, a ſtone fell upon his head and cruſhed him to death. *Thus*, concludes our author, *may all the enemies of God periſh*. So far the firſt or elder book of the *Tholedoth*, publiſhed by *Wagenſeil*.

THE other, publiſhed by *Huldrik*, with his notes, hath adopted indeed the greater part of the other's forgeries, which we ſhall not, for that reaſon, repeat afreſh, nor add any further remarks upon than thoſe we have already; ſeeing the others are of ſo glaring and palpable a nature, that they hardly require any other confutation than the bare reading of them. What this ſecond hath endeavoured chiefly to correct in his, is the monſtrous anachroniſms which his predeceſſor, and, in general, all the writers of his nation have been more or leſs guilty of, in ſetting the birth of Chriſt ſo far back (ſome of

ed, and is to this effect: *Simon* being at *Rome*, by his magic tricks, in order to get himſelf acknowledged for the true Meſſiah, and, in confirmation of it, having attempted to aſcend up into heaven, was got up a great way into the air, by the help of his demons, in a fiery chariot; the two apoſtles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, who were there at the ſame time, by their joint prayers ſo effectually drove away thoſe demons, that he got his death by the fall; not indeed upon the ſpot, but, finding both his legs ſhattered by it, he cauſed himſelf to be conveyed to *Brundum* (a place ſuppoſed to be in ſome part of that city, ſince thoſe fathers make him to have ended his life in it), and there, through ſhame and ſpite, threw himſelf headlong down from the top of the houſe, and expired on the pavement (39). One of theſe fathers adds, that the gentiles would have put St. *Peter* to death for it, had he not, at the earneſt requeſt of the Chriſtians, withdrawn himſelf out of the city, to eſcape their fury (40). Hence the reader may ſee whence this double ſtory of the pretended *Judas* and *Simon* is taken and mangled by the *Jewiſh* writer of this forged narrative.

(39) *De hoc, vid. Arnol. lib.* ii. *Cyril Hieroſol. catbec.* vi. *Ambroſ. lib.* ii. *c.* 8. *Sulpit. Sever. Iſidor. Hiſpal. Theodoret. & al.* (40) *Ambroſ. ſermon.*

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them above 300 centuries, as has been formerly shewn *, beyond the Christian era, not only in opposition to the sacred, but likewise to the concurrent testimony of prophane history. He accordingly, and judiciously, places the birth of Christ under the reign of *Herod the great*, and tells us that it was to that prince that the *Jews* preferred their complaint against the adulterous father of *Jesus*; and that, being highly provoked that such a criminal should have escaped his vengeance by his flight into *Egypt*, he went himself to *Bethlehem* †, and ordered all the children there to be massacred. And thus far, if we except the scandalous circumstances of Christ's mother, and the strange genealogy he gives us of her, and of her having been debauched into the sin of adultery, he hath followed more closely the evangelical narrative. But he is nevertheless guilty of a gross error in placing Christ's death under the same reign, and pretending that that prince did not die till after he had condemned him to be stoned and hanged, seeing it was his death which hastened the return of the holy family from *Egypt*, and Christ did not suffer till the reign of *Tiberius*, and after *Archelaus* had been banished, and *Judea* left without any king; all which is no less evident, and beyond all dispute, even from prophane history.

ANOTHER blunder and anachronism, though in the opposite extreme, he is guilty of, is his making Christ to have been brought up at the feet of *Joshuah*, the son of *Petachiah*, a disciple of the great *Akiba* ‡; whereas, as we have formerly shewn, this last did not flourish till the reign of the emperor *Adrian*, 100 years after the death of *Herod* and of *Jesus Christ* § (P).

BUT

* Tholedoth, p. 9. † Ibid. p. 12 & 20. ‡ Ibid. p. 119. § See before, p. 152.

(P) We might here add, that he makes that celebrated *Jewish* doctor to take a journey to *Nazareth*, to inform himself more perfectly about the birth of Christ; and that, upon his promise of secrecy, confirmed by a solemn oath, she freely confessed to him, that that son of hers, who had so greatly distinguished himself at school above his school-fellows, was the offspring of adultery. Upon hearing of which he caused him to be apprehended at his return, and condemned him to have his head shaved, and washed with a certain liquor which should prevent all further growth of his hair. That finding himself despised and shunned on that account, he gained a few straggling disciples, whom he obliged to be likewise shorn, and to whom he expounded the law in a manner contrary to the *Jewish* traditions. He likewise mentions some of those disciples

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BUT what moſt palpably ſhews the ſtupidity and ignorance of this author, is the heap of abſurd circumſtances which he has jumbled together concerning *Herod* and his ſon, who, he tells us, took up arms againſt the inhabitants of the deſart of *Judea*, for defending Chriſt and his doctrine, and worſhipping his and his mother's images. This obliged thoſe idolaters to apply to the king of *Kaiſarea* for aſſiſtance againſt *Herod*'s ſon; who, having aſſured that prince that there was no war between him and the *Iſraelites*, the inhabitants of *Ai* readily ſubmitted to his father. Who this ſtupid writer can mean by the king of *Kaiſarea*, and the inhabitants of *Ai*, the reader may ſee in the margin (Q). All we ſhall add here is,

diſciples under the mutilated names of the apoſtles; and adds, that they being quickly known by their tonſure, *Herod* cauſed them to be ſeized; but that they all had the good luck to eſcape except one who was called *John*, whom he ordered to be beheaded; whilſt *Jeſus* and his other diſciples, being retired into a deſart, began to teach them, *That he was God, born of a virgin, who had conceived him by the Holy Ghoſt, and the true Redeemer; and that whoever believed on him, ſhould obtain the bliſs of the world to come.* He maintained moreover, *That the* Moſaic *law was to be aboliſhed, becauſe it had continued through 200 generations ſince the reign of David; which was the term that royal prophet had declared it ſhould laſt* (41). We ſhall not trouble our readers with a confutation of this ſpurious heap; he may, if he pleaſes, ſee it fully done by the authors quoted in the margin (42).

(Q) We muſt appriſe him here, that this fabuliſt, who was probably a *German Jew*, and knew that thoſe of the city of *Worms* had formerly maintained to one of the emperors that they had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the putting of Chriſt to death; hath taken it in his head, from that pretended plea, to build a moſt ridiculous ſtory, and to inſert it in his narrative as a fact; *viz.* that *Herod*, before he would proceed to put him to death, had conſulted the *Jewiſh* ſenate of that city about it; but that they had unanimouſly opined againſt it, and adviſed that monarch to content himſelf with confining and nouriſhing him during his life; but that their counſel was rejected, and *Jeſus* condemned to be nailed to the tree. All which is not only contrary to his predeceſſor's account, which ſays poſitively that he cauſed him to be ſeized by a poſſe of his armed men, who killed ſome of his diſciples, and put the reſt to flight; upon which the ſanhedrin ordered him to be ſtoned to death, juſt before their feaſt of the paſſover; but point-blank to all probability, conſidering the great diſtance between *Jeruſalem* and the city of *Worms*

(41) *Pſal.* cv. 8. *Toledoth Huldrik, p.* 43, *& ſeq.* (42) *Huldrik not. in loc. Baſnage Hiſt. des Juifs tom.* v. *c.* 15. §. ix.

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is, that they were become so powerful and insolent, according to him, as to come even up to *Jerusalem*, and stir up a sedition against *Herod*, till, for want of the expected assistance from the king of *Kaisarea*, they were obliged to lay down their arms and submit; whilst *Simon*, the promoter of all this mischief, mounted his magical cloud, taking as many of his disciples into it as would or could get in, and hurried them away into their old desart, where he suddenly dropped them down, and dashed them in pieces with the fall. And thus ended, according to our author, this bloody contest between the disciples of *Jesus* and the *Jews*.

We might here add another ridiculous circumstance concerning his supposed *Herod*; *viz.* that he was so cautious of delivering up *Jesus* to death, that *he issued out an order over all the earth, that if any one was minded to undertake his defence, he should repair to the sanhedrin at* Jerusalem, *and demand to be heard.* This is not unlike what their thalmudists say in favour of that sanhedrin; that, to manifest the justice

in *Germany*, and the great unlikelihood there is that the sanhedrin of this latter should bear such great sway over that of the former at that time.

However, from the pretended war with those idolaters, and their application to the *Kaisarean* king for help and protection, one may justly conclude, that this writer lived somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Worms*, where seeing the images of Christ and his mother worshiped by the Christians of those parts, he took it into his head, that the primitive ones were guilty of the same idolatry, and might naturally apply to the *German* emperors for assistance to stop the persecution which *Herod* had raised against them on that account.

As for the inhabitants of *Ai*, said there to have submitted to *Herod*, they were, according to him, a set of *Jesus*'s disciples, who, to prevent his death, armed themselves against the *Jews* in the desart of that name, and not only killed 2000 of them, but kept all the passes to *Jerusalem* so closely shut up, that none dared to go thither at the usual festivals (43). All which, and many others of their hostilities against the *Jewish* nation and worship, was done in compliance to the advice, and by the direction of *Simon Kipha*.

How inconsistent all this romantic stuff is, not only with the sacred but prophane history, needs hardly be shewn; since we are well assured from both, that at that time *Judea* was not only without a king, but was likewise become a *Roman* province, and was also free from any wars under the peaceful reign of *Tiberius*. Neither were the primitive Christians at that time in a condition to raise such a bloody one against the *Jews*, if they had been ever so inclined to it (44).

(43) *Toledoth Huldrik, p.* 96.

(44) *Huldrik notes. Basnage, ubi sup.*

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of their ſentence againſt him, they ordered him to be publicly led through *Jeruſalem*, during the ſpace of forty days, with a herald proclaiming before him, *that if any one would undertake to plead his cauſe, or prove his innocence, he had free liberty to do it.* This is not quite ſo improbable as the other, becauſe that court, though much abridged of its power by the *Romans*, could ſtill try a criminal, and pronounce him guilty, though not put him to death without the concurrent ſentence of the governor: whereas *Herod* was long ſince dead, and therefore that circumſtance is manifeſtly falſe which is here related of him.

We ſhall not need here to obſerve in how many other points this laſt author contradicts his predeceſſor in his relation of the death of Chriſt. Firſt he makes him to have been condemned to death by *Herod*, and the other by the ſanhedrin, againſt the conſent of a fabulous queen named *Helena*, with the additional circumſtances of his being tied to a pillar, ſcourged and crowned with thorns, which he makes no mention of. He next affirms that he was nailed to a tree, whereas the other affirms that he was ſtoned and hanged, and with this notable addition, on a monſtrous cabbage-ſtalk, becauſe no wood could bear his weight without breaking. The one mentions the bloody war which followed his death between his diſciples and the *Jews*: the other only ſays that the ſanhedrin made choice of *Simon Kipha* to ſtop the progreſs of his doctrine; who, by virtue of the ineffable name, having tranſported himſelf to *Rome*, and convinced the *Nazarenes* (or Chriſtians) by miracles, that he was ſent by him, and by that means engaged them to be directed by him, abſolutely forbad them to exerciſe any hoſtilities or ill offices againſt the *Jews*; and having ſoon after ſhut himſelf up in his tower, lived ſix years in it on bread and water, and then died. Even in thoſe things in which they agree, in how many things do they run counter to all other hiſtory both ſacred and prophane? How many glaring anachroniſms and other palpable inconſiſtencies have we had occaſion to take notice of in theſe two ſhort extracts; and how many more abſurdities and puerilities might we have obſerved in each relation, had we followed them through every page? To ſay nothing of that monſtrous as well as impious notion which runs through the whole, and is in a great meaſure the baſis of each of their fabulous narratives; we mean the miraculous virtue aſcribed to the right pronunciation of the word Jehovah, by what foul ſtatagems ſoever obtained; and which, however ill grounded, and derogatory to the ſupreme Being to whom that ſacred name properly belongs, is nevertheleſs firmly believed

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by the bulk of the *Jews*. But we shall not repeat what we have formerly said against that senseless prejudice †; and hope we have sufficiently exposed the imposture of the two books above-mentioned, to convince our readers of the fatal blindness of the *Jewish* nation, as well as of the dishonesty of their guides; these, for having recourse to, and those for so readily swallowing, such abominable and diabolical forgeries, to keep alive their irreconcileable aversion to Christ and his religion.

HAVING now gone through every material point relating to this interesting subject, we shall here, by way of conclusion, unite into one view, what, by reason of the circumstances of time and place, lieth scattered through this chapter, concerning the present doubtful and melancholy state of the *Jewish* nation, and the various artifices by which they have been kept up by their doctors from unbelief and utter despondency to this day, to the admiration not of Christians only, but all other countries where they are dispersed [a].

1. THEY have, in general, been kept stedfast in their hopes and full expectation of a general recall, under their Messiah, in spite of the poor elusory shifts which their rabbies have been driven to, not so much to account for, as to cast a thick veil over, those unsurmountable difficulties which naturally arose from his surprising delay, so many centuries beyond the time prefixed by the sacred oracles, and agreed to by all the *Jewish* writers before Christ [b]. For, whilst one set of them, in conformity to the twofold character of a Messiah; the one a great sufferer, the other a glorious conqueror; acknowlege *Jesus* the son of *Joseph* to be the first, and Messiah the son of *David* to be the latter; and another set, equally learned and numerous, wholly excludes the suffering, and will admit of none but a glorious one, who is to be their great deliverer and restorer, but whose appearance is retarded thus strangely on account of their sins; into what perplexity must such a contrariety of opinions drive the bulk of their nation; and who shall direct them which to chuse, or assure them that either of them may be safely embraced? The former being so opposite to the prejudices they have imbibed against *Jesus* the son of *Mary* [c], and the odious character which their thalmud and most other books give of him; the other no less vague, uncertain, and contested. One party stiffly denying his having ever yet appeared; the other maintaining that he was actually born about the time of their dispersion under *Titus* [d];

† Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 356. sub. not. [a] See before, p. 124, & seq. [b] Ibid. p. 127, & seq. sub not. [c] Ibid. p. 466, & seq. [d] Vid. SOL. JARCHI, & BUXTORF Tiad. Hæbr.

but

but widely differ about the place where, and the manner in which, he lies concealed from them on account of their impiety; ſome of the thalmudiſts believing that he lies hid among the bulk of lepers, ſick, and lame, at the gates of *Rome* [c], anſwerable to the deſcription given of him by *Iſaiah* [f], and impatiently waiting for the day of his glorious appearance; whilſt others affirm him to be detained in paradiſe, bound with women's hair (R). So fruitful is the fancy of the rabbinical tribe, in their expoſitions, and expedients to keep up the drooping expectations of their laity, as well as themſelves in countenance, by backing every notion and reſverie with the appearance of ſcriptural authority. By this they have given a terrible check to the over-curious of their nation, by the anathema they have pronounced againſt all farther enquiries after this important point; implying no leſs than the utter burſting or rotting both of the ſoul and body, or fleſh and ſpirit [g].

But if we would judge at once of their peculiar dexterity in this art, and the moſt complete ſtupidity and implicit credulity of their diſciples, we muſt recur once more to the ſcriptural demonſtration they have given us of that ſumptuous banquet, with which the Meſſiah is to entertain them, after he has completed all his conqueſts. Here, to counterbalance the terror of that anathema, by alluring promiſes equally ſuited to their carnal genius, we ſhall find a great number of places of the ſacred writings wreſted to ſuch a ſhameful ſenſe, as comes little ſhort of burleſque, to inhance the wonders and magnificence of that fantaſtical feaſt. We have lately given a ſhort ſketch, upon another occaſion [h], of the ſtupendous animals which are reſerved to glut its happy gueſts. But as theſe rather ſhew the extravagance of their depraved taſte, than their ſo much boaſted underſtanding of the ſcriptures, for which they value themſelves above all other nations, it will not be improper to give ſome few inſtances, by way of concluſion, how happily they have diſplayed that valuable talent in the choice of their

[c] Vid. Tract. Sanhedr. c. 2. [f] Chap. liii. paſſ. [g] Vid. Buxtorf Tradit. Hæbr. ubi ſup. [h] P. 475 (Y).

(R) Thus they expound that verſe in the canticles: *Thy head upon thee is like crimſon, or Carmel, and the hair of thy head like purple ſtrings, by which the king* (Meſſiah) *is kept bound in ſtately galleries*, or, as others render it, *in ſtately walks*: the original word ſignifying properly a canal or aqueduct (1).

(1) *Vid. Dav. Kimchi, Comm. in Cant.* viii. 5. *Vid. Munſter, & al. in loc.*

proofs,

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proofs, and the sense they have given to every text which they bring to back and illustrate every particular of that banquet (S).

(S) To begin with the *Behemoth:* They have, by a wrested parallel in the Psalms, which ours and all other versions rightly translate, *The cattle upon a thousand hills* (2), swelled that animal to a mountainous bulk, not only to afford a plentiful feast for that numerous company, but to entertain it beforehand with a long and dreadful engagement with the *Leviathan*, till the contest is ended (neither side being either tired or worsted) by the keen sword of the Messiah; who having slain them both, shall commit their carcasses to the care of a sufficient number of able cooks, to roast and divide among the guests. And this previous fight they prove from these words of the Psalmist (3), *There is that Behemoth and the great Leviathan, whom thou hast made to* (not take, but) *make sport in it.* Their being slain by the Messiah is taken out of *Isaiah* (4), *In that day the Lord shall, with his sore and strong sword, punish, or slay, Leviathan that crooked serpent.*

The elegancy of this feast is taken out of the same prophet (5), *In this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, &c.* And that there will be such a superfluity and redundancy of all fish, flesh, fowls, *&c.* that vast remains of them will be publicly sold in the markets of *Jerusalem*; they judiciously infer from that passage in *Job*, which we rightly translate interrogatively, but they positively, concerning the Leviathan (6), *The companions shall make a banquet of him, and shall part him among the merchants.* We omit several other thalmudic monstrosities, to speak of the dessert and superexcellent wine, which are to crown this noble feast, both which are said to be the produce and vintage of Paradise, and preserved there ever since *Adam*'s fall against this time. For in this sense they understand the passages quoted in the margin (7). The conclusion of the feast, or, as we may call it, the cup of thanks, is too ridiculous, not to call it by a worse name, to be here mentioned, as well as the dimensions of the cup, which, from the numerical letters of the participle רוה, *revajah, overflowing*, joined to it, in the 23d Psalm, makes up the amount 221, infer that that will be the number of measures it is to contain.

(2) *Psal.* l. 10. civ. 25, 26. (3) *Ps.* lxxiv. 13. (4) *Ch.* xxvii. 1. (5) *Ch.* xxv. 6. (6) *Job*, xli. 6. (7) *Isai.* xxvii. 2, 3. lxiv. 4. *Ps.* xxiii. 5. lxxv. 8. cxvi. 13.

The END of the THIRTEENTH VOLUME.

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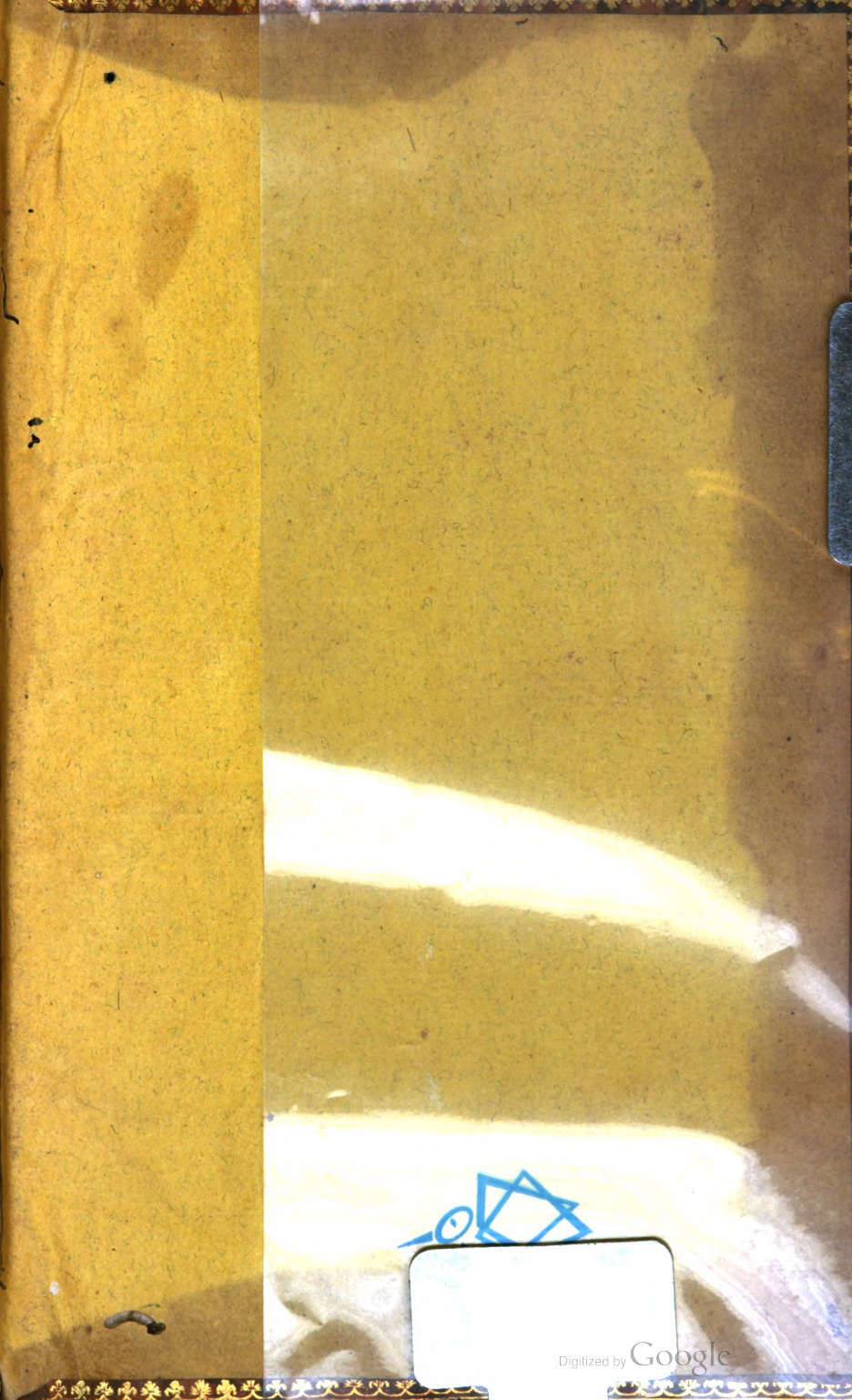
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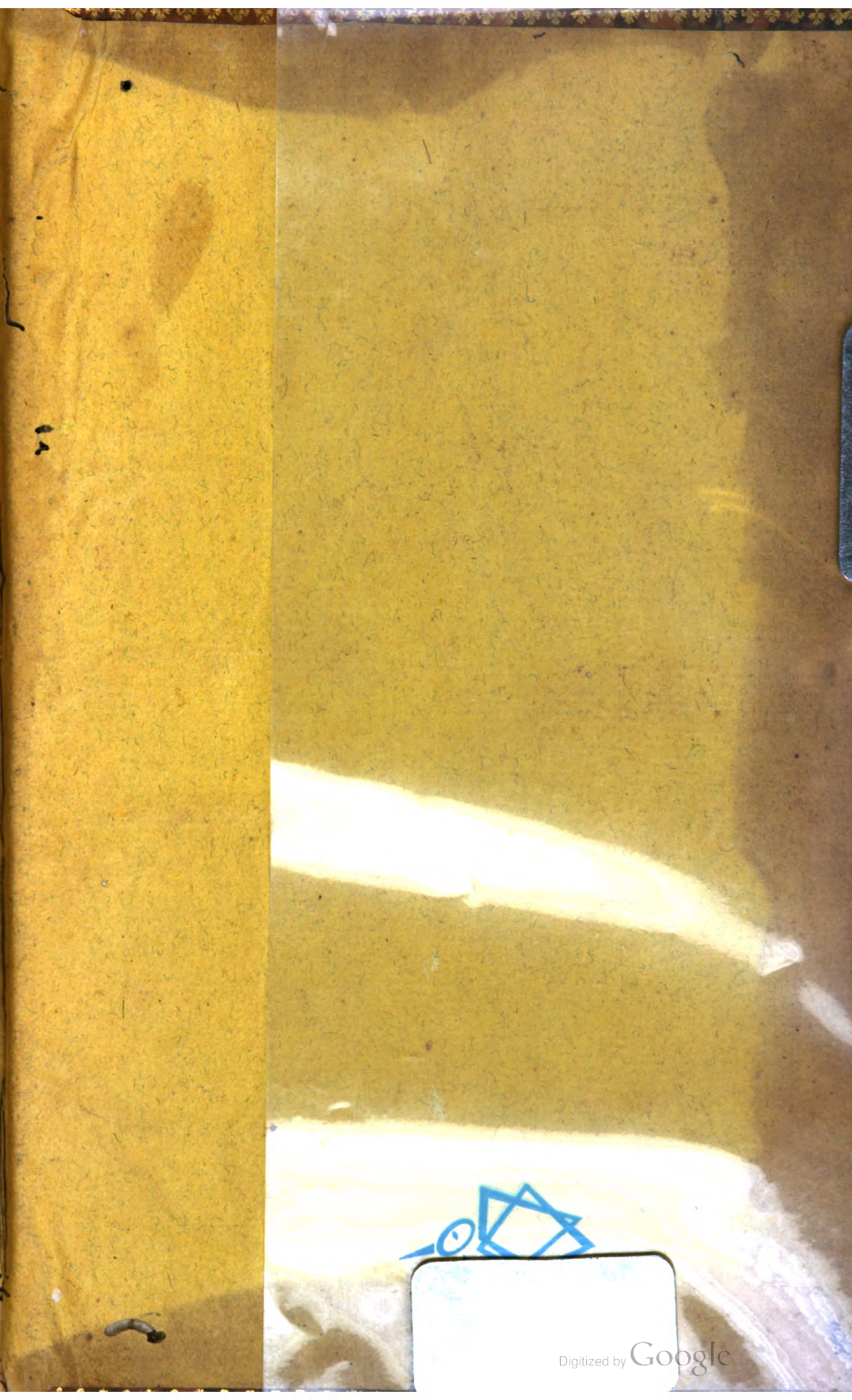
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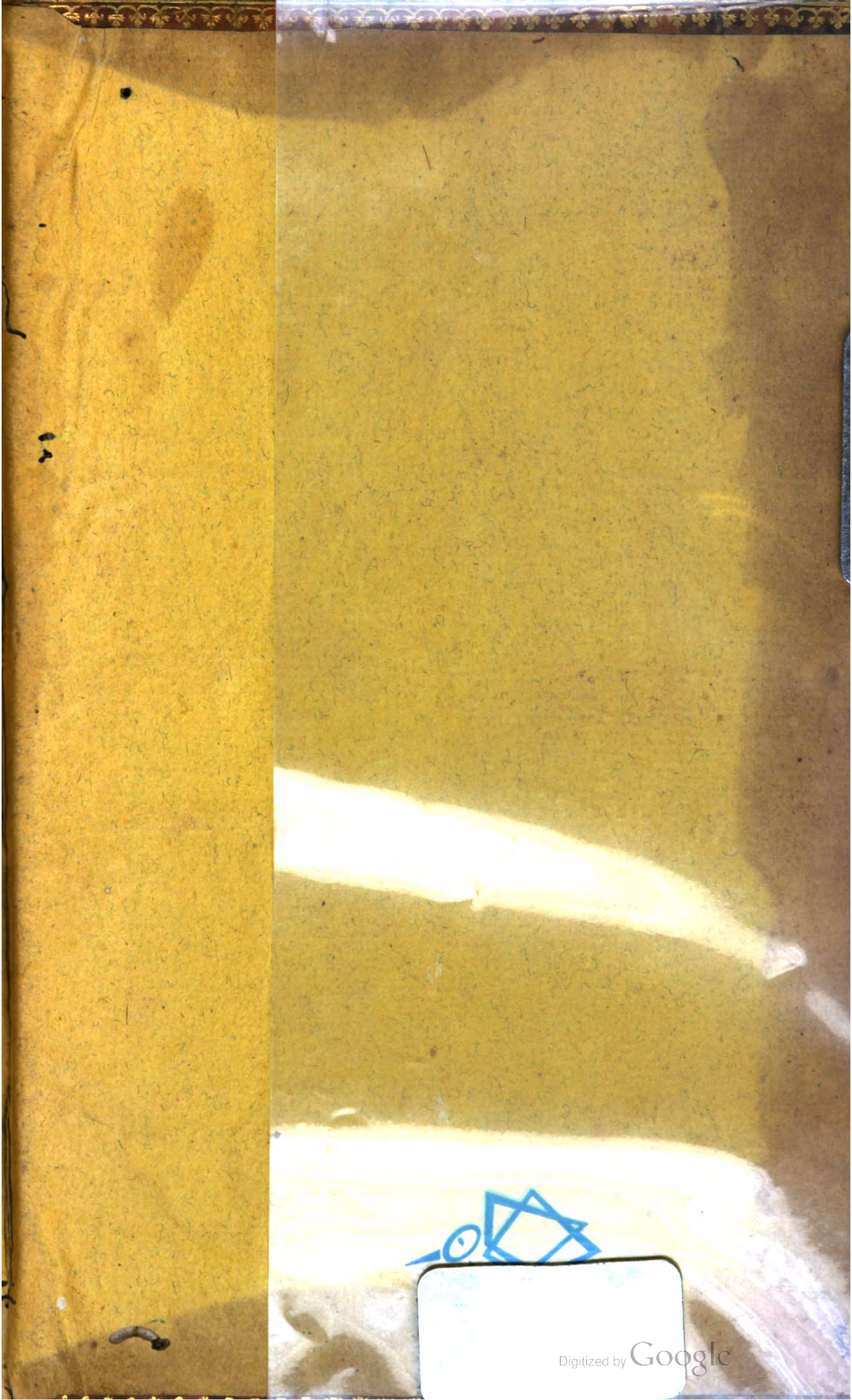
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